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Antonio IURILLI

AUCTOR IN REPUBLICA LITERARIA
ANTONIO DE FERRARIIS GALATEO E I SUOI LETTORI

Antonio Galateo è forse autore troppo noto perché qui se ne debba dire molto, o, forse, troppo poco noto perché qui se ne possa dare per scontata l'identità. La sua marginalità rispetto al canone classico dell'Umanesimo italiano, ma la sua centralità rispetto a specifiche tendenze dell'Umanesimo nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, oggi peraltro ampiamente rivalutate, mi inducono, comunque, a ricordarne almeno la formazione nelle scuole dei frati basiliani, in larga parte influenzata dalla tradizione culturale greca, dove essa si incontrava con la tradizione culturale latina, alimentata dalla presenza dei centri monastici benedettini.

Sono indotto anche a ricordarne il soggiorno a Napoli, che gli consentì di accostarsi ai circoli umanistici della città, dominati prima dalla presenza di Antonio Panormita, poi da quella di Giovanni Pontano. Nel contesto dell'Accademia napoletana, fondata appunto dal Pontano, il Galateo maturò la sua apertura alla cultura umanistica, che egli accostò originalmente alla sua formazione greco-bizantina e all'impianto scientifico dei suoi studi. Ne scaturì una particolare rilettura dell'Umanesimo, peraltro in parte già manifestatasi negli indirizzi del circolo pontaniano, poco incline alla retorica e alla filologia, sensibile alla tradizione etica ispirata da S. Agostino e da S. Girolamo, alla tradizione filosofico-teologica d'impronta antiscolastica, a quella scientifica galenica e araba, a quella geografica, preferita a quella storica.¹

¹ Nato a Galàtone, città del Salento (di qui il suo nome accademico), forse nel 1448 (o nel 1446), si formò nelle scuole dei frati basiliani e soprattutto nella attiva e apprezzata scuola di Nardò, centro di cultura teologica, ma aperto all'insegnamento umanistico. Studiò successivamente a Ferrara, dominata dal carisma scientifico di Michele Savonarola, dove conseguì il dottorato medico nel 1474 avendo come maestro Girolamo Castelli; vi conobbe Nicolò Leonicensi, protagonista della svolta negli studi medici nel prestigioso ateneo ferrarese. Soggiornò a Napoli a lungo fin dal 1465. Dal 1490, per effetto dell'invito rivoltagli da re Ferrante d'Aragona ad esercitare l'arte medica a corte, divenne sempre più forte il suo legame con la dinastia aragonese di Napoli, forse temporaneamente interrotto dalla discesa di Carlo VIII, re di Francia (1494-95), e dalla conseguente abdicazione e morte di Alfonso II, fino al suo drammatico epilogo, in séguito al quale egli

Ora, io credo che proprio tale complessità di referenti culturali sia una ragione di per sé sufficiente per tentare di ricostruire la tradizione attiva che, nell'arco di tre secoli, ha consentito la sopravvivenza e la conoscenza del *corpus* galateano: naturalmente una certa sopravvivenza e una certa conoscenza.

È probabile che la storia della tradizione e della fortuna del *corpus* di Antonio Galateo sia cominciata molto presto, subito dopo la sua morte, in uno *scriptorium* attivo nella sua stessa città di residenza, Lecce. Un ignoto copista, infatti, annota in calce al Reginense Latino 1370 della Biblioteca Vaticana, che tramanda, scorrettamente, il testo del *De situ Iapygiae* del Galateo:

Tredecim has paginas Parisius Maccius lupiensis scripsit sub Domini Antonii disciplina commorantis neque miremini nisi recte scripsi discipulus enim eram et non praeceptor.²

Un archeologo salentino del secondo Settecento, Michele Arditi, particolarmente interessato alla ricerca di documenti che riguardassero il Galateo, non resistette al fascino di una possibile identificazione dell'*Antonius, praeceptor* dell'incerto Maccio con l'autore stesso, che gli fece esclamare:

Questo codice è stato addirittura copiato in vita dell'Autore e da un suo discepolo e contubernale, e negli ultimi anni della vita di Galateo, giacché il *De situ Iapygiae* fu composto nel 1510 ed egli morì nel 1517 in Lecce.³

tornerà definitivamente nel suo Salento, diviso fra l'attività di medico e quella, probabile, di organizzatore culturale attraverso la fondazione dell'Accademia leccese sul modello della Pontaniana di Napoli. Il Galateo morì a Lecce nel 1517.

Piuttosto che elencare qui la ormai ragguardevole bibliografia critica sul Galateo, rinvio al più recente contributo sull'autore offerto da Francesco Tateo in *Puglia Neo-latina. Un itinerario del Rinascimento fra autori e testi*, eds. Francesco Tateo, Mauro De Nichilo, Pietro Sisto (Bari: Cacucci, 1994), pp. 17-105, arricchito da una puntuale bibliografia ragionata (pp. 27-29). Ma si veda, per una bibliografia aggiornata, la mia 'voce' 'Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo' di prossima pubblicazione in *Centuriae Latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à M.me de la Garanderie*, ed. Colette Nativel (Genève: Droz, 2001).

² Ho descritto il cod. in Antonio Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo nella tradizione manoscritta. Catalogo* (Napoli: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento meridionale, 1990, ora Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane), §22. Esso è soprattutto noto per l'ospitalità che offre ad un testo capitale per i destini della lingua italiana: la grammatica volgare attribuita a Leon Battista Alberti: cf. Leon Battista Alberti, *La prima grammatica della lingua volgare. La grammaticchetta Vaticana. Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 1370*, ed. Cecil Grayson (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1964).

³ La nota è riportata da Luigi Giuseppe De Simone, nel vol. 300, ms. della Biblioteca Provinciale di Lecce, in un fasc. sciolto avente una sovracoperta in carta color rosa; il De

L'entusiastica congettura dell'Arditi non ha retto alla scaltra filologia del nostro tempo⁴, ma ha lasciato aperta una porta che ci consente di entrare, oggi, nello *scriptorium* (di Lecce? di Nardò?) in cui fra il secondo e il terzo decennio del XVI secolo il modesto *discipulus* Parisio, insieme ad altri copisti, esemplava numerosi testi galateani traendoli con ogni probabilità dagli autografi o dagli originali, non importa se governato dall'autorità, certo assai meno seducente, di un ignoto *praeceptor*.

A quello *scriptorium* attinse subito, morto l'autore nel 1517, uno stuolo di letterati prevalentemente salentini. Essi appartengono a quella generazione di primo Cinquecento che divide l'inclinazione verso un modesto classicismo letterario con la passione 'civile' per l'erudizione filopatristica, in forza della quale tentano di opporre all'egemonia centripeta del Vicereame spagnolo la nobilitante eziologia municipale, intrecciata con antiche questioni giurisdizionali:⁵ un meccanismo, questo, di autodifesa culturale che trovava non poche pezze d'appoggio nella corografia 'ideologica' del *De situ Iapygiae*, indubbiamente importante *primum* di un genere letterario profondamente modificato, se non escogitato, da un autore che preferiva affidare alla geografia piuttosto che alla storia, infidamente retorica, l'indagine sul *factum*, e che tentava di amalgamare il modello antiquario umanistico proposto da Biondo Flavio con il naturalismo geo-corografico radicato nella sua cultura 'arabo-greca'.

Il grammatico ciceroniano ed epigrafista Quinto Mario Corrado, di Oria, plaude agli antiquari Jacopo Antonio Ferrari e Giovanni Antonio Paglia, l'uno leccese, l'altro di Giovinazzo, per aver salvato dall'oblio proprio quell'agile trattatello, stimato già come l'opera principale del Galateo. Il Paglia era intento a scrivere la storia della sua città; il Ferrari si accingeva a scrivere l'*Apologia Paradossica della città di Lecce*, che fa largo uso testimoniale dell'opera galateana. Una ragguardevole gamma di interventi (molti del Ferrari stesso) sulla copia fra loro scambiata documenta una tendenza a interpolare (anche nella 'zona franca' delle chiose marginali) per accentuare il ruolo di fatti e personaggi leccesi secondo un rinnovato indirizzo dell'erudizione municipale, che si

Simone dichiara di averla tratta dalla scheda n° 66 delle *Memorie da servire alla vita di Antonio Galateo*, cospicuo zibaldone galateano raccolto dall'Arditi a partire dal 1785, oggi perduto.

⁴ Cf. Domenico Defilippis, 'Di un nuovo codice del *De situ Iapygiae* di Antonio Galateo', *Quaderni dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento meridionale*, 6 (1989), 5-28 (pp. 7-10).

⁵ Cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo nella tradizione manoscritta*, §15.

accingeva a compiere la sua parabola dal modello umanistico della *laudatio urbis* a quello agiografico-ecclesiastico della Riforma cattolica.⁶

Il Kristeller segnala oggi quella copia nella Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz di Berlino. Non pochi indizi concorrono a ipotizzare una rapida scomparsa del codice dall'ambiente nel quale e per il quale era nato, al séguito di un aristocratico in fuga dal suo Salento: Giovan Bernardino Bonifacio, marchese d'Oria, pesantemente indiziato di eterodossia.

Di sicuro l'inquieto marchese oritano avèva con sé, quando prese la via dell'esilio, un ragguardevole numero di opere galateane manoscritte. Per quanto perseguitato (anzi, forse proprio in quanto perseguitato), egli volle con sé quel *corpus* nell'avventura intellettuale che si accingeva a vivere al di là delle Alpi: una professione di affetto per un conterraneo tutt'altro che occasionale, visto che trovò modo nella 'franca' Basilea, centro culturale e tipografico di prim'ordine dell'Europa tollerante, di tradursi in un ambizioso progetto editoriale che, se condotto a termine, avrebbe immesso sul vivace ed esigente mercato librario centro-europeo l'edizione completa del *corpus* di un autore dichiaratamente marginale rispetto alle vie maestre della letteratura coeva. Egli era, infatti, in grado di dare alle stampe ben sessantasette *epistole* (molte di più, dunque, di quante ne abbiano messe insieme altre, successive raccolte)⁷, e testi come l'*Eremita* e il *De optimo et corrupto genere philosophandi* di assai rara circolazione.

Di quel progetto editoriale, consegnato ad una lista autografa, oggi alla Universitaria di Basilea, egli riuscì a realizzare solo una minima parte.⁸ Ma non attribuirei solo ad imponderabili eventi l'essersi realizzato

⁶ Sul Corrado cf. *Quinto Mario Corrado umanista salentino del '500*, ed. Donato Palazzo (Galatina: Congedo, 1978). Sul Ferrari cf. l'introduzione di Alessandro Laporta alla riedizione da lui curata dell'*Apologia Paradossica della città di Lecce* (Cavallino: Capone, 1977), pp. IX-XXXVII. Sul Paglia cf. Carlo Villani, *Scrittori e artisti pugliesi* (Trani: Vecchi, 1904).

⁷ Cito per tutte la più ragguardevole: Antonio Galateo, *Epistole*, ed. Antonio Altamura (Lecce: Centro di Studi Salentini, 1959).

⁸ L'autografo appartenne a Bonifacio Amerbach. È segnato C VI a 54 e presenta il seguente titolo: *Index operum Antonii Galatei, philosophi et medici praestantissimi qui aetate magni Pontani vixit, quae iam imprimenda sunt*. Esso prevedeva, oltre ai due volumi usciti presso Pietro Perna nel 1558, altri tre volumi che avrebbero rispettivamente contenuto: 1. *Eremita. De optimo et corrupto genere philosophandi*; 2. *Epistole* (28); 3. *Epistole* (39). L'elenco di queste, con i rispettivi *incipit*, è in Manfred Welti, 'Il progetto fallito di un'edizione cinquecentesca delle opere complete di Antonio De Ferrariis, detto il Galateo', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, serie 3, 10 (1972), 179-191 (pp. 189-191). Sui libri dell'eterodosso pugliese cf. Manfred Welti, *Die Bibliothek des*

di esso soprattutto quanto serviva a valorizzare la cultura geo-corografica del Galateo: l'edizione, appunto, del *De situ Iapygiae* e di tre altre operette 'di contorno' (fra le quali un'altra corografica, la *Callipolis descriptio*), esattamente quelle di cui è portatore il codice berlinese, che evidentemente era allora nelle mani del Bonifacio.⁹ La scelta di una priorità tipografica può essere stata, insomma, il riflesso di una priorità ideologica, o quanto meno strategica, nella mente di un esule intento a costruirsi e a farsi accreditare una dignità intellettuale in terra luterana anche in ragione della sua appartenenza ad una terra storicamente emarginata dagli influssi, e quindi dai condizionamenti, della chiesa cattolica.

Significativa è pure la scelta del *partner* in questa operazione editoriale: il Bonifacio affida i manoscritti galateani all'officina del lucchese Pietro Perna, anch'egli esule per motivi religiosi, il quale aveva rilevato a Basilea nel 1544 i torchi di Thomas Platter e avviato un'attività tipografica che in pochi anni avrebbe prodotto un catalogo con dentro due pericolose edizioni latine del *Principe* di Machiavelli (1560, 1580), e una sorta di enciclopedia del satanismo, i *Satanae stratagematum libri octo* (1560), provocatoria perfino nella marca tipografica adottata: una procace figura femminile tedofora ai cui piedi campeggia il motto "Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum".

La lettura dell'intero progetto editoriale può dunque risultare illuminante anche delle scelte di opere che non approdarono alla stampa e, soprattutto, della loro non casuale 'giacitura' nella ipotetica silloge. Privilegiando la pubblicazione di opere come il *De situ Iapygiae* e l'*Eremita* (un *opus intemperans* considerato nientemeno che prodromo ideale del luteranesimo, collocato al centro del progetto), ma escludendo l'*Esposizione del 'Pater noster'*, anch'essa intrisa di forti umori antiecclesiastici, ma linguisticamente inadeguata al *milieu* culturale riformistico per essere l'unica opera scritta in volgare dal Galateo, il marchese di Oria intendeva riutilizzare in chiave filoluterana la polemica contro la

Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, marchese d'Oria 1517-1597. *Der Grundstock der Bibliothek Danzig der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Bern-Frankfurt am Main - New York: Lang, 1985). Allo stesso Welti si deve un efficace profilo del Bonifacio: *Dall'Umanesimo alla Riforma. Giovan Bernardino Bonifacio marchese d'Oria 1517-1597* (Brindisi: Amici della 'De Leo', 1986).

⁹ Il Bonifacio pubblicò nel primo tomo della Basileense, oltre al *De situ Iapygiae*, le epistole *Loisio Palatino Salicis et Uganiani domino* (nel cod. berlinese fols. 44v-45v), *Callipolis descriptio ad Summontium* (nel cod. berlinese fols. 46r-57r), *In Alphonsum regem epitaphium* (nel cod. berlinese fols. 58r-63r).

chiesa cattolica mossa dal Galateo, che vantava le ascendenze greche della sua stirpe e che si era formato in ambiente basiliano, in nome della purezza della chiesa di rito greco. Di quel progetto, fortemente segnato nella sua fortuna dal suo stesso movente ideologico, restano soltanto due tomi a stampa, e un codice, l'unico sopravvissuto dei molti che, secondo non poche testimonianze, il Bonifacio lasciò in dono alla Biblioteca dell'Accademia Polacca delle Scienze di Danzica.¹⁰

Quel codice non è altro che l'apografo cronologicamente più vicino all'autografo vaticano delle *Epistolae* galateane, del quale ripete la non ancora spiegata, e ricca di suggestive possibilità interpretative, incompiutezza dell'epistola *Ad Iohannem et Alphonsum Castriotas*.¹¹ Il fatto che Giovan Bernardino Bonifacio conoscesse quel prezioso codice autografo, cui era consegnata la volontà ordinatrice (sia pure forse ancora provvisoria) dell'autore, e ne facesse estrarre una copia da lui stesso in tempi successivi rapsodicamente postillata¹², costituisce l'unico episodio ricostruibile della vicenda dell'autografo galateano, oscura fino alla riscoperta e alla relativa rivalutazione fattane a fine Settecento da Angelo Mai, dalla quale si dipana, attraverso la mediazione di Gaetano Marini, la tradizione degli apografi ottocenteschi. Anche in quelle lettere il Bonifacio aveva individuato tematiche religiose di estremo interesse: il loro stesso impianto e il vasto repertorio citazionale che ne denuncia inequivocabilmente le fonti, rinviano ad un'area della tradizione culturale cristiana, quella patristica e in particolare geronimiana, quanto mai appetibile nell'ambito della disputa sulla purezza della chiesa primitiva.

All'immagine di un Bonifacio che fugge dal Salento portando con sé importanti apografi di opere galateane verosimilmente esemplati dagli stessi autografi e quindi stemmaticamente rilevanti, sembra offrire

¹⁰ Gdansk, Biblioteka Gdanska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, ms. 2445 (già III B.f.18): *Antonii Galatei medici lupiensis Epistolae varii argumenti*, misc., cart., sec.XVI in., mm. 310x200, fols. 255; mancano i fols.17-23, 66-68, 114-117, 190-202, 204-208, 215, 222-223, 229-231, corrispondenti a ragguardevoli segmenti di *epistole* asportati dal cod.: cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo nella tradizione manoscritta*, §23.

¹¹ Cf. Francesco Tateo 'Un epistolario "umanistico" nella Puglia del Cinquecento (il testamento intellettuale di Antonio Galateo)', in *Atti e relazioni (1986-87) dell'Accademia Pugliese delle Scienze, classe di Scienze Morali*, vol. 44, 1 (Bari, s.d. [ma 1990]), 85-109 (pp. 96-97). Il cod. è il Vat. Lat. 7584 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, da me descritto in Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §17.

¹² L'esame del cod. non mi ha consentito di confermare né di smentire quanto sostiene il Welti ('Il progetto', p. 187), che cioè quel cod. "era, sotto ogni aspetto, preparato per la fallita pubblicazione del 1558". Sta di fatto che le epistole in esso contenute non corrispondono né per numero né per argomento a quelle che il Bonifacio intendeva pubblicare nei due tomi progettati.

sostegno anche la vicenda del *De optimo et corrupto genere philosophandi*: un'opera del Galateo oggi perduta, ma che l'eterodosso marchese di Oria certamente possedeva e che aveva donato alla Biblioteca di Danzica.¹³ Da quel codice, inspiegabilmente assente dall'inventario dei manoscritti bonifaciani donati alla Biblioteca, due famosi bibliofili ed eruditi tedeschi, Ottone e Giovanni Burckhard Mencke, avevano tratto ai primi del XVIII secolo, una copia che arricchiva la loro preziosa biblioteca a Lipsia: una biblioteca tanto preziosa quanto effimera, essendosi, dopo pochi anni di pubblica fruizione, dispersa in numerose alienazioni.¹⁴ Nessuna delle biblioteche censite dal Kristeller ha restituito l'opera.

Storia diversa è, invece, quella dell'esemplare dell'*Eremita* (un piccolo gioiello della dialogistica satirica rinascimentale), che il Bonifacio avrebbe dovuto impiegare per l'edizione del dialoghetto: è un capitolo della storia della trasmissione del *corpus* galateano che rimane per ora oscuro, ma leggibile almeno in negativo attraverso la centralità che a quel corrosivo dialoghetto luciano, fortemente antimonastico, era stata riconosciuta nell'ambito dell'operazione editoriale progettata dall'esule. L'unica tradizione manoscritta oggi ricostruibile dell'opera delinea una sua segregazione salentina e napoletana, eccetto l'apografo più antico, esemplato a Napoli dall'originale quando ancora il Galateo soggiornava nella capitale, che prese la via della Spagna nel corso della deportazione culturale attuata dagli spagnoli dopo la caduta degli Aragonesi.¹⁵

Quell'apografo, tanto vetusto quanto scorretto, potrebbe aver avuto un importante committente napoletano nella persona di Ferrante, discendente

¹³ La notizia dell'opera ricorre nell'epistola *nuncupatoria* a Luigi Zorzi, che il Bonifacio premette all'edizione basileense del *De situ Iapygiae*.

¹⁴ Di essa fu pubblicato il catalogo in occasione dell'apertura al pubblico avvenuta nel 1723: *Bibliotheca Menckiana* [sic] *ab Ottone et Jo. Burchardo Menckenii patre et filio collecta, nunc in publicos usus aperta a Jo. Burchardo Menckenio* (Lipsiae 1723); a p. 600, sotto il titolo *De optimo et corrupto genere philosophandi* si legge: "E codice Bibliothecae Gedanensi [sic], cui plura huius authoris a Bonifacio Oriae Marchione illata sunt descriptus".

¹⁵ Il cod. presenta la seguente sottoscrizione: "Antonii Galatheii medici salentini Neapolim incolentis dialogi finis a proprio ipsius authoris exemplari excerpti". Esso è descritto in Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §24. Rispondendo ad Agostino Gervasio che gli chiedeva una copia dell'*Eremita*, Baldassar Papadia scriveva nell'agosto 1811: "Mi conviene vedere in altre carte del sig. Tanza se rinveno una copia dell'*Eremita* scritta dal P. Arcudi [Alessandro Tommaso]; altrimenti sarà impossibile copiarla questa che ho ritrovato e che si vuole originale e sarà forse tale; è carattere più che barbaro e di quel secolo" (Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini, Napoli, cod. XXVIII 5 27, fol. 122). Quella ritrovata dal Papadia non poteva essere certo la copia napoletana, ormai da secoli all'Escorial.

dello sfortunato Federico, ultimo re d'Aragona, il quale fu trasferito da Napoli in Spagna da Ferdinando il Cattolico col titolo di viceré di Barcellona e successivamente di Valencia. Appassionato bibliofilo, Ferrante fece depositare, appena giunto a destinazione la sua biblioteca nel monastero di S. Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia; ma essa subì, complice la sua stessa prodigalità, una rapida dispersione, che dovette portare il codice dell'*Eremita* nella biblioteca della Certosa di Aula Dei, successivamente acquisita al patrimonio librario del Conte Duca d'Olivares.¹⁶ E proprio dai libri del ministro di Filippo IV l'attuale catalogo dei mss. latini della Biblioteca dell'Escorial annota la provenienza del codice: un trasferimento avvenuto tuttavia non prima del 1671, visto che un regesto manoscritto dei codd. escorialensi compilato in quell'anno non lo censisce.¹⁷

Altri esemplari dell'*Eremita* circolarono invece in ambito monastico salentino, sottratti ad una incontrollata diffusione, ma fruiti con spiccato gusto del proibito dagli stessi destinatari della polemica antiecclesiastica dell'autore.¹⁸ Questi atteggiamenti si scorgono nel filogalateismo di Alessandro Tommaso Arcudi (1655-1720), predicatore domenicano di Galatina. L'esemplare dell'*Eremita*, trascritto di suo pugno agli inizi del XVIII secolo, interrompe un oblio del dialoghetto luciano durato circa due secoli e inaugura una lunga serie di apografi sette e ottocenteschi, riconoscibili per la puntuale reiterazione di un frontespizio col quale l'Arcudi intese, insieme, rivendicare l'orgoglio dei suoi meriti intellettuali e sottrarsi alla responsabilità morale della scoperta, nascondendosi sotto un ingegnoso quanto impervio acronimo:

*Eremita dialogus e latebris ereptus, tineis vindicatus, e barbaro caractere transcriptus, multisque mendis purgatus per F.A.T.A.O.P. mense Junii 1714. Attamen caute legendus.*¹⁹

¹⁶ Sulla vicenda del trasferimento della biblioteca di Ferrante in Spagna cf. Tammaro De Marinis, *La Biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, 7 vols (Milano: Hoepli, 1952), I, 197-198. Il De Marinis, tuttavia, non cita il cod. escorialense dell'*Eremita*.

¹⁷ Cf. G. Antolín *Catálogo de los códices Latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, 5 vols (Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1910-23), III, 48-49. Il regesto in questione è il ms. segnato A E XIII 38 della Biblioteca Braidense di Milano.

¹⁸ È Luigi Giuseppe De Simone a fornire ampie notizie sulla remota distribuzione topografica nel Salento e a Napoli di esemplari di opere galateane nel cit. vol. ms. 300 della Biblioteca Provinciale di Lecce, carte sparse raccolte in fascicoli non cartulati: cf. Antonio Iurilli, 'Il corpus galateano fra scriptoria salentini e biblioteche di eruditi-bibliofili napoletani', in *Letteratura e Storia meridionale. Studi offerti ad Aldo Vallone*, 3 vols (Firenze: Olschki, 1989), II, 323-350 (pp. 325-327).

¹⁹ Brindisi, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, cod. D 2 10 (la trascrizione dell'*Eremita* è contenuta nei fols. 375r-400v): cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §16.

dove F.A.T.A.O.P. corrisponde a “Fratrem Alexandrum Thomam Arcudium Ordinis Praedicatorum”.

E la sua mano, come promesso nel frontespizio, corre davvero invadente, e fortunatamente ben visibile, non solo fra le carte dell'*Eremita*, ma anche fra quelle di molti codici galateani passati da lui a Giovan Bernardino Tafuri (altro celebre falsario) e ad Antonio Tanza, e di qui all'attuale fondo 'Tafuri-Tozzoli' della Biblioteca Provinciale di Avellino. Una sua ipercorrettiva *castigatio* priva, per esempio, il testo dell'*Esposizione del 'Pater noster'* di una fragrante primizia: il *primum* italiano del geonimo 'America', merito non ultimo della ragguardevole cultura geografica del Galateo.²⁰

Tuttavia, bisogna riconoscere che proprio attraverso l'esercizio arbitrariamente 'filologico' dell'Arcudi, il *corpus* del Galateo passa dalla 'curiosità' filopatristico-religiosa della cultura salentina del Sei-Settecento, non priva di provinciali venature libertine, alla matura indagine antiquaria del Settecento erudito e all'interesse romantico-positivistico dell'Ottocento.

In quegli stessi anni a Nardò un altro chierico, Tommaso De Rossi, custodiva non pochi manoscritti, ritenuti autografi, del Galateo: un fondo del quale sembra oggi non essere rimasta traccia alcuna.²¹ Si tratta, comunque, di un altro segnale inequivocabile del ruolo protagonista svolto dagli ambienti culturali di ascendenza ecclesiastica nel rinnovarsi settecentesco degli interessi galateani in area salentina. Proprio attraverso l'esercizio 'filologico' dell'Arcudi, la ricerca di opere galateane che lega Annibale De Leo, arcivescovo di Brindisi, e suo fratello Ortensio a Michele Arditi, e l'iniziativa assunta da Alessandro Maria Kalefati, vescovo di Oria, e da Giovan Battista Lezzi, docente di Antichità Cristiane

²⁰ Ho restituito autenticità alla lezione, cassata dall'Arcudi con un frego nel cod. 72 della Biblioteca Provinciale di Avellino, prima in Antonio Iurilli, 'Di un fortunato toponimo nell'opera volgare di Antonio Galateo', *Studi e Problemi di Critica Testuale*, 28 (1984), 29-37; poi, con nuove argomentazioni, in Antonio Iurilli, 'La prima attestazione italiana del geonimo "America"', in *Genova, Colombo, il mare e l'emigrazione italiana nelle Americhe. Atti del XXVI congresso geografico italiano (Genova, 4-9 maggio 1992)*, ed. Claudio Cerreti, 2 vols (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), II, 727-733.

²¹ La notizia, raccolta dal De Simone da una delle schede che componevano le *Memoire da servire alla vita di A. Galateo* di Michele Arditi (cf. la nota 3), viene da lui confermata nel fasc.6 del vol. ms. 300 della Biblioteca Provinciale di Lecce. Essa comunque figurava già nelle *Vite de' letterati salentini* di Domenico De Angelis, Firenze, 1710, p. 46. Sul De Rossi cf. S. Palese, 'Per la storia religiosa della Diocesi di Ugento agli inizi del Settecento', in *Studi di storia pugliese in onore di G. Chiarelli*, 7 vols (Galatina: Congedo, 1976), IV, 275-334 (pp. 279 e 286).

nel seminario di quella città, di produrre una delle più complete trascrizioni del *corpus* galateano (l'attuale cod. D 2 10 della Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Brindisi) in vista di un ennesimo proposito editoriale; ma anche attraverso l'attenta custodia e l'oculato prestito dei molti manoscritti galateani posseduti dall'abate Antonio Tanza, vicario a Taranto dell'arcivescovo-letterato Giuseppe Capecelatro, il *corpus* del Galateo passa dalla 'curiosità' filopatristico-religiosa della cultura salentina del Sei-Settecento, non priva di provinciali venature libertine, alla matura indagine antiquaria del Settecento erudito e all'interesse romantico-positivistico dell'Ottocento.²²

Ma si tratta di un passaggio accidentato, tutt'altro che spregiudicato, anzi prevedibilmente condizionato dallo statuto socio-culturale dei protagonisti, il quale resta ancorato ad una prospettiva filopatristico-antiquaria fortemente connotata di provincialismo. Se essa favorisce, indubbiamente, una circolazione manoscritta, per così dire 'criptica', del *corpus* galateano, ne impedisce di fatto una circolazione a stampa, segnando un oggettivo regresso nei confronti dell'operazione 'europea' concepita due secoli prima dal Bonifacio.

Se ne ha una prova in una lettera che Annibale De Leo, arcivescovo di Brindisi, colto protagonista del recupero settecentesco del Galateo, spedisce a Michele Arditi al declinare del secolo dei lumi:

Iddio sa se le sue fatiche saran ridotte a perfezione specialmente per l'età sua avanzata e per gl'incomodi che soffre di salute. Ma V.S. ill.ma può mettere in luce tutte le opere del nostro valentuomo, le quali per testimonianza di D. Salvatore de' Ferrari, ultimo di questa famiglia in Galatone, furon con gran premura ricercate dal ch. Gio. Clerico per publicarle in Olanda e, per troppo scrupoloso consiglio di Gaetano Argento, gli furono negate per il motivo di non darsi occasione di derisione ai Protestanti, e perché il Galateo ha scritto talora con libertà, anche contro gli ecclesiastici.²³

Jean Leclerc, il Giovanni Chierico della lettera del De Leo, aveva verosimilmente individuato e certamente forzato nell'opera galateana una testimonianza precorritrice della libertà di pensiero e di religione preluterana. Egli aveva tentato di acquistare i testi galateani posseduti un tempo da Giuseppe Valletta, intellettuale di spicco nella Napoli di metà Seicento e punto di riferimento con la sua ricchissima biblioteca delle

²² Cf. Iurilli, 'Il corpus galateano fra scriptoria salentini', pp. 329-331.

²³ Casarano (Lecce), Archivio Arditi, lettera del 13 marzo 1789, riportata in Aldo Vallone 'Michele Arditi di Presicce e le sue opere, in Id., *Giuseppe Palmieri, Astore, Milizia e altri minori*, (Lecce: Milella, 1984), 305-323 (p. 315).

correnti rinnovatrici della cultura della Capitale: una biblioteca, come è noto, largamente dispersa, ma parzialmente confluita nella Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini per merito di G.B.Vico, dove però non è finito nessuno dei manoscritti galateani da lui posseduti e censiti, alle soglie del XVIII secolo dal De Angelis.²⁴ Sicuramente l'iniziativa del Leclerc non ebbe seguito, non sappiamo se proprio per i pregiudizi dell'Argento.

Un diverso recupero del Galateo si consuma nel Salento accademico e feudale. Il rapporto privilegiato, per quanto diversamente motivato, che eretici e chierici stabiliscono con l'opera del conterraneo, si modifica a favore di quelle scritture che, aderendo più delle altre a tematiche tipicamente umanistiche, promettevano di travasare la riflessione galateana nella contemporanea riflessione etico-civile e culturale maturata nell'ambito delle dispute accademiche e della tradizione feudale. Non è un caso che l'ignoto copista primocinquecentesco dei primi quattro fascicoli del cod. 63 della Biblioteca Provinciale di Avellino, a lungo identificato impropriamente con il medico-letterato di Galatina Silvio Arcudi (1576-1646), esempli con evidenti propositi di fruizione ristretta, data la non agevole grafia, la prima silloge parziale tramandata delle *epistole* galateane scegliendo fra esse quelle più consone alla ripresa accademica e cortigiana delle tematiche umanistiche, quali l'epistola al Summonte (con non immotivato arbitrio intitolata *De vera amicitia*), quella a Marino Brancaccio *De dignitate disciplinarum* (il cui titolo viene, anche qui non casualmente, parafrasato in *De praestantia literarum et belli seu armorum* con un chiaro richiamo al genere della disputa delle arti), o la *Vituperatio litterarum*, documento cruciale, come è noto, di un'età e di una fase della cultura umanistica del Mezzogiorno, che ben si prestava come supporto alle coeve riflessioni sulla condizione del letterato.²⁵

²⁴ La notizia di un vivo interessamento del Leclerc all'opera del Galateo viene riportata da varie fonti: cf. almeno Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Memorie istoriche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli* (Napoli: Stamperia Simoniana, 1788), p. 227. La questione, illuminante della fortuna europea del Galateo, meriterebbe un'indagine specifica attraverso lo sterminato carteggio del filologo svizzero, che mi riprometto di compiere. Sul Valletta cf. essenzialmente Vittorio I. Comparato *Giuseppe Valletta, un intellettuale napoletano della fine del Seicento* (Napoli: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1970); Biagio De Giovanni, 'La vita intellettuale a Napoli fra la metà del '600 e la restaurazione del Regno', in *Storia di Napoli*, 11 vols, (Napoli, 1970), VI, 35-80. Sul fondo Vallettiano della Biblioteca Oratoriana cf. Antonio Bellucci, 'Il fondo Vallettiano dell'Oratorio di Napoli', *Il Fuidoro*, 1 (1954), 5-6; Marco Santoro, *La Biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli detta dei Girolamini* (Napoli: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1979), pp. 25-32. Un solo cod. vallettiano sembra presumibilmente essere sopravvissuto in un apògrafo appartenuto a Michele Arditi: cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §55.

²⁵ Cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §8.

E in ambienti accademico-eruditi, sensibili alla cultura naturalistico-scientifica di antica tradizione tornata in voga nella società colta del Vicereame, e al fascino esoterico di alcune *fabulae* eziologiche connesse con la 'spiegazione' di alcuni fenomeni naturali descritti dal Galateo nel *De situ Iapygiae*, nasce l'interesse selettivo per alcuni testi galateani del napoletano Gian Vincenzo Pinelli. Allievo di Bartolomeo Maranta, medico e botanico di Venosa, e poi studente a Padova dove strinse amicizia con eruditi e storici destinati ad un ruolo protagonista nella cultura della Riforma cattolica come Baronio, Bellarmino, Possevino e lo stesso Borromeo, il Pinelli aveva nella sua ricchissima biblioteca patavina una copia del *De situ Iapygiae* e una del *De nobilitate*, da lui stesso chiosata.²⁶ Proprio da quella biblioteca, da lui inseguita con particolare accanimento bibliofilo, il Borromeo dovette prelevare l'esemplare del trattatello corografico galateano, successivamente immesso nell'originario fondo della costituenda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, che inaugura, alla fine del secolo XVI, l'ininterrotto interesse degli eruditi ecclesiastici per l'opera galateana.²⁷

In significativa coincidenza, nasce in quegli stessi anni la prima trascrizione conservata del *De educatione*, intenso *pamphlet* condotto secondo il duplice registro del trattatello pedagogico e del libello politico. A eseguirla è Silvio Arcudi: una trascrizione esemplare, che riflette il dialettico rapporto fra gli intellettuali della provincia e la cultura spagnola dominante, e inaugura l'atteggiamento di attenzione 'patriottica' (ideologicamente sostenuta dalla tendenza centrifuga della provincia feudale) all'opera galateana, che avrà una lunga tradizione fino ad approdare alle iniziative editoriali del secondo Ottocento.²⁸ Negli stessi anni un altro intellettuale napoletano di spicco, Camillo Tutini, legato al circolo

²⁶ Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, rispettivamente codd. N 132 sup. e Q 123 sup., per la descrizione dei quali cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §§39 e 41.

²⁷ La singolare vicenda della biblioteca del Pinelli (Napoli 1535 - Padova 1601), fondata a Padova nel 1558, andata in parte dispersa in mare durante il trasferimento, per ragioni di eredità, a Napoli, e recuperata all'Ambrosiana per la parte sopravvissuta dagli agenti del Borromeo, è ricostruibile attraverso una coeva biografia del Pinelli, opera di Paolo Gualdo (Vicenza 1548 - Padova 1621), e attraverso il saggio di Adolfo Rivolta, *Un grande bibliofilo del secolo XVI. Contributo a uno studio della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli* (Monza: Artigianelli, 1914). Si vede anche il *Catalogo dei codici pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana* (Milano, 1933). Un altro contributo fa infine luce sulle procedure d'acquisto del patrimonio librario pinelliano da parte degli emissari del Borromeo: Anthony Hobson, 'A sale by candle in 1608', *The Library*, 1971, 215-233.

²⁸ Dell'Arcudi (sul quale cf. Villani, *Scrittori e artisti...*) è anche la trascrizione di un'altra breve silloge di *epistole* galateane che, insieme alla trascrizione del *De educatione*, costituisce larga parte del cod. 49 della Biblioteca Provinciale di Lecce.

vallettiano e mosso da forti sentimenti antiispanici, aveva dimostrato una particolare attenzione all'opera del Galateo acquisendo copie o facendosi trascrivere quel trattatello pedagogico che, in coincidenza con l'avvento degli spagnoli nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, mirava con un vigore polemico spinto talvolta fino al turpiloquio a mettere la civiltà iberica al di fuori dell'asse culturale greco-latino, identificandola con la barbarie.²⁹

È questo stesso clima a propiziare l'iniziale fortuna dell'*Esposizione del Pater noster*, il cui esemplare più antico, l'attuale cod. 72 della Provinciale di Avellino, viene dedicato in pieno secolo XVII a un feudatario del Salento, Girolamo de' Monti, marchese di Corigliano d'Otranto, da un letterato della provincia salentina, Pietro Antonio De Magistris (autore, fra l'altro, della prima biografia del Galateo *ex eius scriptis*, e di un primo commento erudito al *De situ Iapygiae*)³⁰, il quale piega la sua conterraneità con l'autore all'istanza 'patriottica' fatta propria da un codice feudale storicamente centrifugo. Scrive il De Magistris nella dedica:

ho pensato avvalermi della presente *Esposizione* fatta da Antonio Galateo mio compatriota, la quale sì per essere stata ordinata da Nostro Signore come anco dichiarata dal predetto Autore, mi sono imaginato che non gli sarà discara, tanto più che V.S.Ill.ma si delecta non solo di belle lettere e di ogni scientifica speculatione, ma particolarmente di cose sacre, tra le quali non sarà questa nell'ultimo loco degna d'essere collocata.[...] Potrà correggerla sì rispetto della favella per haver dell'antico, ma anco di ogni altra cosa che vi conosca degna d'emendatione.³¹

²⁹ Camillo Tutini (Napoli 1592?-1670?), studioso di storia soprattutto ecclesiastica per la quale raccolse una assai cospicua mole di materiali eruditi confluiti nel *Catalogus episcoporum* e nella storia delle badie campane, fu anche attento epigrafista e studioso di storia e cultura napoletane. Sue sono l'*Origine e fondazione de' Seggi*, il *Supplemento all'Apologia del Terminio* e l'*Historia dei vescovi di Napoli*. Nutrì forti sentimenti anti-spagnoli, nell'ambito dei quali è forse possibile collocare il suo interesse per il *De educatione galateano*. Cf. E.M. Martini 'La vita e le opere di Camillo Tutini', *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane*, 53 (1928), 190-219. Il Tutini fece trascrivere il cod. A 2 28 della Biblioteca della Fac. Teologica di Napoli (cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §42) e possedette i codd. brancacciani VI A 11 e VI B 19 della Nazionale di Napoli (cf. rispettivamente ibid. §§50 e 52).

³⁰ La *Authoris vita* è premessa all'edizione napoletana del *De situ Iapygiae*, Maccarano 1624. Del De Magistris è il primo tentativo di integrazione e commento non sistematici al *De situ Iapygiae*, consegnato ad un inserto legato attualmente al cod. 68 della Biblioteca Provinciale di Avellino, per il quale cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §12. Sul De Magistris cf. Vittorio Zacchino *I De Magistris nel contesto socio-culturale dell'antica Terra d'Otranto* (Maglie: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 1978).

³¹ Avellino, Biblioteca provinciale, cod. 72, fol. 1v.

La fortuna del commento galateano all'*Oratio Dominica* trova in queste affermazioni, relative al contenuto e allo strumento espressivo, tutte le premesse dei suoi futuri sviluppi. Il fatto stesso che essa contende al *De situ Iapygiae* il primato delle trascrizioni attualmente documentabili, piuttosto che indicare una sua larga diffusione, testimonia invece una sorta di circolazione 'criptica' entro canali disponibili alla ricezione 'curiosa' ed esclusiva dei suoi contenuti antiecclesiastici in quanto congiunti con dense e, per molti versi, sconosciute digressioni storico-aneddotiche, e sollecitati dalla nascente curiosità per un codice trasgressivo come il dialetto, nonché da una ripresa di interessi, di ascendenza controriformistica, per la colorita omiletica medievale, vistosamente attiva nel repertorio retorico e citazionale del Galateo e non dimenticata in una terra che aveva dato i natali a Roberto Caracciolo. C'è in questo tutto l'atteggiamento intellettuale di un Seicento periferico, *habitat* privilegiato, appunto, se non esclusivo, della circolazione provinciale dell'*Esposizione*: curiosità e moralismo, gusto per l'eslege e affettata *pruderie*. Dopo la parentesi eterodossa del Bonifacio e il rilancio primo-settecentesco della fortuna dell'*Eremita*, propiziato dalla trascrizione di Alessandro Tommaso Arcudi, è l'*Esposizione del 'Pater noster'* l'*opus intemperans* per eccellenza del Galateo: un testo da dedicare come inquieto documento di cultura ecclesiastica meritevole di emendamenti dettati dalla prudenza, come invitava a fare il De Magistris, o da far circolare già purgato dei passi di più forte carica polemica, come documentano le copie settecentesche possedute da Michele Arditi³², o da godere per la sua sanguigna carica di moralismo, come invita a fare, ancora alle soglie dell'Ottocento, Baldassar Papadia scrivendo ad Agostino Gervasio, che gli aveva insistentemente chiesto per quattro anni esemplari di testi galateani:

Quando avrete la copia dell'*Esposizione* mentovata, oh quali risa farete per il caustico che sparge e per l'idioma che adopra!³³

³² Sono i codd. segnati 25- e 25= della Biblioteca 'Giacomo Arditi di Castelveter' di Presicce: cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §§55 e 56.

³³ Napoli, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini, lettera del 18 aprile 1809, cod. XXVIII 5 24, fol. 80. Baldassar Papadia (Galatina 1748-1832), letterato e storico della sua città, fu anche illustre giurista. Intrattenne rapporti epistolari su argomenti galateani e fu tramite di fitti scambi di testi dell'umanista salentino, oltre che col Gervasio (le 44 lettere sono alla Biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli, codd. XXVIII 5 24/25/27/28; sono antologicamente pubblicate in Iurilli, *Il corpus, passim*), anche con Michele Arditi, Eustachio D'Afflitto, Gaetano Marini. Cf. Giancarlo Vallone, 'Giovann Bernardino Tafuri e Baldassar Papadia storici e l'ideale della civica amministrazione', *Archivio Storico Pugliese*, 35 (1982), 237-279; Iurilli, *Il corpus*, pp. 331-334.

Il Papadia aveva da qualche anno pubblicato nelle *Vite d'alcuni uomini illustri salentini* (Napoli, 1806) una nuova biografia del Galateo conformandosi in parte al metodo secentesco della *vita ex scriptis collecta*, un metodo che lo aveva indotto ad allegare all'episodio della riconquista di Otranto la concitata rievocazione fattane dall'autore nell'*Esposizione del 'Pater noster'*, della quale aveva vistosamente falsificato la lingua in senso iperdialettale.³⁴

L'eccesso di fervore filopatristico che lo aveva indotto al falso linguistico, non compromette affatto la portata dell'impegno galateano dello storico salentino, vero e proprio crocevia degli scambi eruditi che fra Sette e Ottocento legarono nel nome del Galateo il Salento a Napoli e a Roma. Anzi, ne caratterizza meglio il significato rendendolo emblematico di una erudizione municipale sempre più affrancata da pregiudizi di indole morale e proiettata verso la ricerca, anche se spesso forzata, del documento che valorizzi la specificità di certe esperienze culturali.

In realtà, il Papadia rappresenta col suo fitto carteggio galateano una sola testimonianza, per quanto cospicua, di una vicenda culturale che connette la provincia salentina con la *respublica literaria* nazionale, alla quale veniva chiesto un sostegno all'ambizioso progetto di definire storicamente le evanescenti trame culturali delle province del Regno.

In questa più matura prospettiva due esponenti di spicco dell'antiquaria meridionale fra Sette e Ottocento, da tempo inseriti nel *milieu* culturale partenopeo, Michele Arditi e Agostino Gervasio, attivano un intenso scambio epistolare di interesse non solo galateano, ma esteso alla ricognizione del contesto culturale dell'Umanesimo meridionale, modificando così un'angusta prospettiva di ricerca e la direzione stessa di essa, che non privilegia il solo Salento, ma pone in essere quella pluralità di conoscenze e quel discernimento delle fonti che aveva insegnato loro la matura erudizione settecentesca.

Emerge in questa nuova fase delle ricerche sul Galateo la necessità di accedere a trascrizioni più convincenti e più complete delle *Epistole*, rimaste affidate in area salentina alla incerta e (come si è visto) infida attività amanuense (o ad ancor più precari apografi), dei due Arcudi, i

³⁴ Cf. Baldassar Papadia, *Vite d'alcuni uomini illustri salentini*, (Napoli: Stamperia Simoniana, 1806), pp. 35-37. Ho discusso le iperdialettizzazioni operate dal Papadia in Antonio Iurilli, 'Problemi lessicali nell'Esposizione del "Pater noster" di Antonio Galateo', *Lingua e Storia in Puglia*, 9 (1980), 45-58 (p. 56, nota 7), e in Antonio Iurilli, 'L'Esposizione del "Pater noster" di Antonio Galateo: note per un'edizione critica', in *Quaderni dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento meridionale*, 1 (1984), 51-73 (p. 64).

cui cospicui materiali galateani si erano peraltro divisi fra Giovan Bernardino Tafuri, gran raccoglitore e diffusore di cose galateane, (e da lui erano passati al discendente Michele Tafuri, il quale attraverso il suo lascito ad Enrico Tozzoli aveva posto le condizioni di un loro trasferimento a metà Ottocento a Napoli), e l'abate galatinese Antonio Tanza.³⁵

Punto di riferimento delle *Epistole* diviene allora il cod. Vaticano Latino 7584, non ancora riconosciuto come autografo, ma rivalutato da Gaetano Marini, custode della Biblioteca Vaticana dal 1782, che ne era di fatto il possessore.³⁶ Con lui stabiliscono intensi contatti epistolari sia il Papadia, che lucrò alcune trascrizioni e l'indice completo del Vat. Lat. 7584 da lui pubblicato in appendice alla biografia del Galateo inserita nelle *Vite*, sia l'Arditi, il quale ottenne altre copie di *epistole* che donò a Michele Tafuri, e che sono oggi individuabili nei codd. più recenti del fondo 'Tafuri-Tozzoli' della Provinciale di Avellino, costituitosi coi codici donati dal Tafuri ad Enrico Tozzoli, suo nipote *ex filia*.³⁷

Eppure, a giudicare dalle testimonianze prodotte dal De Simone, che le attingeva dalle inedite e in gran parte perdute *Memorie da servire alla vita di Antonio Galateo* di Michele Arditi, nelle biblioteche napoletane non mancavano certo manoscritti contenenti trascrizioni di opere galateane: egli ne segnala nell'Archivio dei SS. Apostoli, nella Biblioteca dei Gesuiti al Salvatore, in quella di S. Angelo a Nilo, nell'Archivio di Palazzo.³⁸ Non mancava a Napoli persino un mercato di antiquariato librario che alienava, fra gli altri, codici galateani: lo stesso De Simone se ne procacciò a pagamento non pochi attraverso il famoso libraio Giuseppe Dura.³⁹

³⁵ Le trascrizioni sono consegnate all'attuale cod. 49 della Provinciale di Lecce: cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §32. Sui limiti delle trascrizioni arcudiane cf. Dina Colucci, 'Asterischi galateani. Graecum est...', *Contributi*, 3 (1984), 41-49. Attivo fra Sei e Settecento, il Tafuri è il primo costituente del fondo 'Tafuri Tozzoli' della Provinciale di Avellino, descritto ai §§1-13 di Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*.

³⁶ L'autografia fu proposta da Angelo Mai, che pubblicò alcune *epistole* nello *Spicilegium romanum*, VIII, (Roma, 1842), pp. 523-608: cfr. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, §1. Sul Marini e sui suoi vasti interessi eruditi cf. M. Marini, *Degli aneddoti di G. Marini. Commentario di suo nipote*, (Roma, 1922); Massimo Miglio, 'Il carteggio tra G. M. e Annibale Mariotti e l'edizione del primo libro de 'De gestis Pauli Secundi' di Gaspare da Verona', in *Studi sul Medioevo cristiano offerti a R. Morghen* (Roma, 1974).

³⁷ Le lettere inviate dal Papadia sono contenute nel cod. Vat. Lat. 9057 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; quelle dell'Arditi nel Vat. Lat. 9043. È il De Simone a testimoniare il trasferimento dal Marini all'Arditi, e da questi al Tafuri, delle copie tratte dalle *Epistole* vaticane (cf. vol. ms. 300, fasc. II, Lecce, Biblioteca Provinciale).

³⁸ Cf. vol. ms. 300, fasc. VI, Lecce, Biblioteca Provinciale.

³⁹ Il fasc. IX del cit. vol. ms. 300 della Provinciale di Lecce conserva allegate quattro cartoline postali, recanti l'intestazione del libraio, che documentano gli acquisti (solo in un caso, però, viene precisato il titolo dell'opera acquistata: *Opuscula*) e i relativi importi corrisposti.

Ciò nonostante, e a riprova di un mutato atteggiamento verso l'opera galateana che sollecitava una più scaltra lettura confinante con l'indagine filologica, e comunque stimolata da interessi eruditi, il 'napoletano' Gervasio cerca nel Salento ciò che forse non era possibile trovare a Napoli: le sue missive al Papadia, a giudicare dalle responsive conservate, mettono a dura prova le risorse e le conoscenze dello storico galatinese.⁴⁰ Fra queste, l'amicizia del Papadia con il concittadino abate Antonio Tanza si rivela determinante per la diffusione di alcuni testi galateani.

Singolare figura di religioso, di modesta levatura culturale, ma alle prese con vicende spesso complesse nell'ambito del duraturo rapporto di collaborazione che lo legò all'arcivescovo Giuseppe Capecelatro, del quale fu vicario nella diocesi di Taranto dal 1797 al 1809, il Tanza aveva raccolto, con spirito non diverso da quello che aveva animato gli interessi galateani di altri religiosi suoi contemporanei e in ideale sintonia filopatristica con i conterranei Arcudi, un ragguardevole fondo galateano, oggi agevolmente riconoscibile nei testimoni superstiti per le puntuali note di possesso che li identificano. A lui sicuramente appartenevano sia un esemplare tratto dall'*Eremita* trascritto da Alessandro Tommaso Arcudi, sia la copia del *De educatione* esemplata da Silvio Arcudi, sia l'esemplare dell'*Esposizione del 'Pater noster'* dedicato dal De Magistris al marchese di Corigliano, che forse aveva rilevato dalla biblioteca galateana del De Angelis.⁴¹ Alcuni di questi codd. concorsero ad incrementare, su iniziativa di Michele Tafuri, il fondo 'Tafuri-Tozzoli' della Provinciale di Avellino.

Contando su questa importante amicizia, il Papadia aveva addirittura attivato a Galatina un vero e proprio *scriptorium* familiare, attraverso il quale sperava di assecondare le richieste del Gervasio e di altri potenziali committenti. Ma l'incostante apporto dei congiunti a quello *scriptorium* lo costrinsero a cimentarsi con le non esaltanti qualità culturali di amanuensi galatinesi prezzolati, le quali rappresentavano una seria remora nella trascrizione di testi linguisticamente ostici presso chi aveva perduto la familiarità con le lingue classiche. Scoraggiato, egli confessa al suo abituale interlocutore:

De' miei opuscoli ne farò estrarre copia, ma l'Amanuense buono dov'è? Siamo fra *scribae* nescienti [...]

⁴⁰ Cf. Iurilli, *Il corpus*, pp. 323-342.

⁴¹ Cf. Iurilli, *L'opera di Antonio Galateo*, rispettivamente §§46, 32, 13. Sul Tanza cf. Nicola Vacca, *Terra d'Otranto fine Settecento inizi Ottocento*, (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 1966), pp. 5-18; Iurilli, *Il corpus*..., pp. 329-331.

Chi sarà l'Amanuense che dovrà copiare i ms. suddetti? *Hic opus, hic labor est*[...].⁴²

Questa comunità di filopatridi conquistati alla erudizione illuministica e attraversati dai prodromi del culto romantico per le piccole patrie, consegna il *corpus* galateano a quella generazione di filopatridi postunitari i quali, in nome della demologia positivistica e di discrete ma radicate tensioni anticlericali, rileggono e scambiano con morbosa parzialità il Galateo 'curioso', 'intemperante', 'eversivo'.

Questi filopatridi, appartenenti alla 'aristocratica' borghesia salentina delle professioni, avrebbero riletto negli anni successivi all'unità nazionale non solo il Galateo, ma le 'voci' letterariamente più alte di una storica 'salentinità' sempre più identificata con la volontà di un rinnovato isolazionismo opposto ad una nuova capitale assai più lontana di Napoli, nella speranza di conseguire un decentramento politico-amministrativo fondato, appunto, e motivato dalla rivendicazione di un'antica nobiltà culturale della loro terra, fatta coincidere proprio con la marginalità. Da questo atteggiamento politico-intellettuale sarebbe scaturito il notevole sforzo compiuto da Salvatore Grande di dare alle stampe l'intero *corpus* galateano nell'ambito della meritoria *Collana degli scrittori di Terra d'Otranto*: un'iniziativa editoriale che ancora oggi è l'unica ad offrirci a stampa non poche opere del Galateo.⁴³

Questa edizione appare lo sbocco naturale di quei percorsi di lettura e di conservazione che — come si è visto — scandiscono la tradizione del *corpus* galateano. Dall'eretico al chierico, dal cortigiano al laico, dall'abate al filopatrìde, ancora una volta è la 'marginalità' della scrittura galateana, congiunta con invitte (nonostante l'unità nazionale) pulsioni isolazionistiche ed etnocratiche, a dettare le strategie di consumo di un messaggio che, nato come 'rispecchiamento' di una crisi (quella del dominio aragonese sul Mezzogiorno e della conseguente egemonia spagnola), fu chiamato a incarnare il travaglio di una generazione tutt'altro che incline ad accogliere altri nuovi vincitori, per quanto, questa volta, italiani.

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⁴² Rispettivamente lettere del Papadia al Gervasio del 24 maggio 1811 e del 12 luglio 1811, Napoli, Biblioteca dei Girolamini, vol. XXVIII 5 27, cc. 118 e 120.

⁴³ *Collana di opere scelte edite e inedite di scrittori di Terra d'Otranto*, ed. Salvatore Grande (Lecce, 1867-1875). I volumi che contengono opere galateane sono: II, III, IV, XVIII, XXII.

Harry VREDEVELD

TOWARDS A SERVICEABLE EDITION OF SEBASTIAN BRANT'S
'KLEINE TEXTE'*

A prolific and versatile humanist, Sebastian Brant wrote far more than the one book for which he is justly remembered today. In addition to his celebrated *Narrenschiff* he produced a drama on the virtues and vices (*Tugent Spyl*), fables, numerous poems in Latin and German, a history of Jerusalem, a legal handbook, and translations of moral-religious works. Until recently few of his original pieces were available in critical editions. But as the realization has finally sunk in that one cannot appreciate Brant's art and thought from his *Narrenschiff* alone, we are at long last beginning to see scholarly editions also of his lesser writings.

Among the most ambitious of these projects surely is Thomas Wilhelmi's critical and annotated edition, *Sebastian Brant: Kleine Texte, Arbeiten und Editionen zur Mittleren Deutschen Literatur*, NF 3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.2 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1998), preceded by his *Sebastian Brant Bibliographie* (Bern, 1990). The entire project was accepted as a dissertation at the Freie Universität Berlin in 1995. Not content to rest on his laurels, the editor has now set his sights on translating these texts into German and, someday perhaps, on editing other works by Brant and his school.

Students of Brant will gratefully applaud Wilhelmi's labors in collating the many manuscripts and early editions, some of them hitherto unknown, and offering them to us in these handsomely produced volumes. They will be less pleased, I fear, when they discover that the editor, for all his ambition and obvious love of his subject, too often falls short of his goal of providing "eine möglichst genaue Wiedergabe der

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Vorlagen" (vol. I.1, 15). Errors in the copy texts are left unemended; corrections in the errata or in subsequent versions are overlooked; and new errors are introduced at every turn. Here and there words, phrases, even whole lines drop from the text. In no. 18, for example, eight words are left out. An entire distich is lacking in no. 163. A discussion of the Trinity (no. 215) turns into an encomium of a female saint because the editor, while copying out the poem, has skipped two pages in his base text. The preface to Brant's Vergil-edition of 1502 is split in half (nos. 397 and 398) because a running title is mistaken for the heading of a new poem. Every so often mnemonic verses and medieval epigrams are attributed to Brant. Two epigrams from the *Latin Anthology* and the proem to Vergil's *Aeneid* are lumped together as a "multipartite poem" by Brant (no. 396); but Brant's lengthy explanation why he excluded the *Priapea* from his edition of the *Appendix Vergiliana* is overlooked.

There are other problems with this edition too. Instead of staying with his copy texts, the editor sometimes creates hybrids by interpolating later additions (nos. 78, 85, 144, 189, 195) or commingling different versions (nos. 30, 125, 153, 154). The apparatus criticus aims to include even the most trivial variants, but is often incomplete and unreliable. Brant's texts, moreover, are arranged in what is meant to be chronological order. However, since many of them are inherently undatable except by the year of their first appearance, the resulting arrangement is unsatisfactory and, from time to time, grossly misleading. Pieces that belong together are widely separated, multipartite poems torn asunder, and epigram collections dislocated, for no discernible reason. Not a few texts, indeed, are seriously misdated — sometimes by as much as one or two decades.

A new edition of Brant's minor works is thus a desideratum. I recommend that text collections like the *Varia carmina* of 1498 be kept together, just as Brant intended them to be.¹ Uncollected prose texts and

¹ A new edition of the texts contained in the *Varia carmina* should be based on the last issue, published at Basel on 1 September 1498. In Wilhelmi's edition, however, no distinction is made among the various issues of the *Varia carmina*, all with the same title page and colophon, but with various additions. The first issue was published on 1 May 1498. A slightly later issue adds quire "m". Still another issue inserts Johann Reuchlin's *Scenica progymnasmata* between quires "K" and "a". The final issue, dated 1 September 1498, adds quire "n". Certain copies of the book also contain an errata leaf. A few of the corrections mentioned in the errata are already incorporated in the main text of some copies of the book. Textual variations occur from copy to copy. Cf. *GW*, no. 5068 (with notes 1-3); Wilhelmi, *Bibliographie*, no. 76, pp. 43-44. Similarly we have to distinguish

poems can be gathered in a separate section and arranged chronologically. Page references should cite the signature letters and numbers and (where available) the printed folio numbers — not some privately constructed and hence virtually useless folio numbers, as is so often the case in the current edition. If the original punctuation is to be retained, virgules in the copy texts should not be replaced with commas. Sub-headings in the poems should not be counted in the line numbering. The apparatus criticus ought to contain only substantive variants and exclude such trivial variants as upper/lower case, i/j and u/v, turned letters and obvious misprints. Emendations and conjectures should be printed in the critical apparatus, not the commentary. At the very least, the editor should identify all the exact quotations in the edited texts and correctly label the poetic meters. The *Index nominum*, finally, should incorporate all proper names and derivatives, not just the ones that happen to attract the editor's eye.

Until a more serviceable edition arrives, readers of Brant's *Kleine Texte* may wish to keep the following textual and commentary notes at their elbow. I cannot claim to have seen all the source materials to which Wilhelmi had access. Within the limits of practicality, however, I have consulted a wide range of manuscripts and early prints, as noted below.²

among various issues of the *Varia carmina* published by Johann Grüninger in Strasbourg, the first issue being published on 1 August 1498, a second issue sometime after 1 September 1498. Cf. GW, no. 5069; Wilhelmi, *Bibliographie*, no. 77, p. 44.

² My notes focus on Brant's Latin texts. The German pieces require their own set of textual and commentary notes. Unless otherwise indicated, the sigla used in this article are those adopted in Wilhelmi's edition. "Ms. 469" refers to Ms. 469, St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek (Vadiana), Vadianische Sammlung. Other abbreviations:

AH	<i>Analecta hymnica medii aevi</i> , ed. by Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister, 55 vols (Leipzig, 1886-1922 = repr. New York, 1961)
app. crit.	apparatus criticus
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1953-)
Decret.	<i>Decretum magistri Gratiani</i> , in <i>Corpus iuris canonici</i> , ed. by Aemilius Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879 = repr. Graz, 1955), I
err.	Errata, contained in some copies of Brant's <i>Varia carmina</i> (Basel, 1 May 1498)
GW	<i>Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke</i> (Leipzig, 1925-)
'Materials'	Harry Vredevelde, 'Materials for a New Commentary to Sebastian Brant's <i>Narrenschiff</i> ', <i>Daphnis</i> , 26 (1997), 553-651
Nachträge	Nachträge zu A. Otto: <i>Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer</i> , ed. by Reinhard Häussler (Hildesheim, 1968)
Otto	A. Otto, <i>Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer</i> (Leipzig, 1890 = repr. Hildesheim, 1971)

1, 1. Tria cuncta Read “Crimina cuncta”, as in the manuscript. The editor’s title “Gedicht über drei Untaten” will need to be revised.

1, 2. Ultores saperes Read “Ultores superos”, as in the manuscript. Cf., for example, Ov., *Met.*, 14, 693.

2, 1. ultro This is also the reading in *B*. (The app. crit. is in error.)

4. In this epigram Brant rejects Venus and her blind son Cupid and resolves to devote himself to the chaste Muses. The copy text is not the autograph manuscript *A*, as we are led to believe, but the inferior version *B*.

4, 1. Esto procul Cf. Ov., *Ars*, 1, 31; 2, 151. **aitherea** Read “cytherea” (*A B*). **quitquam** Read “quicquam” (*A B*).

4, 4. adamoris Read “ad amoris” (*A B*).

4, 5. caedo Read “credo” (*A B*).

4, 6. reffert Correct this reading (*B*) to “refert” (*A*). **sequens** Correct this reading (*B*) to “sedens” (*A*).

4, 7. sibi - charior anum The original reading in both *A* and *B* is “sibi me fore charior omni”. In *A* this reading was later corrected to “sibi me fore chariorem omni”. Brant then underlined the whole phrase and wrote the following alternative above it: “charum sibi me fore solum”.

4, 8. Attamen exigua est This is the text of *B*, also of *A*, as later corrected. The original reading in *A* is “Est tamen exigua”. **exigua - fides** Otto 1154; *Nachträge*, pp. 111 and 189. **mulière** For this medieval scansion see, for example, Baptista Mantuanus, *Ecl.*, 4, 70; 4, 206; 4, 245; and 6, 57.

4, 10. facinus For the long final syllable see note at 97, 33 below. **procam** Correct this reading (*B*) to “procum” (*A*).

4, 12. en Correct this reading (*B*) to “en victus” (*A*).

4, 13. anum Read “animus” (*A B*).

4, 14. Inaonia This is the reading of *B*. Read “in aonia” (*A*).

<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca</i> , ed. by J.-P. Migne, 166 vols (Paris, 1857-1866)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-1865)
Schmidt	Charles Schmidt, <i>Histoire littéraire de l'Alsace à la fin du XV^e et au commencement du XVI^e siècle</i> , 2 vols (Paris, 1879 = repr. Nieuwkoop, 1966)
Walther	<i>Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi</i> , ed. by Hans Walther, 6 vols (Göttingen, 1963-1969)
Zarncke	Friedrich Zarncke (ed.), <i>Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff</i> (Leipzig, 1854 = repr. Hildesheim, 1961).

4, 17. distit Read "discit" (A B).

4, 18. Acaeto nato Read "A caeco nato" (A B). Before this phrase in A, but crossed out, is the word "Tutus".

4, 19. Quem Correct this reading (B) to "Que" (A). **Veneris... sagittas** Lucr., 4, 1278.

5-10. Just because Brant happened to copy these verses down does not mean that he composed them. None of them bears Brant's monogram.

5, 1-2. Si quid - eandum As transcribed here, these lines make little sense and are, besides, metrically impossible. The same goes for much of nos. 6, 7, and 10. The form "eandum" in 5, 2 is an obvious misreading.

6, 2. apossess. Read "a possess."

6, 8. Afure Read "A fure".

7, 2. In Vigilet Read "Invigilet".

7, 3. Continuat Read "Continuet". **torturam** Read "tortura".

7, 5. Angelus hic These words have no connection with the preceding epigram.

11. How can the editor be sure that this epigram was indeed written in 1479? The book in which it is copied was, to be sure, published in 1478; but the third epigram on the same page (no. 58), evidently copied at the same sitting, can be confidently placed in the summer of 1487. Note that the phrase "Presulis officians" in line 2 occurs also at 61, 7 below, in a poem written in the spring of 1489.

12. This composition, which paraphrases portions of Plin., *Nat.*, 14, 139-142, appears to be a school exercise, not a true letter. There is no compelling reason to attribute it to Brant. In his bibliography (p. 7, no. 57) the editor evidently agrees, for he does not list it there among Brant's works.

12, 1. finis Correct this reading (A) either to "Imprimis" or to "Primis" (a medievalism for "imprimis").

13, 4. maiori... cachinno Cf. Iuv., 3, 100; 11, 2.

13, 5-6. Laudamus - annis Ov., *Fast.*, 1, 225, also quoted at 133, 10-11 below.

13, 6. frontis nulla fides Iuv., 2, 8. **Quod nam negat** Read "Quod natura negat" — a quotation from Iuv., 1, 79-80: "si natura negat, facit indignatio verum / qualemcumque potest".

13, 7. nostri Correct this reading (A) to "nosti"; cf. line 8 below; also cf. 21, 13-14. **quod** Read "que" ("quae"), as in A.

13, 8. Ceterum Correct this reading (A) to "Cetera".

13, 9-10. Late - pannus Hor., *Ars*, 15-16.

13, 10. Parturiunt - mus Hor., *Ars*, 139.

13, 11-13. Indigna - habencia Cf. 15, 22-24 and 21, 34-35 below, both referring to Wenceslaus Brack of Constance. If the present letter, as seems likely, is directed against the same man, we can date it ca. July 1480.

13, 14-15. Non satis - arriident Hor., *Ars*, 99-101.

13, 20. ne unquam Correct this reading (A) to "non unquam".

13, 20-21. incude - tornati Cf. Hor., *Ars*, 441.

13, 24. Livor edax etc. Lucan., 1, 288: "Livor edax tibi cuncta negat".

14. This is a covering letter for a poem in praise of Pope Sixtus IV that Brant's teacher had published "quite some time ago" ("iam pridem editos", line 15).

14, 1. tantam tamquam Read "tantam tamque", as in the manuscript (A).

14, 4. post quod Read "postque" (A).

14, 5. tuo collatam Read "tibi collatam" (A).

14, 7. immortalium rebus Read "In mortalium rebus" (A).

14, 8. ad Read "cum" (A).

14, 10. apatrys... videant Read "a patrys... videantur" (A).

14, 10-11. et felicem et pro fortunatum Read "et felicem et fortunatum" (A). Cf. 15, 6 below: "et felicem et perbeatum".

14, 12. animam praestabilitatem Read "animi praestabilitatem" (A).

14, 16. tum Correct this reading (A) to "cum".

14, 16-17. perspectum et congenitum minus sit Read "perspectum et cognitum mihi sit" (A). Cf. 15, 29-30 (in similar context), 57, 17-18, and 258, 76 below.

14, 17. si quoniam Read "si quando" (A).

14, 20. sed tamen - primae nostrae Read "sed tum seculis nostris tum vel maxime patriae nostrae" (A).

14, 21. dabis (?) The question mark can be removed; the form "dabis" is correct.

14, 22. quam a divo - te <... > Read "quemadmodum Institisti commendatum tibi serva" (A).

15. This is a covering letter for a satirical poem by Brant attacking Wenceslaus Brack of Constance. Brant concludes by asking the recipient to publish the poem, but only if he approves of it. The satirical verses to which Brant alludes can be identified as no. 22 below (introduced by the prose letter no. 21). The present letter can therefore be dated ca. 21 July 1480.

15, 6. videantur Read "videatur" (A).

15, 7. addignitatem Correct this reading (A) to "ad dignitatem".

15, 8. Vuenceslaus Read "Vuencelaus" (A).

15, 12. venena aconita quoque sua The intended reading must be "venena aconita queque [quaeque] sua".

15, 20. o lepidum caput Plaut., *Mil.*, 725; Ter., *Ad.*, 966; also 103, 1 below.

15, 22. cuius... invitatores Read "cur... Imitatores" (A). **quum** Read "quoniam" (A); cf. 21, 47 and 22, 17 (with note) below.

15, 24. doctorum qui hominum Read "doctorumque hominum" (A).

15, 25. risu pulmonem agitare Iuv., 10, 33, also quoted at 171, 53 below.

15, 30. hominem The dittography mentioned in the app. crit. occurs at line 28, not at line 30.

15, 31. peperasse Read "pepercisse" (A).

15, 32-33. adolescentulum - sonat As preserved in A, this phrase is ungrammatical and meaningless.

15, 34. dies quod Read "dies: quando" (A). **his auribus hausi** Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 359. **Dabis hisque** The correct reading appears to be "Dabis Inquam".

15, 35. se me Read "si me" (A). **qui vere sane** Read "qui vere sum" (A).

15, 36. amicorum qui Read "amicorumque" (A).

15, 39. munere In A the word is written twice in a row, the first "munere" being crossed out.

16, 1. nonas juniis Read "nonas junias".

16, 3. in data Read "mihi data".

16, 15. baiulum The sense "letter-carrier" is patristic and medieval. Cf. 435, 13 below.

16, 16. tebellione Read "tabellione".

17. Though unsigned, this letter may be attributed to Brant because of the close parallels to nos. 25 and 57 below. See the note at no. 57.

17, 3. benevolencia Read "benivolencia" (A).

17, 5. pulcerrima Read "pulcherrima" (A). **oblivisti** Read "oblivisci" (A).

17, 7. abste Read "abs te".

17, 8. pariter ut Read "pariter et" (A).

18. This paragraph treats the commonplace topic that you cannot trust a pretty woman to be faithful, not even your own wife. Like no. 12 above, it appears to be a writing exercise, not a true letter. I see no compelling reason to attribute it to Brant.

18, 3-4. An nescis - amatum Cf. Hier., *Adv. Iovin.*, 1 (PL 23, col. 277 C): “Difficile custoditur, quod plures amant”; also cf. Publil., *Sent.*, 367: “Maximo periculo custoditur, quod multis placet”; and 453: “Non facile solus serves quod multis placet”.

18, 4. revisus Read “rursus” (A).

18, 6, sidenote In A the marginal note begins next to line 3. For “Nihil - suspirant” see Hier., *Adv. Iovin.*, 1 (PL 23, col. 277 C).

18, 6-7. Varium - foemina Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 569-570.

18, 7-8. Casta - rogat Ov., *Am.*, 1, 8, 43-44 (where line 44 begins with “aut”).

18, 9-10. similiter et Read “simul et” (A).

18, 11. nostro geris Read “rostro geris” (A).

18, 14. tibi - places Iuv., 6, 276 (in some mss.).

18, 15-17. Laudas - auffert Cf. Sen., *Phaedr.*, 770-773.

18, 17-18. fastus - formam Ov., *Fast.*, 1, 419.

18, 18. sequitur Read “sequiturque” (A). **Sed hoc hactenus** Read “Sed haec hactenus” (A).

18, 18-19. Cave sis - imminetem Read: “Cave sis ne deinceps stulticiam tuam adeo in propatulum effundas: si periculum calamitatemque evitare voles Imminetem”. For “cave sis ne” see Plaut., *Am.*, 845; for “in propatulum effundas” cf. 13, 10-11 above and 411, 17 below.

20. As the heading suggests, this poem is a chronogram indicating the year 1480 (bold capitals added):

In praeCeps aestas CeCidit, CVM rhenVs inVndat,
DeVastans agros, te qVoqVe dia PaLes.

21, 1-2. Cum - propulsare See Cic., *Off.*, 1, 23.

21, 8-9. quippe qui - pugnare Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 5, 21, 2: “iniusta condicione pacem accipere malui quam viribus cum valentiore pugnare”.

21, 9-11. in obscuro - nocendi Taken from Cic., *Fam.*, 3, 10, 6.

21, 10. inimicitas Read “inimicitias”.

21, 11-13. Et in ea re - levissimum Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 3, 10, 8: “aut in ea re animum ostendere inimicum in qua nihil obsis aut id eligere ad perfidiam quod ad indicandum odium apertissimum sit, ad nocendum levissimum”.

21, 11. inquam Read “in qua”.

21, 12. indurandum Read “indicandum”.

21, 14. nostri Read "nosti"; cf. 13, 7 above. **Inimici - omnes** Cic., *Fam.*, 14, 3, 2.

21, 19-20. qui nihil - esse vellem Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 2, 13, 2: "nihil autem feci umquam neque dixi quod contra illius existimationem esse vellem".

21, 20-22. Tum propter - eloquentiam Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 2, 14, 1: "cum propter summum ingenium eius summamque doctrinam tum propter singularem modestiam".

21, 34-35. eloquentiae parvae The correct reading must be "eloquentiae parum", contrasting with the preceding phrase "too much verbiage". Cf. 13, 12-13 and 15, 23 above (the latter concerning Wenceslaus Brack).

21, 38-39. Imitaris - nequeant Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 4, 5, 5: "neque imitare malos medicos, qui in alienis morbis profitentur tenere se medicinae scientiam, ipsi se curare non possunt".

21, 45-46. familiaritatem tuam Restore the reading "familiaritatem tui" (A).

21, 47. quum Read "quoniam"; cf. 15, 22 above, with note. **publicae** Read "publice".

21, 52-54. me tibi - iudicare Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 3, 7, 6: "me tibi non amicum modo verum etiam amicissimum existimes velim. profecto omnibus meis officiis efficiam ut ita esse vere possis iudicare".

22, 1. Quid - edax Ov., *Am.*, 1, 15, 1.

22, 3. potuae The intended reading must be "potuissem".

22, 4. rabiae Read "rabie".

22, 9. certaminem Read "certamine".

22, 11. quo Read "quoque". **codrum** Codrus is a type of the envious poet. Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 5, 11; 7, 26.

22, 15-16. quisquis - manus Cf. Ov., *Ib.*, 9-10.

22, 17. quum quis sis Read "quoniam qui sis", as in Ov., *Ib.*, 61.

22, 18. Interea - habe Cf. Ov., *Ib.*, 62. **quo** Read "quoque".

22, 19. vis - nocendi Ov., *Met.*, 5, 457.

22, 20. feres Read "feras".

22, 21-22. Certe - alar Ov., *Ib.*, 129-130.

22, 22. perfida Read "perfide". **alat** Read "alar".

22, 26. Bella geram tecum Ov., *Ib.*, 139.

22, 27-28. Quicquid - silent Cf. Ov., *Ib.*, 153-154.

22, 27. nimbis The app. crit. to this line ought to read: "nimbis] nimis A."

22, 29-30. Tot - putem Ov., *Ib.*, 205-206.

22, 29. Tam Read “Tot”. **inserae** Read “miserae”.

22, 30. Est... quam Read “Ut... quoque”.

22, 33. In me transscribas Cf. Ov., *Ib.*, 189.

22, 34. animam armentinibus These words are meaningless and unmetrical. Perhaps the correct reading is “manibus arma dabo”. Cf. Ov., *Ib.*, 140.

22, 35-36. Accipe - Vale Cf. Ov., *Epist.*, 19 (20), 242.

22, 35. omnes Read “omnis”.

22, 36. semper sis misera Cf. Ov., *Ib.*, 117.

23. This text is not a “proem” to the rectorate of Johann von Gengenbach, as the editor states in vol. II, 13, but a retrospective. Hence the composition date should be corrected to ca. 17 October 1481. See also notes to nos. 34, 61, 72, 74, 82, and 176 below.

24. These verses also appear in a somewhat different (and no doubt much earlier) version in Ms. 469, fol. 31^v-33^r. At the end is the monogram “sb”. Since the poem deals with the selection of the “Bohnenkönig” at Epiphany, the composition date must be 6 January 1482.

24, title In Ms. 469 the title reads: “Execratio contra fortunam quae doctorem per electionem fabae regem fecit.”

24, 1. Ludis - rebus Cf. Ov., *Pont.*, 4, 3, 49.

24, 9. voluntas Correct this reading (A) to “volutas”, as in Ms. 469 and A, *err.*

24, 11. invato Correct this reading (A) to “iuvato”, as in Ms. 469. Cf. line 34 below.

24, 12. fracta carina natat Prop., 2, 25, 24.

24, 20. Ante Correct this reading (A) to “Ance” (Ms. 469 and A, *err.*). Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, 4, 7, 15. **Croese** See note at 207, 23-24 below.

24, 21. sursumque deorsum Otto 1716; *Nachträge*, pp. 64, 80, 118, 216, 288; also 230, 3 below.

24, 22. Non - pilam The reading in Ms. 469 is “Ut Jaculata manu ludere pila solet”.

24, 25. mia Read “mea”, as in A and Ms. 469.

24, 29. quam ficus alit See Hor., *Sat.*, 2, 8, 88.

24, 35. praeda capita Correct this reading (A) to “praeda cupita”, as in Ms. 469. Cf. 151, 43; 192, 38 below.

24, 39. Dum - amplexus Mart., 4, 22, 3.

25, title The salutation should read “Multifariam Salutem” (the latter word being abbreviated “S.A.” in A).

25, 3. opiperas Correct this reading (A) to “opiparas”.

- 25, 4. **Immo** Read "In me" (written as one word in A).
- 25, 5. **equa laude reprehendere** Read "equa lance rependere" (A).
- 25, 6-7. **Non - observancia** Cf. 17, 4-6 above and 57, 14-16 below.
- 25, 9. **inata** The reading in A appears to be "vix".
- 25, 12. **Peritheus** Read "Perithous" (A). **Petroclus** Correct this reading (A) to "Patroclus".
- 25, 13. **epaminandam** Read "epaminondam". In A the name is written "epinimundam".
- 25, 15. **autem nos** Read "Inter nos" (A). **sextimum** Read "septimum" (A).
- 25, 16-17. **non... solum eciam** Read "non... solum sed eciam" (A).
- 25, 17. **Intelligeris** Read "Intelligeres" (A).
- 25, 18. **unum tibi tantum tamen** Read "Unum tibi tantum" (A).
- 25, 19. **animi mi** Correct this reading (A) to "anime mi". Cf. Plaut., *As.*, 664: "meus ocellus,... mi anime".
- 25, 23. **Sic tamen commissus** Read "Sim tibi commissus" (A).
- 25, 24. **Quae** Correct this reading ("Que" in A) to "Quem".
- 26, 1-4. **Quis - tuam** Cf. 157, 57-58 below, with note.
- 26, 15. **Sclavus** The original reading cannot have been "beatus", as the editor believes, for this word fits neither the meter nor the sense. More probably Brant first wrote "bardus".
- 26, 17. **vocat in certamina** Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 172.
- 26, 25. **Quod - viarum** Cf. Vulg., *Luc.*, 19, 40.
- 26, 29-30. **Aspidis - tulit** See Aesop, fable 176 (Perry); Phaedr., 4, 20; Otto 1903; *Nachträge*, pp. 66, 120, and 227.
- 26, 32. **Lerniferum** This unusual epithet, modeled on "letiferum" ("lethiferum"), means "pestiferous" ("Lerna" + "fer"). Cf. 207, 9 below ("Lernaeum virus").
- 26, 43. **Fama loquax... pervenit ad aures** Ov., *Pont.*, 2, 9, 3.
- 26, 51. **Hic - est** Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 791.
- 26, 53. **Catho** Otto 358; *Nachträge*, pp. 98, 146, and 234. Cf. 121, 31 below, with note.
- 26, 57-58. **vidit - hominum** Cf. Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 2, 19-20.
- 27, 9. **Intempla** Read "In templa".
- 27, 10. **Turricremas** Correct the reading in Ms. 469 (A) to "Thuricremas". Cf. Lucr., 2, 353; Ov., *Ars*, 3, 393; line 37 below.
- 27, 20. **subpede** Read "sub pede".
- 27, 21. **parcica** Correct this reading (A) to "partica" ("parthica").
- 27, 22. **anticyra** Proverbially famed for its growths of hellebore — the standard medicine for madness. See Otto 117; *Nachträge*, p. 96.

helleboris Read “helleborum” (A). The word is repeated in the margin of the manuscript.

27, 29-30. sonabunt Carmina crura Correct this reading (A) to “sonarent Carmina cruda”. For “Carmina... cruda” see 21, 32 above.

27, 32. numera Read “munera” (A).

27, 34. tagus Proverbial for its golden sands; see Otto 1737; *Nachträge*, pp. 65, 118, and 216.

27, 36. promeritis Read “pro meritis”.

27, 37-38. Verum - Concelebrat Cf. Plin., *Nat.*, praef. 11.

27, 37. facere et sale sacro deorum Read “farre et sale sacra deorum” (A).

27, 41. natura in usus Read “natura vel usus” (A)

27, 43. lingue Read “linguae” (A).

27, 44. Iove nactus Read “Iove natus” (A).

27, 49. in Read “vel” (A).

27, 51. quitquid Read “quicquid”.

27, 54. hedera ipsa Read “hedera tempora”. Cf. [Tib.] 3, 6, 2.

28, title. Spectatissimo - observando In A this heading stands beneath the body of the letter.

28, 3. etiam Read “etenim” (A).

28, 6. tamen Read “tibi” (A).

28, 8. et ibo This is indeed the reading of A.

28, 9. plurimus erebus Read “plurimis diebus” (A).

28, 10. commentabimus Read “commentabimur” (A). **frustratum ire** Correct this reading (A) to “frustratum iri”, as at 57, 18 below.

28, 11. tamen Read “tibi” (A).

29. According to vol. II, 15, this letter was first published in 1519. In fact it occurs already in *Clarorum virorum epistolae* (Tübingen, 1514), sig. e6^v-e7^r.

29, 4. qui - tuus sum Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 7, 29, 1.

29, 6. Alemania The reading in 1514 is “Alemannia”.

29, 7. qua Read “quae” (1514 and 1519).

29, 14. iucundam The reading in 1514 is “iocundam”.

29, 18. Dii - coepta Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 259.

30. In the app. crit. the siglum B actually means A; C means B; and D presumably means C. (Siglum A represents a mystery text.)

What is the editor’s copy text? If it is the *Varia carmina*, as one expects, then the reading of line 3 should be “Nach zehen sexs Mertz stund ouch tag”; and line 5 — a prose postscript that does not occur in

A B — should be put in the apparatus. **martius** Read “marcius”, as in the *Varia carmina*. This reading is required in order to let the chronogram add up to the date 1485 (bold capitals added):

BIIs dedIt oCto dIes forte et tot MarCIVs horas
VersVs ad oCCIdVas soL tenebrosVs aqVas.

31. The epigram does not bear Brant's monogram in Ms. 469 and hence cannot be ascribed to him with certainty. The same goes for nos. 50, 52, and 66 below.

31, 1. **ambus... secundis** Read “avibus... secundis”, as in Ms. 469.

32, title The name “S. Brant” is lacking in B.

32, 1. **lapidosos... montes** Ov., *Met.*, 1, 44.

32, 2. **pergameas... domos** Stat., *Silv.*, 3, 4, 23.

32, 3. **Maenaliū... nemus** Stat., *Theb.*, 9, 719. **pineta lycaeī** Ov., *Met.*, 1, 217.

32, 5. **nives** The reading in Ms. 469 is “times”. **pater apenninus** Verg., *Aen.*, 12, 703.

32, 12. **obiicit** Correct this reading (A) to “obiicit (B). **aera - cibos** Cf. Ov., *Rem.*, 210; *Fast.*, 6, 240.

32, 13-14. **Hic - dulcisonis** Cf. Ov., *Fast.*, 1, 155; also cf. 266, 41 below.

32, 15. **alcinoi pomeria... et hortos** Otto 53; *Nachträge*, pp. 94 and 127.

32, 25. **thaumancia proles** The Harpies, symbols of rapaciousness. See Otto 792; *Nachträge*, pp. 104-105; cf. 207, 16 below.

33, 7. **magnum - nomen** Ov., *Met.*, 10, 608; cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 94.

33, 20. **Maximiliane** For metrical reasons read “Maxmiliane”. Cf., for example, 35, 4 and 65, 10 below.

33, 30. **doctasque** Read “doctas qui”.

33, 39. **fecit - potentem** Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 10, 603-604.

34. This text is not a “proem” to the rectorate of Thammo Loser but a retrospective. Note that the paragraph explicitly mentions Loser's graduation as Doctor of Canon Law, an event that took place during his rectorate. The composition date should be corrected to ca. 30 April 1487.

35. Maximilian was chosen king of the Romans on 16 February 1486. Since Brant would scarcely have waited a full year to write about such an important occasion, we may safely place the epigram in the late winter of 1486.

35, 3. **semine - alto** Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 574.

36. The poet asks Phoebus to come to Basel to help him congratulate the recent graduates of the university. In Ms. 469 (A) the ode immediately follows a series of extracts from Horace and does not bear Brant's monogram. The editor ought to explain why he nevertheless attributes the poem to Brant — all the more so as he does not assign it to Brant in his bibliography (p. 7).

36, 9. Viridenque Correct this reading (A) to "Viridemque".

36, 11. Quitquid Read "Quicquid".

36, 13. pulsa Read "pulsu" (A).

36, 15. decus christifatium Read "decus Vatum". (A reads "decus Xfatium".)

37-42. In vol. I.1, 47-48 these poems are dated "vor 1487?". In vol. II, 18 the date is given as "nach 1486".

38. This is not a "Gedicht über Gesetze", as the editor suggests. Unlike the law student of no. 37 who cares only about money ("Es" = "Aes"), the speaker of no. 38 is a poetic soul who prefers the Muses to the study of canon and civil law.

38, 2. Aonijs - aquis Cf. Ov., *Am.*, 3, 9, 26.

39, 3. Venus - nata Read "Venus Id Pontigena Namque ex spuma maris nata". The line does not form part of epigram 39, but is a prose gloss, written in the left margin of Ms. 469. Cf. Serv., *Aen.*, 5, 801: "maris spuma nata dicitur Venus".

39, 4. laus - weit These words — written as two rhyming verses in Ms. 469 — appear in small characters to the right of Brant's monogram.

40 and 41. Neither of these epigrams in fact bears Brant's monogram in the manuscript. The ascription to Brant is thus highly questionable. (Note that the epigrams immediately following no. 41 in the manuscript also do not bear Brant's monogram and are hence rightly excluded from this edition.)

42. Brant's monogram stands at the head of this epigram in Ms. 469, not at the end.

42, 1. Livor edax Ov., *Am.*, 1, 15, 1 and *Rem.*, 389; Lucan., 1, 288.

43, 2. nunc Read "mater", as in Ms. 469 (A).

43, 3. Tu regina - marisque Cf. 115, 23 below (where see introductory note).

43, 4. quo Read "quoque" (A). **decus - polis** Correct this reading (A) to "tu decus omne poli".

43, 7. ethereis Correct this reading (A) to "etheris".

43, 11. suplicitus Read “supliciter” (A) or “suppliciter”.

43, 14. a tota - petet Cf. Ov., *Epist.*, 4, 54.

43, 22. sb. In Ms. 469 the monogram stands at the head of the epigram, not at the end.

44, 5. exercet Correct this reading to “exeret”.

45, 3. quos - latebit? Read “quis nescit? quemve latebit?”, as in Ms. 469.

45, 5. magistrum Read “magistri”, as in Ms. 469.

45, 6. discipuli This is in fact the reading in Ms. 469. (The app. crit. is in error.)

46, 2. Ludimus Read “Ludimur”, as in Ms. 469.

47. At the end of this epigram the manuscript adds Brant's monogram “sb”.

48, title. Provincio The intended reading must be “Praemonicio”.

48, 1. faciat Correct this reading to “faciet”.

49, title. Unius - perio Read “Vivus Vidensque perio”, as in Ms. 469; see Ter., *Eun.*, 73. The epigram laments that the speaker is walking into a trap with his eyes wide open, just as hundred-eyed Argus once did.

49, 1. Arge Otto 162; *Nachträge*, pp. 96 and 135.

50. This epigram contrasts the opposing colors in the chessgame with the unalloyed good will demonstrated by the host (who has invited the poet over for a game). **dominico... hospite** Read “in nostro... hospite”, as in Ms. 469.

51, sidenote. persecutio Read “persecutor”, as in Ms. 469.

52, title. Vicini Correct this reading to “Vicine”.

53, 1. Fortuna Volubilis Ov., *Trist.*, 5, 8, 15. **in te** The final part of the sentence quoted in the app. crit. should read: “Cloto [Clotho] colum baiolat [baiulat]: lachesis net: Atropos secat”.

54, title. Senece This name does not represent the epigram's title (note the genitive case!). It is a gloss, written in small characters directly above “annaei”.

54, 3. Meque - Vinus Read “Meque tuum observa: me dilige certe ego Vivus”.

55, 1. Rheyarde See note at no. 208 below.

55, 3. An ne - a te The verse, as transmitted in Ms. 469, lacks one foot. This foot must have been occupied by a noun, for it is modified by the proper adjective “meis”. With the help of Ov., *Met.*, 5, 14-15 and *Pont.*, 3, 1, 80 we can easily restore the original reading: “Anne meis <meritis> ea gratia redditur a te”.

56, 1-7. Lines 1, 3, 5, and 7 are not iambic, as is asserted in vol. II, 22, but Ionici a minore.

56, 1. celebriis In Ms. 469 the word is misspelled as “celebrus”, instead of the correct “celebremus”. For the subjunctive cf. line 5 below (“Veneremur”); for “celebremus laudes” see Ov., *Pont.*, 4, 8, 87.

56, 5. Nicolae Read “Nicolai”, as in Ms. 469.

56, 6. Quassatam ventis Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 551.

57. This letter can be placed in the early 1480's, for lines 14-16 appear in very similar form in both 17, 4-6 and 25, 6-7. Note that nos. 57 and 17 immediately follow each other in Ms. 469 (with no. 57 preceding no. 17). Observe too that line 11 is reminiscent of 15, 39 above, that lines 22-23 closely parallel 15, 36-37, and that the phrase “vix dum visum” in lines 25-26 also occurs at 15, 2. Furthermore Brant repeatedly inserts Ciceronian phrases, just as he does in no. 21 above.

57, 2. Periissem abste Read “Peciissem [*i.e.*, Petiissem] abs te”.

57, 4. abstua Read “abs tua”.

57, 5. quem Read “quoniam” (A).

57, 5-6. epistola... non erubescit Cic., *Fam.*, 5, 12, 1.

57, 8. quitquid dive collaturus Read “quicquid in me collaturus” (A). **es autem** Correct this reading (A) to “est autem”.

57, 9. omne... residui Correct this reading (A) to “omne... residuum”.

57, 11. immortalis (?) This reading is indeed correct. **coniunxeris** Read “devinxeris” (A). Cf. 15, 39 above. **inte** Read “in te”.

57, 12. desuper Read “semper” (A). **quid** Read “quoniam” (A).

57, 13-14. Id enim - expostulant Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 6, 5, 4: “id enim et vetustas nostri amoris et mea consuetudo in meos et tua multa erga me officia postulant”.

57, 14. expostulatur Read “expostulant” (A).

57, 15. oblivisti Read “oblivisci”.

57, 18. frustratum ire sinas Read “frustratum Iri sinas” (A). Cf. 28, 10 above.

57, 18-19. A me - confidas Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 6, 5, 4: “a me vero tibi omnia liberisque tuis paratissima esse confidas velim”.

57, 19. omnium quoque (?) Read “animum quoque.” (A).

57, 19-21. prius - gratissimum Cic., *Fam.*, 13, 1, 6.

57, 23. Neque Read “Meque” (A).

57, 25-26. via dum vicum Read “vix dum visum” (A). Cf. 15, 2 above.

57, 26. Inpropatulo Read “In propatulo”.

57, 28. omnibus - cognoscere Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 3, 7, 6: "profecto omnibus meis officiis efficiam ut ita esse vere possis iudicare".

57, 30. numeros qui sunt Read "numerosque simul" (A).

57, 31. Eis superi Read "Dij superi" (A). **Hectoreosque dies** Read "Nestoreosque [Nectoreosque A] dies". For the phrase cf. 229, 34 below. For the proverb see note at 67, 48 below.

58, title. corruscatione My copy of the September issue of *B* corrects the erroneous reading "coruscatione" reported in the app. crit.

58, 2. calas Brant uses this abbreviation rather than "calendas" (as in line 4) simply to accommodate the meter.

60, 3. Eloquar - sileam Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 39.

60, 7. calamus habet Correct this reading (*B*) to "calamus hebet".

60, 17. devoluaris Read "devolvaris".

60, 37. sed - est Ov., *Met.*, 2, 416.

60, 57. rheti Note the short first syllable (corrected in *B*). Cf. 32, 2 above. **trevir** Correct this reading (*B*) to "treviri" (*B*, *err.*). The name is evidently to be read with a short first syllable, despite Lucan., 1, 441.

60, 61. Tenchateri Correct this reading (*B*) to "Tenchteri".

60, 62. monam Münster in Westfalen ("Monasterium"). Cf. 197, 39 below.

60, 66. Scalden Correct this reading (*B*) to "Scaldis".

60, 93. Maximilianus Read "Maxmilianus" (*B*).

60, 97. bello - virtus Verg., *Aen.*, 5, 754.

60, 101. agathirsus The form "agathaersus" in *B* is corrected to "agathysus" in *B*, *err.*

60, 105. exoluisse Read "exolvisse".

60, 113. inguloque Read "iuguloque" (*B*).

60, 133. Arma - arma Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 668.

61. This text is not a "proem" to Bernhard Oeglin's rectorate but a retrospective. The date in line 10 is not the composition date, but refers to the day of Oeglin's election. Note that lines 5-6 allude to the rebellion against the mayor of Zürich, Hans Waldmann, in the early spring of 1489. The composition date, accordingly, must be corrected to ca. 30 April 1489.

61, 5. turpe Read "tempore".

62, 1. divina arte Note the hiatus.

63, 7. vitij Read "vitijs"; cf. 144, 83 below.

63, 11. ad impia tartara Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 543.

64, 2. Cingens Read "Tingens". See Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 665; cf. also 144, 64 below.

65. This poem was evidently written not long after 22 July 1489, when the peace treaty between Maximilian and Charles VIII of France was concluded at Frankfurt am Main.

65, title. Aliud carmen In the *Varia carmina* the poem immediately follows nos. 107 and 35.

65, 6. Templā coronantur Ov., *Met.*, 8, 264.

67, 5. Noctuas - fero For this ancient Greek proverb see, for example, Cic., *Fam.*, 6, 3, 4; Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1, 2, 11.

67, 9. Tityrus... hoc est mercenarius See Serv., *Ecl.*, 1, 27.

67, 11. in consulto Read "inconsulto".

67, 11-12. ceu Tages ex glebula See Cic., *Div.*, 2, 50; cf. also 103, 55 below.

67, 15-16. continere - accinctum Cf. 146, 35-36 below, with note.

67, 18. appella vero Read "appellavero".

67, 20-22. Latret - res Cf. 130, 8-10, below.

67, 21-22. nostra - res Cf. Hor., *Ars*, 148.

67, 26-27. ne epistole modum excedam Sen., *Epist.*, 45, 13.

67, 44. perecastor Read "per ecastor".

67, 45. Servius See Serv., *Aen.*, 1, 342, quoting Sall., *Iug.*, 19, 2.

67, 48. nestoris annos Mart., 5, 58, 5; 11, 56, 13; also see 153, 109; 197, 69; and 206, 105 below. Cf. Otto 1223; *Nachträge*, pp. 61, 112, 192, 241, and 281; also cf. 57, 31 above, with note.

71, 3. Contigimus portum Ov., *Rem.*, 812.

72. This text is not a "proem" to Heinrich Vogt's rectorate but a retrospective. Note that the text explicitly mentions Vogt's obtaining his doctorate on 4 January 1491. The composition date must be corrected to ca. 30 April 1491.

73. This text is a retrospective, written on ca. 19 May 1492, at the end of Brant's term as dean. It is thus contemporaneous with nos. 75 and 76 below. And indeed, the three texts appear together on fols. 30^r and 30^v of the Matrikel.

73, 5. Helmūt Read "Helmut", as in the manuscript.

74. This text is not a "proem" to the rectorate of Johannes Schenk von Limburg but a retrospective. The composition date must be corrected to ca. 17 October 1492.

74, 18. Caesar is rex Read "Caesaris ex".

74, 19. alios - longa Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 15, 446.

78, 19. Plurima - dives Cf. Ov., *Fast.*, 1, 212: "cum possideant plurima, plura petunt"; Sen., *Epist.*, 119, 6: "Qui multum habet, plus cupit"; Brant, *Narrenschiff*, 67, 74.

78, 22. pauper - iacet Ov., *Fast.*, 1, 218.

78, 25. ieunia Read "ieiunia" (*B*). Similarly correct "Ieunans" to "Ieiunans" at line 31 below (*B*).

78, 29. uniusque Correct this reading (*B*) to "vivusque" (*B, err.*).

78, 43. Deque - lumen Cf. 214, 7 below (also paraphrasing the Nicene Creed).

78, 49. Quam Read "Quod" (*B*).

79, 4-12. flamma - cruor The examples are taken from Pliny the Elder. For lines 4-8 see Plin., *Nat.*, 2, 96-100; for line 9 see *Nat.*, 2, 199; for line 10 see *Nat.*, 2, 148; for lines 11-12 see *Nat.*, 2, 147 (cf. 103, 61 below).

79, 8. nubigeneque fere Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 12, 211.

79, 14. vir Read "vix" (*C*). (The siglum "C", used in the app. crit. but not explained in vol. II, 32, represents *Varia carmina*, Basel, 1 May 1498, sig. e6^v-e7^r).

79, 37-38. anaxagorae - lapidem See Plin., *Nat.*, 2, 149-150.

79, 45-88. Sich - lut These lines are lacking in *C*.

82. This text is not a "proem" to Wilhelm Grieb's rectorate but a retrospective. Note that Brant refers to the death of Emperor Frederick III on 19 August 1493 (cf. no. 86 below), to the casting of the great "Papstglocke" on 17 October 1493 (cf. nos. 87 and 88 below), and to the plague that ravaged Basel during the summer of that year. Hence the date of the present text must be corrected to ca. 17 October 1493.

82, 5. millesimum Read "millenum", as in the manuscript.

83, 4. excerpisit The reading in the 1500-edition (*B*) is "expressit".

83, 9. quod Read "quid" (*A B*).

83, 15. destantem Read "distantem" (*A B*).

83, 16. texu Read "textu" (*A B*).

84, 2. examinatum The reading in *B* is "iterum examinatum".

84, 12-13. donec - bonos This is an elegiac distich that ought to be set off as verse.

84, 15. imperante - filio Omitted in *B*.

84, 19. consumatum Read "consummatum" (*B*).

84, 20. virtus Omitted in *B*.

85. The peculiar indentation comes from the copy texts. Since the verses are all hexameters (not elegiac distichs, as is asserted in vol. II, 36), there is no reason to maintain this indentation in a modern edition.

85, 5-6. Addimus - registrum These lines refer only to the additions in the 1500-edition. Accordingly they are not really "lacking" in *A* (1493), as the app. crit. tells us.

86, 49. redeant - regna Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 4, 6.

86, 69. nempe Why is “certe” in the copy text (*A*) rejected here and at 86, 93 and 115, 69 below, but not in the app. crit. to the present line and also not at 60, 31; 86, 93 (app. crit.); 117, 7; 118, 52; 118, 183; and 147, 599 below? The form “certe” with a short final syllable recurs in Brant’s early poetry. See also 33, 40 and 60, 25 above; 106, 6 (with note) and 128, 49 below (with note). In later editions Brant systematically eliminated the metrical error.

86, 86. modo See note at 107, 3 below.

86, 93. diva See note at 86, 69 above.

86, 95. Achaia The reading in *B* is “Achaica”.

86, 106. Jllaria Read “Jlliria” (*B* has “Illiria”). **Dalmaciaque** This is also the reading in my copies of *B*.

89, title. anthropophagae Read “anthropophaga”.

89, 3. typhaneo Read “typhoeo”.

89, 6. darus... laecta Read “datus... laeta”.

89, 14. Te fine Read “Te sine”.

89, 20. Te solam - ferunt Plin., *Nat.*, 10, 15; Serv., *Aen.*, 1, 394.

89, 21. semper... cacumina Read “super... cacumina”.

89, 29. Multi - potentes Cf. Catull., 62, 42.

89, 31. multae - puellae Catull., 62, 42.

89, 35. in est Read “inest”.

89, 42. quidam Read “quidem”.

89, 67. mens praesaga futuri Lucan., 6, 414-415.

89, 70. Thurci This word, displaced in *A*, belongs at the end of line 71.

89, 76. Ilithyia Metrical error.

89, 80. pulchra - patrem Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 75.

92, 53-54. Arce - tegi nec Vulg., *Matth.*, 5, 14-15.

92, 59. servent The reading in *B* is “servant”. The intended reading, however, must be “serunt”, which alone fits the meter.

92, 82-83. Et licet - maniplis Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 125, 5-6.

92, 85-87. Inclytos - uvae Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 7, 16-18.

92, 87. viridanus Read “viridantis”, as in *B*. **uvae** The form “vuae” (*B*) is listed as a variant in the critical apparatus — and not just here, but (*mutatis mutandis*) throughout this edition. However, since initial “u” is commonly printed as “v” in Renaissance Latin texts and medial “v” as “u”, we are dealing here with a pseudo-variant.

92, 90. eunuchi domini Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 19, 12.

92, 97. specioce Read “speciose” (*B*).

92, 113. prophanat Read “prophanas” (*B*).

92, 117-118. Qui iugum laetus... Pertulit Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 11, 29-30.

92, 121-123. Veste - decoras Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 25, 1-12; also 108, 29-32 below.

92, 135. facessunt Restore the Middle- and Neo-Latin spelling “facescunt”, as in *A B* and at 207, 33 below. Cf. also 92, 26 (“capescis”); 128, 106 and 167, 57 (“capescas”).

92, 161-164. Tradit - Carthusianus Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 25, 14-30, combined with *Luc.*, 19, 12-23; also cf. 96, 14; 108, 21-24; 159, 13; and 257, 14-16 below.

93. The third and fourth lines of these stanzas are indented after the pattern of the third asclepiadean strophe. But, as the editor knows, the verse form is sapphic.

93, 23. sacratam Read “sacratum” (*B*).

93, 46. Iordānis In medieval and Renaissance verse the name is sometimes scanned with a short second syllable. See, for example, [Tert.], *Adv. Marc.*, 3, 5 (*PL* 2, col. 1074 B): “Iordane percusso ...”; Sedul., *Carm. pasch.*, 2, 141, in some manuscripts: “... placidas ad Iordanis undas.” Elsewhere Brant scans the name with a long second syllable. See 115, 39 and 128, 80.

93, 51. famen Read “famem” (*B*).

93, 67. abortis In medieval manuscripts and early printed editions of classical texts “abortis” and “obortis” were frequently confused. See the variants, for example, to Ov., *Met.*, 1, 350 and *Trist.*, 1, 3, 91. Also see 416, 16 below.

93, 113. Quis putas... tum premebat Correct this reading (*B*) to “Quid putas... cum premebat”.

93, 156. Ave This word is lacking in *B*.

93, 167. Iesum Note the short first syllable.

93, 169. Quis Read “Quid” (*B*).

93, 179. calamabat Read “clamabat” (*B*).

94, 15. subitus - reliquit Verg., *Aen.*, 9, 475.

94, 27-28. supplexque - Tende Sil., 15, 561.

95. Of the three versions listed in vol. II, 42, *B* is clearly the oldest. Hence lines 11-12 are not “lacking” in *B*, as the app. crit. tells us, but were added in the printed editions.

For the composition date (mid- or late 1480's) see note at no. 106 below.

95, title. virginis The reading in *C* is “*virginis Mariae*”.

95, 8. Enixa ex sacro es The reading in *B* is “*Parturis ex sacro*”.

95, 9. solumque The reading in *B* is “*solum*”.

96. This poem asks St. Sebastian to dispel the plague then raging at Basel and place his namesake Sebastian Brant under his protection. Lines 35 and 36 tell us that this poem will serve as a votive tablet to the saint. Since the plague is evidently still rampant at the time of writing, the epigram must have been composed during the summer semester of 1493 (the date “winter 1492/93” given in vol. II, 43 and 54 is erroneous). Poems 113, 119, 120, and 125 are likewise prayers for an end to the plague. Hence they are all roughly contemporaneous with no. 96.

Several of the plague-poems are linked not only by theme and composition date, but also typographically, for both *A* and *B* print them together as a unit, in the following order: 125, 96, 119, and 120. Moreover, the titles to nos. 119 and 120 are printed as subheadings to no. 96 in *B*. It follows that nos. 119 and 120 are in fact not independent poems, but a continuation of no. 96.

96, 4. terna The reading in *B* is not “*trita*”, as the app. crit. reports, but “*trina*”.

96, 14. dares - deo Cf. 92, 161-164 above, with note.

96, 19-20. Sponte - pudet Cf. Vulg., *I Cor.*, 9, 24.

96, 30. Qui Read “*Qua*”. (The reading in *B* is “*Quo*”.)

96, 33. Pasce Read “*Posce*” (*B*).

97. Brant thanks St. Valentine for curing his son Onophryius of epilepsy. Cf. no. 111 below.

97, 29. Concidit - moventur Cf. Cels., 3, 23, 1, describing the symptoms of epilepsy: “*Homo subito concidit, ex ore spumae moventur*”.

97, 30. inflammas Read “*in flammis*” (*B*).

97, 31-32. Dissolvit - manet See Fest., p. 234 M.

97, 33. phoebigena The last syllable is lengthened before the caesura. This is not a metrical error, as is asserted in vol. II, 43, but a standard metrical device. See also, for example, 4, 10 (“*facinus*”); 22, 32 (“*nostra*”); 27, 25 and 33, 12 (“*patria*”); 33, 39 (“*fecit*”); 74, 23 (“*gaudete*”); 92, 95 (“*pelicanus*”); 92, 147 (“*solus*”); 93, 93 (“*purus*”); 93, 141 (“*damnatus*”); 108, 39 (“*creatura*”). The physician alluded to is Aesculapius, the reputed founder of medicine. See Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 773.

97, 39. Est tua - herba Cf. 111, 7 below.

97, 41. panacem Correct this reading (*B*) to “*panaces*”.

98. According to a note in vol. II, 43, this poem also appears in Ms. 469, fol. 30^v. This is incorrect. It is text no. 110 that is found on fol. 30^v of that manuscript.

99, 16. ad unguem Otto 1827; *Nachträge*, pp. 65, 80-81, 119, 220-221, and 290.

99, 17. sophus... Samius The philosopher Pythagoras of Samos.

99, 21. spaciosa The lemma in the app. crit. ("speciosa") does not match the main text.

100, 33. sicut Read "sic" (*B*).

101, title. In laudem - famosissimi This is the title to the entire collection of poems, not to the elegiac distich printed on the verso of the title page in *A*.

102. Mary's internal dialogue amplifies *Vulg.*, *Luc.*, 1, verses 29, 34, and 38. It should be imagined as taking place even as the angel delivers his message (*Vulg.*, *Luc.*, 1, verses 28, 30-33, and 35-37, amplified in no. 106 below).

Nos. 102 and 106, evidently written as a unit and printed together in the *Carmina* (1494) and *Varia carmina* (1498), should have been kept together in this edition too. The same goes for no. 134 (Mary's lament at the Crucifixion) and no. 104 (Christ's consolation to his mother). (The editor apparently agrees, for in vol. II, 46, he declares: "Dieses Gedicht [no. 104] steht in engem Zusammenhang mit der vorausgehenden Marienklage". But in this edition, the "preceding" lament comes some thirty poems later, as no. 134!)

Since nos. 102 and 106 form a unit, they must have been composed around the same time, most probably in the mid- or late 1480's. See note at no. 106 below.

102, 1. paribus... caducifer alis *Ov.*, *Met.*, 2, 708.

102, 12. insidias This is also the reading in *B*, *err*.

102, 29. Membra - sanguis Cf. *Verg.*, *Aen.*, 3, 30.

102, 34. quae Read "quem" (*B*).

102, 41. neque enim - divum *Verg.*, *Aen.*, 6, 368.

103, 1. o lepidum caput See note at 15, 20 above.

103, 3. His - revellam Cf. *Pers.*, 5, 92.

103, 19. mago Read "mage" (*B*).

103, 25. Incidium Read "Indicium" (*B*).

103, 27. potuit The reading in *B* is "potuitque".

103, 29. Mennonis Read "Memnonis". Cf. 221, 62 below.

103, 33. Concipit The reading in *B* is "Concipitque", corrected in *B*, *err*.

103, 50. Ut fit Read “Ut sit” (*B*). **pervia** The reading “previa” in *B* is corrected to “pervia” in *B*, *err*.

103, 55. Terrigenam - aratro See note at 67, 11-12 above.

103, 61. Lac - libelli See Plin., *Nat.*, 2, 147; cf. 79, 11-12 above.

103, 62. Desuper - potest Cf. Vulg., *Is.*, 45, 8.

103, 67. Conciunt - superno See Plin., *Nat.*, 9, 107.

103, 108. Quod - virum Cf. Vulg., *Ier.*, 31, 22. **circumdat** Read “circumdet” (*B*).

103, 109-110. Hec - procul Cf. Vulg., *Prov.*, 31, 10.

104. This poem answers no. 134 below. Cf. note at no. 102 above.

104, 4. parti Read “pati” (*B*).

104, 26. matrem Read “matrem te” (*B*).

105, 4. lugdunem. Read “lugdunen.”

106. The poem amplifies Vulg., *Luc.*, 1, 28-38. It must have been written in the mid- or late 1480's (together with no. 102 and, perhaps, with nos. 43, 95, 104, 110, 115, 134, and 135), for it also occurs in Ms. 469, in a somewhat different form. Since the editor neglects these variants, I offer the more significant ones below.

106, 3. es Lacking in Ms. 469.

106, 5. Nec The reading in Ms. 469 is “Ne”.

106, 6. Crede The reading in Ms. 469 is “Certe”. Cf. 128, 49, below, where Brant makes the same change. (For the scansion of “certe” with a short second syllable see note at 86, 69 above.)

106, 7. gubernans The reading in Ms. 469 is “gubernas”.

106, 8. reget The reading in Ms. 469 is “rogat”.

106, 9. turbere... exhorresce The reading in Ms. 469 is “turbare... horresce”. The imperative “turbare”, which parallels “exhorresce”, is preferable to the subjunctive here.

106, 16. Pneumatis The reading in Ms. 469 is “Astrigeri”.

106, 18. hic The reading in Ms. 469 is “ille”.

106, 21. suffere Read “sufferre”, as in Ms. 469 and *B*.

106, 22. Desinet et The reading in Ms. 469 is “Desinet ac”.

106, 24. Concoepit - fuit Ms. 469 reads “Iam tua concepit dicta prius sterilis”.

106, 28. perficiet The reading in Ms. 469 is “perficiat”.

106, 35. reis The reading in Ms. 469 is “rei”.

106, 36. Filiolum miseris The reading in Ms. 469 is “Natum filiolis”.

107, 3. qui The reading in *B* is “quod”. **nuper** Granada fell on 2 January 1492. Cf. 86, 86 above and 148, 43-44 below.

107, 10. Cogitur This is also the reading in *B*, *err.*

107, 27. sedudent Read "secudent" (*B*).

108, 13-14. Sit licet - maniplos Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 9, 37; *Luc.*, 10, 2.

108, 21-24. Foenori - adire Cf. 92, 161-164 above, with note.

108, 25-26. Simplicis - sapientis Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 10, 16.

108, 26-28. Aspidis - artes Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 57, 5-6 and *Isid.*, *Orig.*, 12, 4, 12.

108, 29-32. Prandium - amictum Cf. 92, 121-123 above, with note.

108, 37. quicquid Read "quicquam" (*B*). **mea sola voluptas** Ov., *Epist.*, 18 (19), 17.

108, 40. tu mihi - eris Cf. Ov., *Rem.*, 464.

109, title After "solitaria" *B* adds "S. Brant".

109, 17. vive Read "vice" (*B*). **olimpos** Correct this reading to "olimpus". Cf. *B*, *err.*, which emends "olympos" in the main text to "olympus".

109, 18. chorus... angelicus The reading in *B* is "cohors... angelica".

110. The copy text for this poem is mostly *B*, not *A*, as one would expect. The critical apparatus compounds the confusion by citing the readings of *A* with the siglum *B*. The poem also appears in Ms. 469, fol. 30^v (see note at no. 98 above). Except as indicated below, the readings in the manuscript are the same as those in *A*. For the composition date see note at no. 106 above. For the antiphon "Salve, regina" see *AH* 50, no. 245.

110, 1. Salve The word is repeated in the right-hand margin of Ms. 469.

110, 4. quos The reading in Ms. 469 is "quoque".

110, 9. Et Iesum The reading in Ms. 469 is "Atque Ihesum".

111, title The title in *B* is "Ad sanctum appolinarem martyrem prope basileam. Sebastianus Brant."

111, 1. adde Read "addis" (*B*).

111, 7. Tu mihi - herba Cf. 97, 39 above.

113. The poem can be placed in the late summer or early autumn of 1493. See note at no. 96 above.

113, title. S. Brant The reading in *B* is "Sebastianus Brant".

113, 3. mare velivolum Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 224.

113, 8. definis Read "desinis" (*B*), here used in the unusual sense "sinis". Cf. 195, 59 below, where Brant uses "sinis" in the sense "desinis", as if the verbs were interchangeable.

113, 10. fine Read "sine" (*B*).

114, 3. fidei... scutum Vulg., *Eph.*, 6, 16.

114, 6. aerherum Read “aethereum” (*B*).

114, 7. expectore Read “ex pectore” (*B*). **manans** The reading in *B* is “manens”, corrected in *B*, *err*.

114, 9. praecamur Read “precamur” (*B*).

115. For the composition date (late 1480’s?) see note at no. 106 above. Several passages in the poem are based on Herimannus Contractus’s famous “Ave, praeclara maris stella”, a sequence that Brant translated into German in ca. 1490 (see no. 70 above). For lines 1-7 cf. *AH* 50, no. 241, 1-3 a: “Ave, praeclara / maris stella, / in lucem gentium / Maria, / divinitus orta. / Euge, Dei porta, / quae non aperta / veritatis lumen, / ipsum solem iustitiae, / indutum carne / ducis in orbem. / Virgo, decus mundi, / regina caeli, / praelecta ut sol, / pulchra lunaris ut fulgor, / agnosce omnes / te diligentes. / Te, plenam fide / virgam almae stirpis Iesse, / nascituram / priores / desideraverant / patres et prophetae.” For line 23 cf. *AH* 50, no. 241, 2 b: “Virgo, decus mundi, / regina caeli” (also used at 43, 3 above). And for line 99 cf. *AH* 50, no. 241, 7a: “Audi nos, / nam te filius / nihil negans honorat”.

115, 1. indutum carnem Correct this reading (*B*) to “indutum carne”.

115, 13. sit Correct this reading (*B*) to “fit”.

115, 15-16. Tota - tui Cf. Vulg., *Cant.*, 4, 7; 4, 10.

115, 29-30. Sydera - micas Cf. Vulg., *Apoc.*, 12, 1.

115, 31. thaumantias iris Ov., *Met.*, 4, 480.

115, 38. videt The reading in *B* is “vidit”, corrected in *B*, *err*.

115, 49. Delbora This variant spelling of “Debbora” is common in medieval manuscripts and early prints of the Bible.

115, 61-62. Tu lapidem - manus Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 117, 22.

115, 67-88. Tu turris - odor Most of these images come from the *Song of Songs*.

115, 69. Quippe Why is “Certe” in the copy text rejected here in favor of “Quippe” (*B*)? Cf. 86, 69 above, with note.

115, 80. in campis This is also the reading in my copies of *B*.

115, 89. herenas Read “harenas” (*B*). For the proverbial expression cf. Calp., *Ecl.*, 2, 73; Otto 786; *Nachträge*, pp. 57, 73, 104, 169, 237, and 273.

115, 90. libyci - soli See Otto 36; *Nachträge*, pp. 94, 123, and 126-127.

116, 2. insanus... **Horeste magis** Otto 1308; cf. 410, 9 below.

116, 6. Sprituum Read “Spirituum” (*B*).

116, 14. Se Read “Si” (*B*).

116, 20. **Mergeres** Read "Mergerer" (*B*).

116, 31. **nivis** Perhaps "nites" is meant.

117, 13-14. **Ut solet - ovis** Vulg., *Is.*, 53, 7; *Act.*, 8, 32.

117, 15. **Quid potui - neque feci?** Cf. the "improperia" of the Good Friday liturgy, where the crucified Christ asks: "Quid ultra debui facere tibi et non feci?" See *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474*, ed. by Robert Lippe, 2 vols (London, 1899), I, 171. The question itself is ultimately based on Vulg., *Is.*, 5, 4.

117, 20. **voluptatis... loco** Vulg., *Gen.*, 2, 10.

117, 35. **vetulentis** The intended reading is perhaps "violentis".

117, 37. **prae natis** Read "prae natis" (*B*). Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 44, 3.

117, 55-56. **Nemo - age** Cf. Vulg., *II Tim.*, 2, 3-5.

118. Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 77.

118, 17. **sudore** The reading in *B* is "labore".

118, 60. **famen** Read "famem" (*B*).

118, 62. **possit** Read "posset" (*B*).

118, 65. **invenere** The reading in *B* is "invenire", corrected in *B*, *err*.

118, 73. **plaga innumera** These words are by no means "metrically incorrect", as is asserted in vol. II, 53. The long final syllables are elided.

118, 77. **saetis** Read "saxis", as in *B* (and in the app. crit. to this line).

118, 96. **noluit** The reading in *B* is "voluit", corrected in *B*, *err*.

118, 120. **et vetat** Read "te vetat" (*B*).

118, 163-165. **Congregat - prophetas** Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 23, 37.

118, 169. **durae populum cervicis** Vulg., *Exod.*, 32, 9; 33, 5; and elsewhere.

118, 178. **vita... et lux** Vulg., *Ioh.*, 1, 4. **duxque comesque** Ov., *Trist.*, 1, 10, 10; 3, 7, 18; *Pont.*, 4, 12, 23.

118, 181. **quorum - fatigat** Cf. Ov., *Rem.*, 461; also cf. 175, 49; 197, 50; and 463, 11 below.

118, 189-190. **Temporis - dei** Cf. Vulg., *Gal.*, 4, 4.

118, 193. **domo panis** The name Bethlehem was traditionally interpreted as "the house of bread". Cf. Hier., *Epist.*, 108, 10, where Paula exclaims (with an allusion to Vulg., *Ioh.*, 6, 51): "Salve Bethlem, domus panis, in qua natus est ille panis, qui de caelo descendit"; Isid., *Orig.*, 15, 1, 23.

118, 193-194. **vivus... panis** Vulg., *Ioh.*, 6, 51.

118, 198. **In laqueum - ruit** Cf. Vulg., *Act.*, 1, 18. **laqueum et foveam** Vulg., *Josh.*, 23, 13; and elsewhere.

118, 199. haec monimenta reliquit Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 512.

118, 224. Ad vomitum... ire retro Vulg., *Prov.*, 26, 11; *II Petr.*, 2, 22.

118, 225. malesuada fames Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 276.

118, 226. siliquis - sues Cf. Vulg., *Luc.*, 15, 15-16.

118, 229-232. Se probet - nephas Cf. Vulg., *I Cor.*, 11, 28-29.

118, 239-240. Pauperibus - petunt Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 67, 11 and 22, 5.

118, 241. Dat - quotidianum Cf. Vulg., *Luc.*, 11, 3.

118, 243-246. Quem - bibit Cf. Vulg., *Ioh.*, 6, 48-52; 6, 35.

118, 247-248. Israhel - sugis Cf. Vulg., *Deut.*, 32, 13.

118, 248. Saxa sudant The meter requires "Sudant saxa", as in *B.*

119 and 120. These poems can be placed in the summer semester of 1493. See note at no. 96 above.

121, 5. tua res agitur Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 18, 84.

121, 31. Formidandus - theatris See Val. Max., 2, 10, 8; Mart., 1, praef. Cf. 26, 53 above, with note.

121, 43. Lectus - Codro Iuv., 3, 203 (modern editors prefer "Cordo").

122, title The title in *C* is simply "De sancto Jvone hymnus."

122, 20. Descipis Read "Despicias" (*A C*).

123, 2. Jste - magna [Gregorius I], *Liber responsalis sive antiphonarius* (*PL* 78, col. 824 D).

123, 5. poste Correct this reading (*A*) to "posce".

125. This poem was written in the summer semester of 1493. See note at no. 96 above. Lines 93-96 parallel 96, 31-32 above.

125, 8. Sapphico Read "Sapphica" (*C*).

125, 35. posses... fideles Correct this reading (*C*) to "possent... fideles".

125, 57. campo medium Read "campo medio", as in *C*.

125, 134. soro Read "soror" (*C*).

126. The metrical note in vol. II, 56 is in error. The poem in fact consists of 12 iambic trimeters, 2 elegiac distichs, and a series of other meters, each of which is identified in the sidenotes.

126, 47. peecor Read "precor".

127. If this poem, as seems probable, was written shortly after the publication of the *Carmina* (Basel, 1494), it should have been placed after no. 128.

127, 9. et denos nunque Read "Ter denos nunquam" (*B*).

127, 14. ethero Read "ethereo", as in the lemma in the app. crit..

127, 37-40. Ergo - coronae These verses are not "iambs", as is asserted in vol. II, 56, but trochees. The verses are closely paralleled in 128, 301-302 and 128, 312-313 below.

128, title. Monocolon - trimetro This metrical indication applies only to lines 1-4, not to the entire poem. Hence it should have been printed in the smaller, regular font, as in *B*.

128, 12. repetitur Read "reperitur" (*B*).

128, 26. genitu Read "gemitu" (*B*).

128, 49-60. Votum - locum The strophe indentation is unorthodox. The same goes for lines 141-156 below.

128, 49. certe This reading is changed to "crede" in *B, err.* Cf. 106, 6 above, where Brant makes the same change. (For "certe" with a short second syllable see note at 86, 69 above.)

128, 52. Direxitque In *B, err.* the reader is instructed to correct "dixeritque" to "direxitque". This correction has already been made in my copies of *B*.

128, 83. stabula - ferarum Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 179.

128, 87. Exemplo The reading in *B* is "Exemplo", corrected in *B, err.*

128, 98. Stratus In *B, err.* the reader is instructed to correct "status" to "stratus". This correction has already been made in my copies of *B*.

128, 113. Ille Read "Me" (*B*).

128, 130. fame The long second syllable is not a metrical error, as is asserted in vol. II, 57. See, for example, Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 421 and Ov., *Met.*, 5, 165; and cf. 104, 10 above and 147, 301 below. The same is true for the second long syllable of "fide" in line 239. See, for example, Lucr., 4, 480 and 482 and Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 235.

128, 174. casam In *B, err.* the reader is instructed to correct "causam" to "casam". This correction has already been made in my copies of *B*.

128, 187. Considunt In *B, err.* the reader is instructed to correct "confidunt" to "considunt". This correction has already been made in my copies of *B*.

128, 188. diuturnus Correct this reading (*B*) to "diurnus" (*B, err.*), required by the meter.

128, 267. sanctasque The reading in *B* is "sanctaue", corrected in *B, err.*

128, 299. Ad divum - Supplicatio In *B* this heading is printed in large type, signaling that lines 301-323 are in fact a new, independent poem.

128, 303. popularis aura Hor., *Carm.*, 3, 2, 20.

129. The poem consists of 28 hexameters, not of 14 elegiac distichs, as is stated in vol. II, 57.

129, 2. vestra est Read "vestra et" (A).

129, 7. potis em Read "potis est" (A).

129, 12. Quin Correct this reading (A) to "Qui" (B).

129, 27. habebus Read "habebis".

130, 8-10. Mali - res Cf. 67, 20-22 above.

130, 10. Nostra - medium res Cf. Hor., *Ars*, 148.

131, 1-4. Omnis - contineantur Brant paraphrases Quint., *Inst.*, 11, 2, 1.

131, 4-6. Plus - ad manum Sen., *Benef.*, 7, 1, 3.

131, 10. aundare Read "abundare".

131, 11-12. Unde - nuncupatur See Quint., *Inst.*, 11, 2, 1.

131, 31. pervitas Read "parvitas".

133. Brant defends Jacob Philippi's *Reformatorium vite morumque et honestatis clericorum saluberrimum* (Basel, 1494) against those who believe that the decrees of the Church Fathers cited in the book are superseded by later tradition and modern custom. The letter is by no means an invective, as is claimed in vol. II, 59. The addressee, moreover, is Jacob Philippi, not "Johannes Philippi", as is repeatedly stated in vol. II, 59.

133, 2. grossentur Read "grassentur".

133, 10. disuetudinemque Read "desuetudinemque".

133, 38-39. Non - diversa Cf. Cic., *Top.*, 17.

133, 40. anones Read "canones".

133, 71. Esaiem Read "Esaiam". The verse "Sine causa - docentes" is in fact based on Vulg., *Matth.*, 15, 9, but Brant here quotes from *Decret.*, 1, 8, 9, where the verse is ascribed to Isaiah.

133, 72. 8. dis. c. vi. The correct reference is "8. dis. Si solus" (*Decret.*, 1, 8, 9).

133, 88. quos Read "quia", as in *Decret.*, 1, 8, 8.

133, 89. ineternum Read "in eternum".

134, 3. Quis tam crudeles... sumere poenas Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 501.

134, 7. Squalentem - crines Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 277.

134, 9. O lux... spes o fidissima Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 281.

134, 11. tua me - imago Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 695.

134, 19-20. senectae... requies Verg., *Aen.*, 9, 481-482; 12, 57-58.

134, 23. largos effundere fletus Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 271.

134, 27-28. Non - nimis Cf. Vulg., *Ruth*, 1, 20.

134, 30. sola... soli For metrical reasons read "soli... sola", as in *B*.

135. For the composition date (mid- or late 1480's) see note at no. 106 above.

135, 9-10. Qui - habenas Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, 3, 4, 45-48.

136. In *B* there are numerous sidenotes, giving the names of the various saints mentioned in the poem. None of these marginalia appears in the app. crit.

The list of eremites given in vol. II, 60 omits all the female saints and not a few of the men. Here is the full list: Elijah, Elisha, John the Baptist, Hilarion, Jerome, Francis of Assisi, Mary Magdalene, Euphrosyne, Paul the Hermit, Anthony, Pachomius, Macarius the Alexandrian and Macarius the Egyptian, Benedict of Nursia, Bernard of Clairvaux, Aegidius, and Mary of Egypt.

136, 3. Spiritu - relinquens See Vulg., *IV Reg.*, 2, 9.

136, 6-8. Iohannes - usquam Vulg., *Matth.*, 11, 11; *Luc.*, 7, 28.

136, 17-18. honorem Cardinis spernens According to the medieval *vitas* (*PL* 22, cols. 202, 204, 235, 237, and 238) as well as the *Legenda aurea*, chapter 146 (141), St. Jerome was a cardinal before he left for the Holy Land.

136, 31. getas Read "geras" (*B*).

136, 34. pergit Read "peregit" (*B*).

136, 89. Liquit Read "Linquit" (*B*). Note that the very next verb ("Dat") in line 90 is also in the present tense.

136, 92. membris This is also the reading in *B*, *err*.

136, 107-108. rapuit - draconis Read "rapuit columbam, ex l Ore draconis" (*B*).

137, 138, 139. These three epigrams are not independent "poems about Mary's virginal splendor", as is suggested in vol. II, 61. They are brief summaries ("argumenta") for each of the three books of Wimpfeling's *De conceptu et triplici Mariae... candore carmen*. As such they could not possibly have been included in the *Carmina* of 1494. Their absence from the *Carmina* can therefore not be used to determine the publication date of Wimpfeling's poem.

140. According to vol. II, 61, this poem is found on fol. 147^v of *A*. In fact it stands on fol. 141^v (= sig. u7^v).

140, 11. Vendicata a Read "Vendicat a" (*A*).

140, 12. tempus edax Ov., *Met.*, 15, 234; *Pont.*, 4, 10, 7; also 188, 22 below.

142, 4. Truditur dies die Hor., *Carm.*, 2, 18, 15.

142, 11. huic numere Read “huic numero”.

142, 22-23. populatque - Gurgulio Verg., *Georg.*, 1, 185-186.

144, 40. facis The reading in *B* is “struis”.

144, 43. quisquis - virorum Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 1, 32. According to the app. crit., there is no sidenote at line 43 in *B*. This is true enough; but there is no sidenote in the edited text either. The same goes for lines 45, 47, 49, 51, and 53, where the app. crit. keeps reminding us of the phantom marginalia.

144, 63-64. Equora - Tingens See Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 664-665.

144, 87. ad impia tartara Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 543.

144, 90. pando Correct this reading (*B*) to “panda” (*B*, *err.*). Cf. 63, 14 above.

144, 91. Hos Correct this reading (*B*) to “Has [*sc.* urbes]”, as at 63, 15 above.

146, 20-21. domine - tuae Vulg., *Psalm.*, 25, 8.

146, 35-36. hortari - campum Cf. Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1, 8, 82 and 3, 4, 76; also cf. 67, 15-16 above.

146, 36. nollo Read “nullo”.

146, 43. voluit Read “volvit”.

146, 62. ignobili ocio Verg., *Georg.*, 4, 564.

146, 67. tam etsi Read “tametsi”.

146, 69-70. sub... umbra alarum tuarum Vulg., *Psalm.*, 16, 8.

146, 72-74. nunquam - putem Cf. Cic., *Off.*, 3, 1, also alluded to at 257, 13 below.

146, 75. Sus, Minervam Otto 1118; *Nachträge*, p. 187.

146, 80-87. Alexander - describi Cf. Hor., *Epist.*, 2, 1, 232-241; Plin., *Nat.*, 7, 125. The ancient sources state that the sculptor was in fact Lysippus (not Polyclitus, as Brant has it).

146, 87-88. Cherylo illo - odi Cf. Hor., *Ars*, 357-358.

146, 88. risu Read “cum risu”.

146, 90. Inter - olores Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 9, 36.

147. The app. crit. gives the impression that *B* has no marginalia up to line 104, but does offer them thereafter. In fact, *B* has no sidenotes anywhere in this poem. In the app. crit. the lemma “Samarium delae-vit” to line 344 and the lemma “commendatio” to line 550 evidently refer to sidenotes in *A* that are lacking in the edited text. Finally, the lemma “tibi certe” which is said to refer to line “597” actually refers to line 599.

147, 11. **sidenote** Correct "reges... fuerit" to "reges... fuerint".

147, 13-14. **Cunque - simul** Cf. *Narrenschiff*, 83, 42.

147, 33-34. **Non - lupi** Cf. *Vulg.*, *Ioh.*, 10, 1. Cf. 195, 264-265 below.

147, 36. **dio** The reading in *B* is "deo".

147, 44. **decusque** Correct this reading (*B*) to "deusque" (*B*, *err.*).

147, 57. **Unde** Correct this reading (*B*) to "Inde"; cf. lines 55 and 56 above.

147, 59. **Quin** This is also the reading in my copy of the first issue of *B*. The reading in my copy of the September issue is "Qui". The correct reading is "Quique" (*A*).

147, 61. **Deinde** The reading in *B* is "Hunc".

147, 73. **nipotum** Read "nepotum" (*B*).

147, 74. **poterit** Read "poterat", as in the first issue of *B*. My copy of the September issue misprints the word as "poterta".

147, 99. **reliquias Iuda** Cf. *Vulg.*, *Ier.*, 40, 15 and elsewhere.

147, 161-162. **Sic - avus** *Vulg.*, *Exod.*, 20, 5.

147, 165. **Caepisti - desinis** *Ov.*, *Epist.*, 9, 23.

147, 166. **Contemptor superum** *Ov.*, *Met.*, 3, 514; line 229 below.

147, 182. **Quam** Read "Quod" (*B*).

147, 217. **Quam** Read "Quod" (*B*).

147, 229. **Contemptor superum** See note at line 166 above.

147, 299. **Iuda** Correct this reading (*B*) to "Iudae" ("iude" in *B*, *err.*).

147, 308. **duce** Read "duces" (*B*).

147, 332. **ut** Read "et" (*B*).

147, 365. **inter** Read "iter" (*B*).

147, 380. **temnit** Correct this reading (*B*) to "tenuit" (*B*, *err.*).

147, 381. **sit** Correct this reading (*B*) to "sic".

147, 399. **sidenote** Read "Nabuchodonosor".

147, 447. **O patria, o... divum domus inclyta** *Verg.*, *Aen.*, 2, 241 (also used at 156, 73 below).

147, 456. **esse** In *B*, *err.* the reader is instructed to correct "ipse" to "esse". This correction has already been made in my copies of *B*.

147, 463-464. **suspiria - Pectore** Cf. *Ov.*, *Met.*, 10, 402-403.

147, 567-634. **Ecce - tuis** These verses reprise no. 86, lines 35-48, 51-80, 85-86, and 91-112 above.

147, 575. **Inque - energia** Cf. 464, 1 below. **Inque tuo vultu** *Ov.*, *Ars*, 3, 606.

147, 596. **Quo** Read "Quos", as in *B* (and in the lemma in the app. crit. as well as at 86, 66 above).

147, 599. tibi certe To eliminate “certe” with a short second syllable (see note at 86, 69 above) Brant changed the reading of *A* to “tibi ubique” (*B*, *err.*), misprinted in the main text of *B* as “ibi et ubique”.

147, 601-616. O tibi - potes Cf. 452, 31-44 below.

147, 618. Macaedonasque Read “Macedonasque” (*B*).

147, 619-626. Te moveat - solo Cf. 452, 57-64 below.

147, 625. blasphaema Read “blasphaema” (*B*); cf. 86, 103 above; 452, 63 below.

148, 27. Rex maximus armis Cf. 155, 20-21 below: “... dux maximus armis”; Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 339.

148, 43. nuper See note at 107, 3 above.

148, 61. a prima... origine mundi Lucan., 6, 611; cf. Lucr., 5, 548; Verg., *Georg.*, 2, 336; Ov., *Trist.*, 2, 559.

148, 69. pueri - puellae Verg., *Georg.*, 4, 476; *Aen.*, 6, 307; see also 193, 1 below.

150, title. humanarum que Read “humanarumque”. **Sebastiani Brant** The reading in *B* is “S. Brant”.

150, 18. linguis Read “linquis” (*B*).

150, 19. linquis The reading in *B* is “explodis”.

150, 21. theologus The second long syllable is not a metrical error, as is stated in vol. II, 66, but a metrical license. The only way to fit a word with three or more consecutive short syllables into a dactylic meter is to lengthen one of the syllables. See also 465, 7 below. Similarly Brant reads “benēficia” at 116, 50 above and “benēficio” at 172, 42 below; “epitōma” at 140, 3; 147, 644; and 187, 6; and “Vōlueras” at 189, 76.

151, 12. Viti... dies June 15. The poem can therefore be dated more precisely “After 15 June 1495”.

151, 17. patulus Read “patulis” (*A*).

151, 21. mylui Read “mylvi”.

151, 31. circum - caterva Sil., 10, 452.

151, 33. iter... liquidum Verg., *Aen.*, 5, 217.

151, 45. quisquis Read “quisquam” (*A*).

151, 61-62. Omnibus - sequi Cf. 452, 29-30 below.

151, 61. Omnibus - animus Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 60.

151, 88. Siris Read “Sitis” (*A*).

153, 8. tibi Read “sibi” (*D*), referring to “regi” in the preceding line. For this use of “sibi”, typical of Middle Latin, see for example 4, 15; 24, 43; 26, 10; 26, 55; 27, 27; and 94, 2 above.

153, 13. immutat The app. crit. confuses the readings of *A C* and *B D*.

153, 34. **Statius** See Stat., *Theb.*, 3, 499-565.

153, 35. **Throiae** Read "Troiae" (D).

153, 36. **Solymae** See Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum*, 6, 288-309.

153, 37. **aequa** Read "equa" (D). **Xerxis** See Val. Max., 1, 6, ext. 1; cf. Brant, *Narrenschiff*, 56, 19-26.

153, 39. **Hannibal** See Plin., *Nat.*, 7, 35. **Iuscus** Iuv., 10, 158. Cf. 235, 14-15 below.

153, 45. **Caesaris** See Lucan., 1, 522-695.

153, 46. **caesaris** See Verg., *Georg.*, 1, 466-488.

153, 92. **consalutare** Correct this reading (D) to "consolidare" (D, err.).

153, 109. **Nestoris annos** See note at 67, 48 above.

154, 46. **rate** Read "ratem" (D).

155, 8. **in Abbatis - Catalogo** See Johannes Trithemius, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basel, 1494), sig. t5^v = fol. 133^v. There Trithemius writes of Johannes Reuchlin: "Dignus profecto qui solis litteris, non etiam perstreptenti populari curiae incumberet".

155, 12. **te virtus - reservat** Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 5, 269.

155, 19. **si quod praestantius** Correct this reading (A B) to "si quid praestantius".

155, 20-21. **Vivat - diu** This is an elegiac distich that should be set off as such in print. **dux maximus armis** Cf. 148, 27 above, with note.

155, 27. **incundissima** Read "iucundissima" (A B).

156, 44. **medio... urbe** Correct this reading (B) to "media... urbe".

156, 46. **Deucalionis aquas** Prop., 2, 32, 54; Ov., *Fast.*, 4, 794.

156, 50. **voret** This form is also given in B, err.

156, 61. **malefacta** Read "madefacta" (B).

156, 62. **novum** The (erroneous) reading in B is "nonum".

156, 64. **Sylomae** Read "Solymae" (B).

156, 69. **Plinius** Plin., *Nat.*, 3, 55.

156, 71. **Nec... nunc** The reading in B is "Hinc... non".

156, 73. **O Roma - bello** Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 241 (also used at 147, 447 above).

156, 89. **Foelix - foelix** Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 657.

156, 99-100. **Dii meliora - Incuciant** Cf. 157, 83-84 below.

156, 101. **decus atque columen** Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, 2, 17, 4.

157. The poem must have been written on (or shortly after) 1 March 1496, for in lines 25-26. Brant says that the portentous piglet was born "today" (that is, on March 1, as indicated in the title).

157, title. Anno & Read “Anno &c” (*B*).

157, 11. nocta Read “nocte” (*B*).

157, 19. cervam See no. 167 below.

157, 22. in februi fine On February 26 (the Friday after Invocavit), according to 158, 47 below.

157, 40. Grūnitū Read “Grunnitum”, as in *B*. (The app. crit. is in error.)

157, 41-42. Sus - omen erat Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 42-48.

157, 43-44. Foedera - Firmarat Cf., for example, Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 641; Liv., 1, 24.

157, 44. Cereri - porca fuit See, for example, Serv., *Georg.*, 2, 380 and *Aen.*, 3, 118.

157, 49. muliebris The long third syllable is by no means incorrect, as is asserted in vol. II, 71.

157, 57-58. Neu - ecclesiam Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 79, 9-14. Also cf. 26, 1-4 above; 180, 143 and 231, 95-96 below.

157, 57. sylvestis Read “sylvestris” (*B*). **amoena vireta** Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 638.

157, 78. cito The reading in *B* is “brevi”.

157, 83-84. Dii melius - incuciant Cf. 156, 99-100 above.

157, 111. septem - trioni Verg., *Georg.*, 3, 381.

157, 118. Porca - cubet Brant alludes to the white sow that Aeneas sacrificed to Juno. See Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 42-48 and 81-85. Cf. lines 41-42 above.

159, 4. Erunnae Read “Erumnae”.

159, 13. bonus... servus Vulg., *Matth.*, 25, 21; *Luc.*, 19, 17. Cf. 92, 161-164 above, with note.

161, title. tercia Nonas Aprilis The freaks of nature were in fact born on the Wednesday after Easter (April 6). See the title and line 96 of no. 160 above. The composition date of the poem should be given as “After 5 May”, because Brant refers to that date in line 85 below.

161, 1. Thuscus aruspex Mart., 3, 24, 3.

161, 4. tibi Read “sibi” (*B*).

161, 6. Oedipodis Otto 1280.

161, 41. superate This form also occurs in *B*, *err*.

161, 56. misera - canam There is no “Textverlust” in *B*, at least not in my copies. (The app. crit. is in error.)

161, 75-76. Sic grex - sequi Cf. *Narrenschiff*, 99, 75-78. According to Aesop, fable 71 (Perry) and Avianus, fable 18, the three (or four) oxen

are safe from the lion only as long as they act in concert. Once they start quarreling among themselves, however, they perish one by one.

161, 78. In se - imperium Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 12, 25; *Luc.*, 11, 17. Also cf. 195, 469 below.

161, 105. iugant Read "iungant" (B).

161, 118. cygnus... anser Cf. Otto 496; *Nachträge*, pp. 151 and 267; also cf. 146, 90 above, with note.

163, title. olivierii Read "olyverij", as in A, *err.* (correcting "olvierii" in the main text).

163, 11. enim This form is also given in A, *err.*

163, 31. phlaebothomas Correct this reading (A) to "phlaebothomias" ("phlebotomias" in A, *err.*). Cf. line 35 and 175, 88 below.

163, 36. rapta Correct this reading (A) to "rupta". Cf. 162, 43-44 above.

163, 60. praeterire Correct this reading (A) to "praeteriere" ("preteriere" in A, *err.*).

163, 72. After this line restore the following distich:

Tu mihi materiam scribendi nempe dedisti.
Proque tuo / haec scripsi carmina / amore. Vale.

164, 10. quicquid Read "quicquam" (B).

164, 19. vel arte Read "vel ab arte" (B).

167. This poem must have been written not long before 1 March 1496. See 158, 31-34 above; cf. 157, 19-20.

167, 7-8. cum Troiana - avum See Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 483-499.

167, 9. Tyrinthius heros Ov., *Ars*, 2, 221; *Met.*, 7, 410; *Fast.*, 2, 349. Brant refers to Hercules' third labor, the capture of the hind of Arcadia.

167, 11-14. Magnus - suis See Plin., *Nat.*, 8, 119.

167, 22. Caesar See Caes., *Gall.*, 6, 26.

167, 47-48. Extrahit - vorat Plin., *Nat.*, 8, 118; Isid., *Orig.*, 12, 1, 18. See further Herbert Kolb, 'Der Hirsch, der Schlangen frißt', *Mediaevalia litteraria: Festschrift für Helmut de Boor zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ursula Hennig and Herbert Kolb (Munich, 1971), pp. 583-610.

167, 61. stagyrites Cf. Arist., *Historia animalium*, 1, 1 (488b) and 8, 5 (611a).

167, 88. exercent Correct this reading (A) to "exercet" (A, *err.*).

167, 93. in provida Read "inprovida" (A).

167, 95. solet - cuncta Cf. Plin., *Nat.*, 8, 114: "cum erexere [cervi] aures, acerrimi auditus"; Isid., *Orig.*, 12, 1, 19.

- 167, 97-98. **Stat - vias** Cf. Plin., *Nat.*, 8, 113.
- 168, 4. **importumum** Read “importunum”.
- 168, 9. **arbitatum** Read “arbitratum”.
- 168, 12. **Solis ante Johannis** On June 19.
- 168, 15. **lincamentis** Read “lineamentis”.
- 168, 16. **canina... speciem** Read “caninam... speciem”.
- 168, 17. **humanum... effigiem** Read “humanam... effigiem”.
- 168, 20. **dignosi** Read “dignosci”.
- 168, 24. **dctissimis** Read “doctissimis”.
- 168, 27-28. **Nec - suo** Ov., *Epist. Sapph.*, 72.
- 170, 1-2. **Gloria - queat** Cf. Macr., *Sat.*, 1, 24, 8, also quoted in Brant’s apology for excluding the *Priapea* from his Vergil-edition of 1502 (see p. 82 below): “Haec est quidem... Maronis gloria ut nullius laudibus crescat, nullius vituperatione minuat”.
- 170, 20. **labori** Read “labore” (*B*).
- 171, 3. **de Academia cupidinis cygnum** Apul., *Plat.*, 1, 1.
- 171, 26. **Nocet - voluptas** Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 2, 55.
- 171, 27. **Plato** See Plato, *Epist.*, 3 (315c).
- 171, 29-30. **qui quid - dicit** Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 2, 3-4.
- 171, 32-38. **utile - sus** See Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 2, 18-26.
- 171, 38-41. **O socij - ostendunt** See Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 198-206.
- 171, 47-48. **ad strepitum - curam** Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 2, 31.
- 171, 49-51. **Superasque - virtus** Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 128-130.
- 171, 53. **cum Democrito - solere** Cf. Iuv., 10, 33-34; cf. 15, 25 above.
- 171, 57-58. **Nos - alcinoique** Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 2, 27-28.
- 171, 62-64. **Et ni... torquebimur** Cf. Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 2, 34-37.
- 171, 65-66. **Esdras - flevisse** See Vulg., *I Esdr.*, 10, 1. **cum universa multitudine** Vulg., *II Par.*, 1, 3 and *Ezech.*, 27, 27.
- 171, 66. **Librum... cum lumine** Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 2, 35.
- 171, 67-68. **quae non - paucis** Vulg., *IV Esdr.*, 8, 61: “quod non omnibus demonstravi nisi tibi et tibi similibus paucis”. (The sidenote now at line 65 should be moved down to line 67.)
- 171, 69. **Et in - lumen** Vulg., *Psalm.*, 35, 10.
- 171, 79. **hauc** Read “haud”.
- 172, 24. **colore** Read “colere”.
- 172, 34. **Ascraei: et caecutientis** Hesiod and the blind poet Homer.
- 172, 37. **Cyrrha** One of the two peaks of Mount Parnassus. See Isid., *Orig.*, 14, 8, 11.
- 172, 42. **beneficio** For the scansion see note at 150, 21 above.

174, 7. novae Read "nove".

174, 17. Ionaiv This word (name?) makes no sense.

174, 36-37. Nisi - in vobis Vulg., *Ioh.*, 6, 54.

174, 49-50. Amen - praeterire See Vulg., *Matth.*, 5, 18.

174, 67. luceque clarius Otto 999; *Nachträge*, pp. 59, 75, 180-181.

175, 1. inter memorande Ov., *Pont.*, 4, 13, 1.

175, 3. lyncea lumina Petrarch, *Ecl.*, 2, 107-108, referring to the shepherd Argus: "lumina centum / Lincea"; Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice secunda (Catharinaria)*, 3, 95 (in: *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae, Pars secunda*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 119 A, ed. by A.P. Orbán, Turnhout, 1992), referring to Aristotle: "Lyncea in aethereos attollens lumina tractus".

175, 8. Quaeritur in scirpo... nodus Otto 1607; *Nachträge*, pp. 210 and 287.

175, 17-18. Non placuit - eis Cf. Aesop, fable 44 (Perry); Phaedr., 1, 2.

175, 19-20. Quaeque - accipiter Cf. Aesop, fable 486 (Perry); Phaedr., 1, 31.

175, 22. dira iuga For metrical reasons read "iuga dira" (B).

175, 25. phorcigena That is, "born in Pforzheim". **iustissima cura** Verg., *Aen.*, 10, 132.

175, 32. Hippurim - equis Cf. *Narrenschiff*, 99, 145-146, with Zarncke's note.

175, 37. Totnova Read "Tot nova" (B).

175, 45. manibus - cyclopum Ov., *Met.*, 1, 259.

175, 49. quorum - fatigat Cf. 118, 181 above, with note.

175, 59. extremo... in orbe Britanni Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 1, 66; Hor., *Carm.*, 1, 35, 29-30.

175, 69. Cangrenave Correct this reading (B) to "Gangrenave".

175, 75. diri Why is this reading (B) preferred over "duri" in the copy text?

175, 99. Qui modo - inter Cf. 176, 7-8 below.

175, 107. Alea iacta... est Otto 55; *Nachträge*, pp. 52, 69, 127-128, 231, and 258.

176. Like nos. 23, 34, 61, 72, 74, and 82 above, these verses were written at the end of the rector's term. The composition date should be corrected to ca. 30 April 1497.

176, 1. Ivo Believing that the copy text reads "Vvo" (see vol. II, 79), the editor hesitantly proposes to read "Ivo". This reading is indeed correct (the initial letter is either an ornamental "I" or, less probably,

a “Y”). The name is in the vocative case: “Ivo, [the University of] Basel, annually celebrating your fame [on May 19], has elected a distinguished and pious rector.” The editor’s fears concerning the syntax of lines 1-2 are unfounded. There is also no reason to suppose that the epigram is in any way incomplete.

176, 7-8. Tempore - adiit Cf. 175, 99 above. The reference is to Maximilian’s Italian expedition (September-December 1496).

176, 11-12. Scilicet - premit King Charles VIII in fact entered Rome on 31 December 1494 and Naples on 22 February 1495.

177, 3. posset esse In the app. crit. the lemma and note are reversed.

178, 4. imbrae Read “imbre”, as in *C* (and the lemma in the app. crit.).

180. The app. crit. fails to inform the reader that the sidenotes do not occur in *D*.

180, 1, sidenote For “Ps. lxxxix” read “Ps. lxxix” (*A C*).

180, 2. The sidenote “xl. dis. quisquis” does not occur in *A C*. The correct reference is “xli. dis. quisquis”.

180, 3. praetermisimus This is the reading of *A B C*. (The app. crit. is in error.)

180, 4, sidenote *A C* read “frig. fraternitatis”, not “frag. fraternitatis”.

180, 16. Expectat The reading in *C* is “Expectet”.

180, 26. Qui The reading in *A C D* is “Quod”.

180, 33. orbe The reading in *C* is “urbe”.

180, 35, sidenote For “et bonos” read “contra bonos” (*A C*).

180, 52. Here the editor has omitted the marginal note “ii. corin. iii” (*A C*) - an allusion to Vulg., *II Cor.*, 3, 17.

180, 55. In grege - locustae Vulg., *Prov.*, 30, 27.

180, 57, sidenote For “dis. cle. ad nostrum” read “dic. cle. ad nostrum” (*A C*).

180, 61, sidenote For “i. de reli. do et” *A* reads “i. de reli. do. contra”. *C* offers the correct reading “i. de reli. do. et”.

180, 92. vulpis Cf. Vulg., *Ezech.*, 13, 4; Otto 1939; *Nachträge*, pp. 229-230 and 294.

180, 93-94. Sic - scatent Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 7, 15.

180, 95-96. Nomine - Casta Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 3, 281-282.

180, 100, sidenote For “Esaie” read “Esaiae” (*A C*).

180, 101. Curios simulant Iuv., 2, 3; cf. Otto 485; *Nachträge*, pp. 151 and 235. Clodius P. Clodius was a type of the adulterer. See Brant, *Narrenschiff*, 33, 25-26, with my note in ‘Materials’, 588.

180, 113, sidenote For the spelling "Apostrophæ", common in Middle Latin, see also 206, 73 and the heading of no. 220 below.

180, 127. at Read "atra", as in *A C D*.

180, 130. Dat Correct this reading (*A C*) to "Det" (*D*). Note that the parallel verb "putet" is also in the subjunctive.

180, 134. Complacitum - potest Cf. Vulg., *Sirach*, 8, 20.

180, 143. Ille - depastus Brant alludes to Vulg., *Psalm.*, 79, 14. Cf. 157, 57-58 above, with note.

180, 143-144. at olim - simul The variant reading "amoenos - ferunt", quoted in the app. crit. as occurring in *B*, in fact occurs in *D*.

180, 145. statui The reading in *C* is "fatui". **sidenote** For "Eccles." read "Ecclesi." (*A C*).

180, 154. fausto sine Read "fausto fine", as in *A C D*.

181, 3, sidenote For "multas res acus" read "multas acus" (*A C*).

181, 5. inbibis Read "imbibis", as in *A-C*. (The app. crit. is in error.)

181, 9. Simea - genasque Cf. *Iuv.*, 10, 193-195.

181, 14. esse potes The (unmetrical) reading in *A C* is "potes esse". The correction comes from Zarncke's edition.

183, 21. rumpantur ut ilia Verg., *Ecl.*, 7, 26.

185, 90. per This is also the reading in my copy of the September issue of *A*. The reading in the first issue is "pro", corrected in *A*, *err*.

185, 103. Christicolas The reading in *A* is "Christicolos", corrected in *A*, *err*.

185, 115. cum voce - tendens Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 10, 667.

185, 117-118. nostros... domos Correct this reading (*A*) to "nostros... domos" (*A*, *err*).

186. These verses are lesser asclepiads.

186, 5. Belgicum This is also the reading in my copy of the September issue of *A*. The reading in the first issue is "Belegicum", corrected in *A*, *err*.

186, 14. Gundonio This is also the reading in my copy of the September issue of *A*; cf. 185, lines 43, 58, 77, and 82 above. My copy of the first issue reads "Gundoino".

188, 5. heliconae Read "helicone" (*B*).

188, 8. Cyrrha See note at 172, 37 above.

188, 22. tempus edax For this Ovidian phrase see note at 140, 12 above.

188, 35. Non - lucem Here Brant, punning on the name Reuchlin (= "Räuchlein", "little smoke"), quotes Hor., *Ars*, 143. Cf. also 237, 5 and 361, 6 ("Fumule") below.

189, 12. addit Correct this reading (*B*) to “adit” (*A* and *B*, *err.*).

189, 41. Ut dies Correct this reading (*B*) to “Utque dies” (*B*, *err.*).

189, 43. date regius) ille Read “date) regius ille”, as in *A B*.

189, 50. Quondan Read “Quondam” (*A B*).

189, 58. portus et aura The image comes from Ov., *Epist.*, 1, 110, as found in the manuscripts and early editions: “... portus et aura tuis”. Citing among other examples Ov., *Pont.*, 2, 8, 68 and Apul., *Met.*, 11, 15, modern editors emend the phrase to “... portus et ara tuis”.

189, 59. confidentius Read “confidentibus” (*A B*).

189, 64. Berchtoldum Read “Berchtholdum” (*A B*).

189, 70. Mitti Read “Mittit” (*A B*).

189, 76. Volveras Read “Volueras”. See note at 150, 21 above.

192, 6. volipes Quint., *Inst.*, 1, 6, 33.

192, 13. Mutat - iniquum Cf. Suet., *Vesp.*, 16, 3: “vulpem pilum mutare, non mores”.

192, 16. sub dolus Read “subdolus” (*A*).

192, 36. patres Read “partes” (*A*).

192, 59-62. Haec - videt In vol. II, 87 the editor unwittingly quotes these very lines from Jean Bouchet, *Von den losen Füchsen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1546). He then wonders if they are indeed by Brant.

192, 60. aures arrige Otto 215; *Nachträge*, pp. 96 and 138.

192, 89-90. Deficiet - cutis Phaedr., appendix Perottina 25, motto: “Ubi leonis pellis deficit, vulpinam insuendam esse”.

192, 92. pericula Read “pericla” (*A*).

193, 1. pueri - puellae See note at 148, 69 above.

193, 4. quae Read “quem” (*B*).

193, 14. raethoricave Read “raethoricove” (*B*).

193, 34. omnia Correct this reading (*B*) to “omne”.

193, 40. portus et aura See note at 189, 58 above.

193, 44. fortice Correct this reading (*B*) to “vortice”.

193, 45. praecandum Read “precandum”.

194, 13. celebremus Correct this reading (*A*) to “celebramus” (*A*, *err.*).

194, 16. pro mimus Read “promimus” (*A*).

194, 25. quem Read “quae” (*A*). **contingit** Correct this reading (*A*) to “contigit” (*A*, *err.*).

194, 28. Thuringae The reading in *A* is “Thurignae”. For this form cf. 60, 61 above. The spelling occurs also on the title page of Eobanus Hessus, *De laudibus et praeconiis incliti... Gymnasii litteratorii apud Erphordiam* (Erfurt, 1507): “Thurignae gentis caput... Erphordia”.

194, 29. soles This is in fact also the reading in A. (The app. crit. is in error.)

194, 30. habitae Read "habitare" (A).

194, 47. Iubal Vulg., *Gen.*, 4, 21. Curiously Brant gives him the epithet "docta" with a feminine ending, just because of the meter.

194, 51. quartum Correct this reading (A) to "quarum" (A, *err.*).

194, 57. Eurotas See Verg., *Ecl.*, 6, 83. **parmyssus** Correct this reading (A) to "parmessus" (or "permessus"). Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 6, 64.

194, 59. Ladon placidus Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 1, 702, of the river where Pan learns to play on the syrinx (cf. lines 87-88 below). **Cayster** Famed for its swans.

194, 90. quantum This is also the reading in A, *err.*

195. In vol. II, 89, the line numbers of the verses included in the 1519/20 edition are given incorrectly. Here are the right numbers: 368-377, 384-397, 400-401, 408-411, 455-470, 506-509, 518-529, 548-551. The app. crit. to the present poem omits the many valuable sidenotes of B that indicate Brant's sources and authorities.

195, 6. parcas Correct this reading (B C) to "barcas". **liburna** Correct this reading (B C) to "liburnas".

195, 14. Scyllam, Syrtes,... charybdim Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 302; Sen., *Epist.*, 31, 9; Brant, *Narrenschiff*, 108, 37.

195, 18. viamque The reading in C is "viam", corrected in C, *err.*

195, 24. infirmo Correct this reading (B C) to "ni firmo" (A and C, *err.*).

195, 26-27. Ordo - tempus Cf. Vulg., *Eccles.*, 3, 1-2.

195, 30-31. Atque - ferat Cf. lines 280-281 below, with note.

195, 36. modusque This is also the reading in C, *err.*

195, 44-45. At reparare - genus For the doctrine that God created humankind to replenish the ranks of heaven see, for example, Aug., *Ench.*, 9, 29 (CCSL 46, 65), 16, 61 (CCSL 46, 82) and *Civ.*, 22, 1 (CCSL 48, 807); Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice Mariana*, 1, 546-549: "Tunc hominem... /... / condidimus, magni quo damna rependere casus / fas foret et vacui complere sedilia caeli".

195, 46. voluptatis paradysum Vulg., *Gen.*, 2, 8 and elsewhere.

195, 59. sinis See note at 113, 8 above.

195, 60-61. Utque tuo - iugo Cf. Vulg., *Gen.*, 3, 17-19.

195, 64. Sathanam The reading in B C is "Sathanan".

195, 65. Adan Correct this reading (B C) to "Adam"; cf. line 73 below.

- 195, 80. De quibus - placet** Cf. Vulg., *Gen.*, 6, 5-7.
- 195, 86-87. Gentibus - interitu** Cf. Vulg., *I Petr.*, 3, 20.
- 195, 94-95. caelipetae - deo** Cf. *Narrenschiff*, 15, 13-14, with my note at lines 13-16 in 'Materials', 574-575.
- 195, 94. gigantes** Read "gigantes" (*B C*).
- 195, 115. Huius - alae** Vulg., *Dan.*, 7, 4. **quoniam** Read "quando" (*B C*).
- 195, 117-118. Transtulit - opes** Cf. Vulg., *Dan.*, 5, 28.
- 195, 118. Imperium** The reading in *B* is "Impium".
- 195, 132. bis** Read "his" (*B C*).
- 195, 135. bisquinque** Read "bis quinque".
- 195, 141. molesta** The reading in *B* is "modesta".
- 195, 146-149. Sicque - ferae** Cf. Vulg., *Dan.*, 7, 5.
- 195, 154-159. Ante - innumeras** Cf. *Narrenschiff*, 56, 19-26, with my note in 'Materials', 605-606.
- 195, 161-162. Mox sed - lares** Cf. Vulg., *I Macc.*, 1, 1.
- 195, 163-164. Et pardi - duas** Cf. Vulg., *Dan.*, 7, 6.
- 195, 183. Fraterno - muri** Lucan., 1, 95. **maduere** This form does not fit the meter. Read "maduerunt", as in Lucan., 1, 95.
- 195, 206. dominatae** The reading in *C* is "domatae", corrected in *C*, *err.*
- 195, 217-218. domini - solum** Cf. Vulg., *Psal.*, 23, 1.
- 195, 225. repetemus** Correct this reading (*B C*) to "repetamus". For the subjunctive see lines 221 and 233.
- 195, 229. posteritate** The reading in *B* is "potestate".
- 195, 239-240. Ipse - deo** Cf. Vulg., *Hebr.*, 6, 20.
- 195, 245-248. Quodcumque - manent** Vulg., *Matth.*, 16, 18-19.
- 195, 256-257. cum principio - coniunctum** Cf. Hier., *Adv. Iovin.*, 1, 18 (*PL* 23, col. 237 A-B; quoted in *Decret.*, 1, 35, 2): "Postquam autem Christus venit in fine temporum et a revolvit ad ω et extremitatem retraxit ad principium...".
- 195, 257. modus** Correct this reading (*B C*) to "modusque" (*C*).
- 195, 262-263. Quod - fuit** Cf. Vulg., *Ioh.*, 10, 8.
- 195, 264-265. Non etenim - lupi** Cf. Vulg., *Ioh.*, 10, 1. Cf. 147, 33-34 above.
- 195, 280-283. Hic ordo - deus** Cf. Vulg., *Rom.*, 13, 1-2. Cf. lines 30-31 above.
- 195, 285. Vir desiderii, Daniel** Cf. Vulg., *Dan.*, 10, 11. For Daniel's vision of the four beasts see *Dan.*, 7.

195, 268. papae The reading in *C* is "papa".

195, 319. voluit Read "volvit". **agitatque** Correct this reading (*B C*) to "agit et" (*C, err.*).

195, 326. Aspicite The reading in *C* is "Aspice", corrected in *C, err.*

195, 335. dii prohibete minas Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 265.

195, 348. bosphoreosque Correct this reading (*B C*) to "bosphoreoque", as in *C, err.* (where "bosphereoque") and Ov., *Trist.*, 2, 298.

195, 367. Translatio imperii The heading in *D* is "Eiusdem S. Brant de Regnorum mutatione".

195, 369. opus Correct this reading (*B C*) to "opes" (*D*).

195, 410. tractant Read "tractat" (*B C D*).

195, 411. Quod - imperio The reading in *D* is "Quae sacro incumbunt forsitan Imperio".

195, 422. quamsi The reading in *C* is "quasi", corrected to "quam si" in *C, err.*

195, 424. Quaeris - in aquis Cf. Ov., *Am.*, 2, 2, 43.

195, 426. ait This is also the reading in *C, err.* **historicus** See Sall., *Catil.*, 1, 6: "nam et prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est". **quisquis fuit ille** Ov., *Met.*, 1, 32; 15, 104.

195, 455. Germanos - quondam Before this line *D* inserts the heading "Et Iterum". *B* adds the marginal note: "Germanorum origo glo. 24. di. c. i. Strabo". Strabo, 7, 1, 2, says that the Romans call the Germans "Germani" because they are "genuine ["germani"] Galatae". Brant combines this information with Paul., *Fest.*, p. 95 M, who states that "germanus" comes from "germen": "unde et germani, quasi eadem stirpe geniti"; also cf. Serv., *Aen.*, 5, 412.

195, 456. fuisse The reading in *D* is "vetusta".

195, 464. Neve The reading in *D* is "Utque".

195, 465. Dii - pestem Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 620.

195, 467. Thurcos The reading in *D* is "Turcas".

195, 469. Regna - cadunt Cf. 161, 78 above, with note.

195, 471. Conclusio wormaciensis The reading in *C* is "Conclusio wormatiensis ⁹⁷". Schmidt, I, 284, note 111, rightly observes that the date "97" is erroneous, since the reference is in fact to the diet of 1495.

195, 474. concordi - ligarunt Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 1, 25.

195, 492. plaebiscita Read "plaebiscita" (*B C*).

195, 506. Haec - Maxmiliane Before this line *D* inserts the heading "Et iterum ex eodem".

195, 512. tamque The reading in *C* is "tanquam".

- 195, 527. **portus et aura** See note at 189, 58 above.
- 195, 546. **Horror - ordo** Cf. Vulg., *Iob*, 10, 22.
- 195, 553. **solvenda** The meter requires “soluenda”.
- 195, 570-571. **Exiit - imperio** Vulg., *Luc.*, 2, 1.
- 195, 580. **poterit, ve** Read “poteritve”.
- 195, 586. **parsum** Read “par sum”.
- 195, 594-595. **Quod si - dabis** Cf. Vulg., *Lev.*, 26, 14-17.
- 195, 596-597. **Caesaris - dei** Vulg., *Matth.*, 22, 21; and elsewhere.
- 195, 600-601. **Sic quoque - proveniat** For an explanation of this transformation see Ov., *Met.*, 15, 369-371.
- 195, 600. **nobile** Read “mobile”, as in *B C*.
- 195, 604-608. **Sic - lector** These lines are omitted in *C*.
- 195, 607. **regna** Correct this reading (*B*) to “regnaque”.
- 196, 3. **scabronibus** Instead of this medievalism (“beetles”) read “scrabronibus” or “scrabonibus” (medieval terms for “wasps”).
- 196, 5. **aurum - probatus** For this proverbial expression see Otto 843; *Nachträge*, pp. 106, 173, 238, and 274.
- 197, title. **Ecclesieque Padebornensem. Coadiutorem** Read “Ecclesieque Padebornensis Coadiutorem”.
- 197, 1. **mentem** This is also the reading in *C*, *err*.
- 197, 14. **presuli** Read “presule” (*C*).
- 197, 16. **Germanis** Read “Germanus” (*C*).
- 197, 19. **offendet** This is also the reading in *C*, *err*.
- 197, 33. **severo** Correct this reading (*C*) to “severus”.
- 197, 39. **mona** Not the Danish island of Møn, as the editor guesses (vol. II, 91), but Münster in Westfalen (“Monasterium”). The form also occurs at 60, 62 above.
- 197, 50. **Quorum - premit** Cf. 118, 181 above, with note.
- 197, 51. **Nussiam** The word must be read with synizesis (“Nussjam”).
- 197, 64. **patres** Correct this reading (*C*) to “patris” (*C*, *err.*).
- 197, 69. **nestoris annos** See note at 67, 48 above.
- 197, 73. **numina** The reading in *C* is “munimina”, corrected in *C*, *err*.
199. In vol. II, 91, the source of this epigram is repeatedly said to be St. Methodius’s “De relevatione” rather than “De revelatione”. (The same error recurs in vol. II, 104 and in the bibliography, nos. 446 and 448.)
- 199, 1. **interpellaconibus** Read “interpellacionibus”.
- 199, 4. **gregoriane constitutionis** See Greg. M., *Epist.*, 11, 10 (*CCSL* 140 A, p. 874).

199, 17. augustini Aug., *Epist.*, 197, 1 (*PL* 33, col. 899).

199, 20. Nemo - potestate Cf. Vulg., *Act.*, 1, 7.

199, 24-25. Et praedicabitur - finis Vulg., *Matth.*, 24, 14 (where "consummatio" instead of "finis").

199, 29. a mari usque ad mare Vulg., *Psalms.*, 71, 8; and elsewhere. **apostolus** See Vulg., *Rom.*, 11, 25.

199, 38. gregorius Greg. M., *In Evang.*, 1, 1, 1 (*PL* 76, col. 1078 C).

199, 42. sanctissimi The false reading "sanctimi" is found in A. (The app. crit. is in error.)

201, 7. lybicas... aristas See note at 115, 90 above.

201, 8. harena See note at 115, 89 above.

201, 9. sydera Otto 1643; *Nachträge*, pp. 5, 64, 117, 212, and 244.

201, 10. atamos Correct this reading (A) to "atomos". Cf. Isid., *Orig.*, 13, 2, 1; Alcuin., *Carm.*, 9, 106: "Solivagos athomos quae numerare solet".

201, 12. Serius - ruunt Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 10, 33; also cf. 221, 36 below.

201, 17. mannumque Correct this reading (A) to "manuumque".

202, 10. filioli Read "filiolis sit" (A).

204. According to vol. II, 93, the Latin portion of this poem is made up of 8 elegiac distichs and 3 hexameters. In fact there are 11 elegiac distichs and 2 couplets, the latter consisting of an hexameter followed by an adoneus (lines 56-57 and 61-62). Line 11 is not an hexameter, but a prose heading. It should be centered on the page like the other headings in this poem (do the same at lines 39-40). Lines 12 and 13 form an elegiac distich. They should be indented like the other distichs in this poem. The couplets at lines 56-57 and 61-62 should likewise be indented properly. Leave a space after line 57.

204, 42. pueros - senes Cf. *Narrenschiff*, 85, 36, with my note in 'Materials', 629.

204, 64. Leave a space after this line.

205. Total eclipses of the sun, though common world-wide, are seen just once every 400 years at any particular spot on earth. Hence we can safely place the epigram in ca. late winter 1485, not long after the total eclipse of March 16. The poem is thus contemporaneous with no. 30 above. Note that in Ms. 469 the epigram stands among other poems dating from the mid-1480's.

205, 6. erydanus See Ov., *Met.*, 2, 323-324.

205, 13-16. Phoebe - damus These lines are not "lacking" in Ms. 469, as the app. crit. indicates, but were evidently added in the printed edition.

Moreover, since they merely rephrase the immediately preceding two distichs, we may infer that Brant intended to replace lines 9-12 with lines 13-16. However the printer seems to have misunderstood Brant's instruction and failed to discard lines 9-12. And so both versions ended up being printed together in the *Varia carmina*.

206, 17. feveri Read "severi" (A).

206, 43. agemennoniae Correct this reading (A) to "agamemnoniae".

206, 44. Atridem Read "Atridae" (A).

206, 45. Auconitana Correct this reading (A) to "Anconitana" (A, *err.*).

206, 49. quae Read "quem" (A).

206, 64. carmis Read "carminis" (A).

206, 73-80. Apostropha - obsequii According to the app. crit. and vol. II, 94, these lines mistakenly stand after line 32 in A. That is not the case in my copies.

206, 73. Apostropha For the spelling see note at 180, 113 above.

206, 81. Quae - terrae Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 610.

206, 105-106. Nestoris annos Et Cumea... saecula longa Cf. 221, 33-34 below. For "Nestoris annos" see note at 67, 48 above. For "Cumea... saecula" cf. Prop., 2, 2, 16.

207, 6. amplaga Correct this reading (A) to "ampla" (A, *err.*).

207, 13. graeca fides Otto 770; *Nachträge*, pp. 3 and 237.

207, 14. oculata manus Plaut., *As.*, 202.

207, 16. Harpyae See note at 32, 25 above.

207, 19. Anubidis ora Ov., *Am.*, 2, 13, 11.

207, 23-24. Mydas... hyro... Croese Midas and Croesus were proverbially rich; cf. 245, 8 below. For Croesus see Otto 468; *Nachträge*, pp. 99, 150, and 266; for Midas see Otto 1110; *Nachträge*, pp. 110 and 187. The beggar Irus, on the other hand, was proverbially poor; see Otto 875; *Nachträge*, pp. 23 and 174.

207, 32. Arge See note at 49, 1 above.

207, 33. facescunt This is also the reading in my copy of A. However, the errata list asks the reader to correct "facescun" to "facescunt". The reading "facescun" also occurs in my copy of the September issue.

207, 39. Mendacis Correct this reading (A) to "Mendaces" (A, *err.*).

207, 42. experto credite Otto 615; *Nachträge*, pp. 72, 159, 236, and 270.

208. This poem also appears in a different version in Ms. 469, fol. 29^r-29^v. It can therefore be placed in the mid-1480's.

The editor suggests that no. 208 may well be addressed to the

"Rhenardus" of nos. 209 and 210 (and, I may add, of no. 55). The circumstance that texts 209, 55, and 208 appear together (in that order) in Ms. 469 lends weight to this assumption. The identification appears to be challenged, however, by a gloss at the head of no. 208 in Ms. 469, which reads "Invectiva In Magistrum Co<ppum?>". If my reading of the gloss is correct (I cannot be certain about the last letters), the reference is to Wilhelm Kopp (Guillaume Cop) of Basel, who graduated B.A. in 1481 and M.A. in 1483. By 1488 he was in Paris, becoming M.D. there in 1496. He died in 1532 after a long and distinguished career as personal physician to Louis XII and Francis I.

I suspect that in nos. 55, 208, 209, and 210 Brant originally addressed himself to "Gulielmus" (or "Guilielmus"). To protect his friend's (and his own) privacy, he later removed this name (as in the title of no. 208) or changed it to "Rheynard" ("Rheinard", "Rhenardus").

208, 3. te The reading in Ms. 469 is "nunc".

208, 4. pirenei The reading in Ms. 469 is "pireneu".

208, 16. Tesiphonenque This form also occurs in Ms. 469.

208, 20. amanti The reading in Ms. 469 is "vati".

208, 21. Quos... versus The reading in Ms. 469 is "Quod... carmen".

208, 23. quamprimum capias The reading in Ms. 469 is "tandem suscipies".

208, 26. istoc The reading in Ms. 469 is "istos".

208, 28. After this line Ms. 469 adds the monogram "sb".

209. A somewhat different (and no doubt much earlier) version of this poem occurs in Ms. 469, fol. 27^v-28^v. After line 48 and again after line 50, the manuscript adds Brant's monogram "sb". The poem must be roughly contemporaneous with nos. 55, 208, and 210. This dating is consistent with the internal evidence, for at lines 13-20 Brant says that until now all his verse has been written in hexameters and elegiac distichs, not in iambs or trochees; and at lines 21-24 he states that he is now using sapphics for the very first time. From this evidence we may infer that the sapphic poem no. 208 must have been written after no. 209. This relative dating is corroborated by Ms. 469, where the poems appear in the following order: 209; 55; 208.

209, 2. Quod... fors The reading in Ms. 469 is "Quos... Iam".

209, 29. decor The reading in Ms. 469 is "decus".

209, 38. mens Correct this reading (A) to "meus" (Ms. 469 and A, *err.*).

209, 39. nil in The reading in Ms. 469 is "nusquam".

209, 41. amoemus Read “amemus”, as in Ms. 469.

209, 45. nobis The reading in Ms. 469 is “nobis nobis”.

211, title. praefatio Read “praefacio”, as in the copy text (A). The title (“in odas... praefacio”) as well as the preface itself make it plain that the preface was added after the entire poem was completed. It follows that nos. 211-213 and 233-234 form a single set of variations that should not have been dismembered. The entire series can thus be dated 1 March 1498.

211, 1-15. Vir - Vale These verses are not “iambs”, as stated in vol. II, 96, but lesser asclepiads.

211, 1. praestans animi Verg., *Aen.*, 12, 19.

211, 36. aquaque Read “aquasque” (A).

212. The poem consists of lesser asclepiads.

212, 4. Per nocte Read “Per noctem” (A).

212, 27. genitu Correct this reading (A) to “gemitu”.

213, title. trochiacum Correct this reading (A) to “trochaicum”.

213, 29. Evilat Correct this reading (A) to “Eiulat”.

214 and 215. The summary of these poems in vol. II, 97 bears only marginal resemblance to their contents. The two saints do not exchange compliments, as the editor believes, but paraphrase the doctrine of the Trinity as defined in the Nicene Creed.

214, 7. Exque - lumen Cf. 78, 43 above.

215, 9-30. Utraque - Vale. These lines do not belong to the present poem, but form the concluding verses of no. 100 above (lines 23-44). The editor has skipped two entire pages in A (sig. I 3^v and sig. I 4^r). Here is the correct conclusion to no. 215:

Filius humana lustrans sub imagine mundum:	
Visus et in terris crimina nostra lavans.	10
Mensibus exactis conclusus virginis alvo:	
Claudere quem caeli / sphaeraque nulla potest.	
Et deus hanc fragilem carnem sibi sumpsit: in uno	
Corpore verus homo / cum deitate latet.	
Hoc solo inferior patre / quo caro nostra cohaeret:	15
Caetera consimili cum patre lege tenet.	
Quin et pro nostra morte [mortem <i>err.</i>] tulit ille salute:	
Post triduum exurgens: regna paterna petit.	
Spiritus in specie visus fuit ipse columbae	
Tingeret in flumen quando minister herum.	20
Isque paracletus caelo delapsus ab alto:	
Verticibus residens flammea lingua fuit.	
Personis tribus his deitas distincta: sed unus	
Est deus: et prius est / posteriusque nihil.	

216-219. This series of poems must have been composed in late 1497 or early 1498, in response to Arnold Bostius's invitation to his friends to sing the praises of Sts. Joachim and Anna. By this means Bostius hoped to counteract the influence of Vincenzo Bandello, an opponent of the Immaculate Conception.

216, 4. At Correct this reading (A) to "Atque" (A, *err.*), required by the meter.

216, 38. ignarat Read "ignorat" (A).

216, 66. carmina The reading in A is not "carrmina", as reported in the app. crit., but "carimina".

216, 78. per celebrisque Read "percelebrisque" (A).

216, 93. (placeat - Ioachime) The reading in A is "(placeat precor o) Ioachime".

216, 101-108. Nempe - Vale Since both the title ("hecatostichon") and line 97 ("carminibus centum") indicate that this praise of St. Joachim consists of 100 verses, lines 101-108 cannot have been part of the original composition, but must have been added later.

216, 101. quicquid The (erroneous) reading in A is "quicquam".

216, 107. grex Read "prex" (A).

217, title. Joachinus Correct this reading (A) to "Joachimus". **a Bostio concinendus** Not "um von Arnold Bostius vertont zu werden" (vol. II, 97), but "to be sung by Bostius".

218. The poem consists of lesser asclepiads.

218, title. Joachina Correct this reading (A) to "Joachima".

219. The poem consists of a series of minor Ionics. Cf. 128, 172 above.

220. Since this poem is a covering letter for no. 221, it must have been composed later. According to the chronological arrangement espoused in this edition the "Apostropha" should have followed the "Invectiva" — as indeed it does in A.

220, title. Apostropha For the spelling see note at 180, 113 above.

221, title. Ioanni... concionatori Read "Iohanni... concionatori" (A).

221, 13. Sardinios risus The expression (in the form "Sardonius risus") was proverbial; see Otto 1586; *Nachträge*, pp. 64, 209, and 244; Erasmus, *Adagia*, 3, 5, 1. **lachrymas crocodyli** See Erasmus, *Adagia*, 2, 4, 60.

221, 19-24. Plurima - rapit Cf. Vulg., *Eccles.*, 1, 14; 2, 11.

221, 27. Plus - redundas Cf. Iuv., 6, 181.

221, 33-34. Nestoris... iter Cf. 206, 105-106 above, with note.

221, 36. Tardius - venit Cf. 201, 12 above, with note.

221, 51. periura Read “periuria” (A).

221, 59. propterne The reading in A is not “proter ne”, as is stated in the app. crit., but “propter ne”.

221, 64. tibi Read “sibi” (A).

221, 67. Proderit Read “Proderit hoc” (A).

221, 74. quotiens Read “quatiens” (A).

221, 96. vivam - omne Cf. Ov., *Trist.*, 1, 6, 36.

222, title. Ad sepulchrum - erectum As the title makes plain, it was Emcho Breithart who caused the representation of the Lord’s sepulcher (“sepulchrum dominicum”) to be erected in Mainz. The epigram that follows is thus not an epitaph for the good canon, as we are told in vol. II, 99, but a poem in praise of the sepulcher erected by him.

223, 29. Dioclociani Correct this reading (A) to “Diocleciani”. Make the same correction in line 67 below. Cf. 125, 19 above.

223, 90. Expia This is the reading in my copy of the September issue of A. My copy of the first issue offers the erroneous reading “Ex pia”.

225. Schmidt, I, 207, note 47, infers that this epigram was composed for the edition of Hrotsvita’s works that Conrad Celtis had planned to publish with Johann Amerbach at Basel as early as 1494.

226, 37. obriam Read “Sobriam” (A).

227. The poem was probably written together with nos. 127, 128, and 136. They are all printed together in the *Varia carmina* (1498), in this order: 128, 136, 127, 227. Note too that the heading of no. 227 is printed in the regular small type that marks a subheading (to no. 127), not in the larger type marking a new, independent poem. There is no good reason to break up this cycle of poems on St. Onophrius.

228, title. Bergmann Read “Bergman” (A).

228, 3. litturas Correct this reading (A) to “litturas” (A, *err.*). In the sense “letters” the word is Middle Latin. Cf. 207, 21 above.

228, 5. scriptis Correct this reading (A) to “scripsit”.

228, 6. aget Correct this reading (A) to “agit”. Cf. line 10 below.

228, 19. cultur Read “cultor”, as in A (and 172, 17 above).

228, 36. ascrafti: et caecucientis See note at 172, 34 above.

228, 37. inventam Read “iuventam”, as in A (and 172, 35 above).

228, 39. Cyrrha See note at 172, 37 above.

228, 52. tibi Ovid. **Gethos** Correct this reading (A) to “Gethas” (A, *err.*).

229 and 230. These two poems do not deal with “die Edlen von Rotberg”, as is stated in vol. II, 102, but rather with the family’s coat of

arms. The dedicatee's name, incidentally, is "Adelberg" (Latinized "Adelberus", "Adelbertus"), not "Adelbero", as is stated in vol. II, 102-103. Cf. 231, 3; 375, heading; and 375, 2 below.

229, 8. phoebeae lampadis instar Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 637.

229, 10. marmote Correct this reading (A) to "marmore".

229, 34. Nestoreos... dies See note at 67, 48 above.

230, 3. sursum... deorsum See note at 24, 21 above.

231, title. maculisarum Read "maculistarum" (A).

231, 4. decus... praesidiumque meum Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, 1, 1, 2.

231, 17. Sentibus In A this word begins with an ornamental capital letter, indicating a new section in the poem. A modern edition can achieve the same effect by adding a space after line 16.

231, 19. hoc According to a note in vol. II, 103, this word is incorrectly scanned with a long syllable. But "hoc" is regularly scanned long. See, for example, lines 36 and 53 below.

231, 23. putans Correct this reading to "putas" (A, *err.*).

231, 45-46. parisiensi Gymnasio The University of Paris endorsed the doctrine on 3 March 1497.

231, 72. Tantalus Ixion Read "Tantalus, Ixion" (A prints a virgule here instead of a comma).

231, 85. vera The (erroneous) reading in A is "vero".

231, 95-96. hic ferus - Ecclesiae Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 79, 9-14. Also cf. 157, 57-58 above, with note.

231, 105. cuculla Read "cucculla", as in A. The unusual spelling is required by the meter. (So "religio", for instance, is regularly spelled "relligio" in verse.)

231, 117. defendere This is also the reading given in A, *err.*

231, 121. latrator anubis Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 698; Ov., *Met.*, 9, 690.

231, 129. Velle... sit pro ratione Cf. Iuv., 6, 223.

231, 133-134. Hanc - super In Jacob Wimpfeling's poem *De conceptu et triplici Mariae virginis gloriosissimae candore* (Basel, 1494). Cf. no. 126 above.

231, 135-136. Et Lapidanus - prosa In Johannes de Lapide's *Premunitio circa sermones de conceptione gloriose virginis Marie* (Basel, 1488).

232, 4. seu a Restore the reading "seva" (A).

233 and 234. See note at no. 211 above.

233, 30. praeparatur The app. crit. puts this word in line 24 (the correct verse number, when one excludes the headings).

234, 39. redemisti Correct this reading (A) to “redemsti” (“redempsi” in A, *err.*), required by the meter.

235, 5-6. Vel si - Sufficit Cf. Iuv., 6, 223.

235, 14-15. Getula - luscum Cf. Iuv., 10, 158.

235, 15. rupem - aceto Cf. Iuv., 10, 153.

235, 35. relique Read “reliquo” (A).

235, 44. regia Correct this reading (A) to “regina”.

235, 44-46. Non igitur - horam These lines are taken from Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 185-189, with an additional hexameter by Brant himself.

235, 56. rauraciorum Cf. 60, 75 and 151, 9 above. In modern editions of Caes., *Gall.*, 1, 29, 2 and 6, 25, 2, the form is “Rauracorum” or “Rauricorum”.

235, 90. Here A adds the sidenote “Ratio. Quarta.” **qui de magnis - loquuntur** Iuv., 4, 17.

235, 95. durae cervicis... populos Cf. Vulg., *Exod.*, 32, 9 and elsewhere.

235, 106. Here A adds the sidenote “Ratio. Quinta.”

236. This is not an independent poem, but the conclusion to the preceding letter. (The letter opens and concludes with elegiac distichs.)

236, 12. amen Read “amem” (A).

237. Since this poem was first published after 1 May 1498, it should have been placed after the ones published on 1 May 1498.

237, 5. ex fumo, flammas Cf. 188, 35 above, with note.

238. Neither the bibliography (p. 93, no. 266) nor the commentary (vol. II, 106-107) offers any hint why this epigram should be dated 1 May 1498. The same goes for no. 241 below (which ought to have been placed immediately after no. 238).

An epigram that must have been written on or shortly after 1 May 1498 is omitted in the present edition. It occurs on the errata sheet that is found in some copies of the *Varia carmina* (Basel, 1 May 1498). At the top of the page is the heading “Castigatio”, followed by the elegiac distich:

Multa vides culpa Impressorum candide lector
Que tibi castigat parva tabella sequens

At the foot of the page, beneath the errata, are two further distichs:

Quin eciam invenies diphthongon abesse: et adesse
Sepe locis ubi non convenit innumeris
Da veniam petimus lector studiose magistro:
Promotori eciam: cuncta minister agit.

238, 7-8. Ut postquam - leges Cf. 260, 13-14 below.

238, 14. Appulsi Read "Apposui".

240. For self-evident reasons this epigram does not appear in the first issue of the *Varia carmina* (1 May 1498). Brant wrote it to warn readers against the pirated Strasbourg print of 1 August 1498 and first published it in the September issue of the *Varia carmina*. Since line 4, furthermore, alludes to no. 244, dated 1 September 1498, the composition date should be corrected to "After 1 September 1498".

241. For the composition date see note at no. 238 above.

242, 14. in plurimus Read "in plurimis".

242, 29. ieunio Read "ieiunio".

244, title. Sultat Correct this reading (A) to "Sultani" – a correction already made by an early hand in my copy of the book. Cf. 86, 61 and 147, 591 above; 452, 9 below. Also capitalize "maximiliani" (A).

244, 7. et inhospita tesqua Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 14, 19.

244, 11. ergascla Correct this reading (A) to "ergastla" (a contraction of "ergastula").

244, 15. clamdestinus A prints "clam destinus".

244, 91. serui Read "servi".

244, 105. quemquem Read "quemquam".

244, 117. Sic Read "Sit" (A).

244, 155. vos Read "nos" (A).

244, 177. cecidisse sub armis Ov., *Epist.*, 1, 17.

245, 8. Croesi ... Midae See note at 207, 23-24 above.

245, 9-13. vobis - videtur Isocrates, *Ad Nicoc.*, 1.

245, 72. supraquam Read "supra quam".

246-255. These epigrams were completed before Brant's dedicatory letter (no. 245). See 245, 79-82 above. Hence they should all be dated "Before 5 September 1498".

251, 11. aquila The final syllable is lengthened before the caesura. See note at 97, 33 above.

256. Since lines 3-4 allude to no. 244, dated 1 September 1498, this poem to Maximilian must have been composed shortly after its publication in the early autumn of 1498, perhaps as a covering letter. The reference (lines 25-26) to Sts. Bridget and Methodius, whose prophecies Brant edited in January 1498, also points to 1498.

256, 11. quaque Read "quoque".

256, 15. increbunt ... Nomen Read "increbruit ... Nomen". Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 14: "... late Latio increbrescere nomen".

256, 24. interitu Read “interitum”.

256, 27. hostesque eiunte Read “evince”.

257, 5. Johannes Vulg., *Apoc.*, 21, 3. **tonitrui filius** Vulg., *Marc.*, 3, 17.

257, 10. Apostolus Vulg., *Hebr.*, 9, 11. **vivis... lapidibus** Cf. lines 21-22 below, with note.

257, 13. Catho See Cic., *Off.*, 3, 1, also alluded to at 146, 72-74 above.

257, 14. illi servo Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 25, 14-30; also cf. 92, 161-164 above, with note.

257, 16. Platone See Plato, *Epist.*, 9 (358a).

257, 18-19. aliquam - usuram Read “aliquam... mihi tradite mne offerre usuram”. Brant alludes to the parable of the ten pounds (“decem mnarum”) told in Vulg., *Luc.*, 19, 12-23.

257, 21-22. vivos - erigi Cf. Vulg., *I Petr.*, 2, 5. Also cf. line 10 above.

257, 38. vir tute Read “virtute”.

258, 33-34. Nonnullis Read “Nonnullis”.

258, 64-65. expostolat Read “expostulat”.

258, 65. apud Ciceronem See Cic., *Rep.*, 6, 13.

258, 66. gratius Read “nihil gratius”.

258, 68. quodque quod Read “quoque quod”.

258, 74. nobile - secuta est Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 7, 518; Walther 5210; 9636.

259, 5. Ego - prodij Vulg., *Sirach*, 24, 5.

259, 6-7. hic - iacob Vulg., *Bar.*, 3, 37.

259, 13-14. mulier - comedi See Vulg., *Gen.*, 3, 12.

259, 18. in ore - verbum Though based on Vulg., *Deut.*, 17, 6, as Brant indicates, the wording comes from *Matth.*, 18, 16 (where “stet”).

259, 19. j. ad Corinthos. vj. See Vulg., *I Cor.*, 6, 4.

259, 25. ecclasticorum Read “ecclesiasticorum”.

259, 29. ij. ad Corinthos. iij The quotation in fact comes from Vulg., *II Tim.*, 3, 16.

259, 48-49. Augustinus See Aug., *Civ.*, 4, 4.

259, 105. perdevia Read “per devia”.

259, 108. actum agere Otto 42; *Nachträge*, pp. 52, 127, and 258.

259, 121-122. Quo dem Read “Quodam”.

260, 13-14. Postmodo - Accipies Cf. 238, 7-8 above.

261, 1-7. Adsis - salutaris This text is based on various portions of Apul., *Met.*, 11, 5.

- 261, 5. **multiforme** Read "multiformi".
- 261, 7-19. **Tu quidem - natantes** Based on Apul., *Met.*, 11, 25.
- 261, 8. **moralibus** Read "mortalibus".
- 261, 12. **Quae** Read "Qua".
- 261, 13. **stellarum variorum influxus** Read "stellarum variarum influxus". Cf. 408, 24 below.
- 261, 17. **perhorrescunt** Read "perhorrescunt".
- 261, 19-25. **Plane - digneris** Based on Apul., *Met.*, 11, 6.
- 261, 25-31. **At ego - imaginabor** Apul., *Met.*, 11, 25.
- 261, 32-33. **deus deum - christus** Based on Apul., *Met.*, 11, 30.
- 262, 12-13. **in tuo - lumen** Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 35, 10.
- 262, 16-23. **Sileat - investigare** Bernard of Clairvaux, *In assumptione B. V. Mariae*, 4, 8 (*PL* 183, cols. 428 D - 429 A).
- 262, 18. **in hoc** Read "in hac".
- 264, 9. **patria - inclyta** Cf. Sil., 1, 598.
- 264, 11. **studiis** Restore "studio". The adjective "generalibus" is plural because it refers to "studio" as well as "Synodo". (For the latter phrase cf. 258, 43 above.)
- 266, 1. **Geticos... oras** Read "Geticas... oras".
- 266, 3. **irrequite** Read "irrequiete".
- 266, 13-14. **In gladios - Excudis** Cf. Vulg., *Is.*, 2, 4; *Ioel*, 3, 10; and *Mich.*, 4, 3.
- 266, 15. **colon** Read "colonos".
- 266, 31. **geminas belli portas** Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 607.
- 266, 39-42. **Me duce - pecus** Cf. Ov., *Fast.*, 1, 153-156 (where the poet speaks to Janus).
- 266, 41. **contentibus** Read "concentibus". Cf. 32, 13 above.
- 267, 11. **Fulminis in morem** Verg., *Aen.*, 11, 616.
- 267, 16. **dilucio** Read "disiicio".
- 267, 17. **Tela - instar** Cf. Stat., *Theb.*, 1, 419-420.
- 267, 65. **unanimis populos** Read "unanimis populus".
- 267, 67. **laceresse bello** Read "laccessere bello".
- 268, 1. **varijs... anxia curis** Val. Fl., 2, 113.
- 268, 7-8. **Jd quoque - apex** The image of the Cross as a cosmic tree goes back to Victorinus, *De ligno vitae* (*PL* 2, cols. 1113-1114).
- 268, 11. **latero tenus** Restore the reading "laterotenus".
- 268, 18. **lachrimis - gene** Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 5, 173.
- 268, 31. **Vix bene desieram** Ov., *Fast.*, 5, 278.
- 268, 45-46. **Invidia - supplicio** Cf. Vulg., *Marc.*, 15, 10.

268, 59-62. Brachiaque - allineret Cf. Lact., *Inst.*, 4, 26, 36: "Extendit ergo in passione manus suas orbemque dimensus est, ut iam tunc ostenderet ab ortu solis usque ad occasum magnum populum ex omnibus linguis et tribubus congregatum sub alas suas esse venturum signumque illud maximum atque sublime frontibus suis suscepturum."

268, 63. triens - gerebat Cf. Vulg., *Matth.*, 17, 26.

268, 65. Taf Read "Tau". The Greek letter "tau", associated with Vulg., *Ezech.*, 9, 4, was a standard symbol for the Cross in the Middle Ages. See, for example, Tert., *Adv. Marc.*, 3, 22, 5-6: "omnes fideles..., signatos illa nota scilicet de qua Ezechiel: Dicit dominus ad me, Pertransi in medio portae in media Hierusalem, et da signum Tau in frontibus virorum. Ipsa est enim littera Graecorum Tau, nostra autem T, species crucis, quam portendebat futuram in frontibus nostris apud veram et catholicam Hierusalem"; Rabanus Maurus, *De laudibus crucis* (PL 107, col. 245 B-C). Note that the woodcut on the title page of no. 268 depicts the Cross in the form of a "T". (For a facsimile of this woodcut see the cover of vol. 2.)

268, 75. Sola - salutem Cf. Ven. Fort., *Carm.*, 2, 2, 28 (= AH 50, no. 66), in the celebrated hymn "In honore sanctae crucis": "Sola digna tu fuisti ferre pretium saeculi."

268, 89. sputas Read "sputus". Cf. Aug., *Civ.*, 18, 23: "dabunt autem Deo alapas manibus incestis et inpurato ore expuent venenatos sputus."

268, 90. obproprum Read "obprobrium".

268, 96. versiterga The editor comments in vol. II, 116: "Bedeutung unklar; Wort nicht bekannt." The meaning becomes clear once we restore the caesura: "Inque fugam versi terga dedere cruci".

268, 104. Inque - cuditur Cf. Otto 621; *Nachträge*, p. 160.

268, 114. Scandula... crucis Read "Scandala... crucis". Cf. Vulg., *Gal.*, 5, 11.

268, 127. Nec modus aut requies Ov., *Met.*, 10, 377.

268, 137-146. Tempus - ero This passage versifies [Aug.], *Serm. supposititii*, 155, 10 (PL 39, cols. 2051-2052; alluding to Vulg., *Matth.*, 24, 27-30, with the events on the Last Day): "crux vero fulgebit et obscuratis luminaribus coeli delapsisque sideribus sola radiabit, ut discas quoniam crux et luna lucidior et sole erit praeclarior, quorum splendorem divini luminis illustrata fulgore superabit. Quemadmodum enim ingredientem regem in civitatem exercitus antecedit, praeferens humeris signa atque vexilla regalia, et ambitu praeparationis armisonae annuntiat regis introitum: ita Domino descendente de coelis praecedet exercitus

Angelorum, qui signum illud, id est, triumphale vexillum sublimibus humeris praeferentes, divinum regis coelestis ingressum terris trementibus nuntiabunt." Julianus Toletanus, *Futuri saeculi libri tres*, 3, 5 (PL 96, col. 500 A-B), offers similar wording. Both texts are based on John Chrysostom's "Homilia prima de cruce et latrone", section 4 (PG 49, col. 404).

268, 139. Solis iubere Read "Solis iubare".

268, 140. Splendior Read "Splendidior".

268, 153-156. Si lignum - alba meo According to an old tradition, the Cross was made of four kinds of wood. See, for example, Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (PL 198, col. 1630 B-C): "Dicuntur autem in cruce Domini fuisse quatuor ligna diversa, et forte in totidem diversis generibus: lignum erectum, transversum, tabula superposita, truncus quidam, cui infixi erant crux, qui in rupe defossus fuit. Invenitur enim lignum Dominicæ crucis et palme et cupressi, et ut quidam tradunt, olivæ et cedri"; [Bernard of Clairvaux], *Vitis mystica* (PL 184, col. 732 D): "De quatuor enim generibus arborum facta fuisse refertur: de cypresso, de cedro, de oliva, de palmis." Cf. Vulg., *Sirach*, 24, 17-19.

268, 178. exitum Read "exitium".

268, 183. quamto Read "quanto".

269, 4. laudibus in modicis Read "laudibus inmodicis".

269, 21. indigner Read "indignor".

269, 43-44. alis - suis Cf. 268, 61 above, with note at lines 59-62.

270, Motto See Isid., *Chronicon*, 75, Sexta aetas saeculi (PL 83, col. 1043 A). **privatos** Read "privatus".

272, Motto Cf. the motto of Emperor Frederick III, as quoted in *Jakob Wimpfelings Adolescentia*, ed. by Otto Herding (Munich, 1965), p. 331: "Rerum irrecuperabilium summa felicitas est oblivio." Cf. further Otto 866.

273, Motto The motto consists of three quotations: Hor., *Ars*, 169, Iuv., 10, 218-219, and Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 4, 13. Instead of "circumvolat" Iuv., 10, 218 reads "circumsilit". **Multa - supremum** In the margin A adds the note "Incommoda Senectutis". **deluxisse** Correct this reading (A) to "diluxisse".

278, Motto Walther 17969.

279, Motto Walther 26793 and 26635. **proverbis** Read "pro verbis".

282, Motto Walther 11061. **Vincio** Read "Vincio".

284, Motto Vulg., *Eccles.*, 9, 4.

290, Motto Hugh of St. Victor, *Summa sententiarum*, 1, 7 (PL 176, col. 54 A): “Credere iubemur, discutere non permittimur. Aufer argumenta ubi fides quaeritur”; *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*, 2, 4 (PL 176, col. 380 A); and elsewhere. The two sentences combine Ambr., *Fid.*, 1, 12, 78 (PL 16, col. 546 D): “credere tibi iussum est, non discutere permissum est”; and *Fid.*, 1, 13, 84 (PL 16, col. 548 B): “Aufer hinc argumenta, ubi fides quaeritur”.

293, Motto. In esse nunquam This phrase, lacking in *B*, is meaningless.

304, Motto See Cic., *Off.*, 2, 23-26.

309, Motto The edited text is unintelligible.

311, Motto The same motto occurs at no. 341 below. The thought is proverbial; see Otto 828; *Nachträge*, pp. 58, 74, 105, 171-172, 238, and 273. The source reference for the motto and epigram is lacking in vol. II, 130.

312, Motto Cf. the motto to no. 343 below, with note.

314, Motto Vulg., *Psalms*, 54, 10. **contra dictionem... sua** Read “contradictionem... etc.”.

316, Motto Cf. Publil., *Sent.*, 373: “Male secum agit aeger medicum qui heredem facit”.

319, Motto For “homine” read “homini”.

320, Motto These lines consist of two elegiac distichs that should have been printed as such.

320, 10. compensat Read “compensat”. The source of the motto is Val. Max., 1, 1, ext., 3.

321, 1. quotquod Read “quotquot”.

322, Motto For “caepient” read “capiant”.

330, Motto Cf. Cic., *Off.*, 2, 54.

340, Motto For these leonine hexameters see Walther 10968.

341, Motto See note at no. 311 above.

343, Motto Iuv., 4, 149; cf. the motto to no. 312 above.

357, Motto The reference is to Sall., *Catil.*, 51, 1-2.

360, 1-2. te - soporem This is a dactylic pentameter, followed by an hexameter (the latter based on Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 405-406)

360, 7. κακόζωος Read “κακόζωος” (*A B*).

360, 11-12. Illa - deus This is an elegiac distich that should be set off as such in print.

360, 19-21. Capnion - stipem These are elegiac distichs, the verse breaks being marked in *A* with an extra long space.

361, 6. Fumule Cf. 188, 35 above, with note.

362. This epigram does not come from Brant's pen but from Wimpfeling's. See *Jakob Wimpfeling's Adollescentia*, ed. by Otto Herding (Munich, 1965), pp. 379-380. Brant later translated Wimpfeling's epigram into German. See no. 434 below.

362, 3. bellies Read "belli es".

363, 4. saeva urbs This reading can scarcely be right. Perhaps "laeta urbs" is meant.

366-368. According to the bibliographical reference in vol. II, 145, these verses derive from the *Decretum Gratiani* (Basel, 1 July 1500), as indeed they do. The same note, however, bears the erroneous heading "Gedichte über die Anlage der Ausgabe der Dekrete Papst Gregors IX." and goes on to say that the poems occur only "in der zweiten, überarbeiteten Ausgabe der Dekrete Papst Gregors IX. vom 7. Oktober 1500". (The headings to nos. 366 and 367 in vol. I.2 make the same error, for they refer to the "Dekretalen" rather than to the "Decretum".)

The mnemonic epigrams, for all that, can hardly be Brant's work. No. 366 consists of medieval-style hexameters, with internal rhyme; no. 368 is made up of three medieval sententiae. For 368, 1-2 (a leonine distich) see Walther 3546a and 30286; for 368, 3-4 cf. Walther 15931c (where "adverte quod est homo vere" instead of the unmetrical "adverte mala tua vere"); and for 368, 5 see Walther 656a.

The *Decretum Gratiani* (Basel, 1500) does contain an epigram on the title page that was almost certainly written by Brant. Joachim Knape, *Dichtung, Recht und Freiheit* (Baden-Baden, 1992), p. 103, refers to them as "drei Distichen Brants". Since this epigram is not included in Wilhelmi's edition, I reprint it here:

Qui decreta patrum lector studioso cupiscis:
Correctum ingenti prorsus ab arte librum:
Multa / hic ex omni quadrantia parte decora:
Et lectu invenies digna: et amena quidem.
Plura novata etiam: superaddita plura: notata
Margine: que poteris lector amare. Vale.

The phrase "ex omni quadrantia parte" in line 3 also occurs at 369, 32-33 below. For "superaddita" in line 5 see also 369, 34 below.

369, title. sanctitissimo Read "sanctissimo" (A). **Sebastianus** The reading in A is in fact "Sebstiaanus". (The app. crit. is in error.)

369, 10-11. θεῶν - δῶρα Homer, *Iliad*, 3, 65 and elsewhere.

369, 15. abre Correct this reading (A) to "ab re".

369, 18-19. quo fortuna - caves Cf. Ov., *Pont.*, 2, 3, 51-52.

369, 21-22. et bone... vocat et pede fausto The reading in A is in fact: "(bone... vocat) pede fausto". Correct this to "i bone... vocat, i pede fausto". The source (also for the immediately following hexameter) is Hor., *Epist.*, 2, 2, 37-38.

371. This rhyming mnemonic epigram can hardly be Brant's work. Cf. note at nos. 366-368 above.

371, 4. coniugorum Read "coniugiorum".

372, 5. inventes Read "invenies".

372, 7. si sors Read "si fors".

374, 1. Thedigene As Schmidt, II, 210, points out, the word means "Brant's son". Brant sometimes latinized his last name as "Thaeda" (taeda = torch, firebrand). See 238, 16 above. The name "Thedigene" (meaning Brant himself) also occurs at the end of Jacob Locher, *Stultifera navis* (Basel, 1497), sig. s8^r = fol. 144^r, in a poem by Locher to the printer Johann Bergmann: "Me, rogo, commendes nostro, iucunde Iohannes, / Thaedigenae".

374, 13-14. adelphis Read "a delphis".

374, 20. Aulum gellium Gel., 2, 29, 1-2.

374, 52. crassa minerva Otto 1119; *Nachträge*, p. 110.

375. For the addressee's first name ("Adelberg", not "Adelbero", as stated in vol. II, 148) see note at nos. 229-230 above. His last name is normally spelled "Ratperg" or "Rotperg" ("Rotpergk", "Rotberg").

375, 17. ab simili Read "absimili".

375, 20. sciomata Read "scommata". Cf. 373, 2 above.

376, 7-8. queat... Ditiior Read "queat... Dicier".

378. Cf. Brant's preface to the 1498-edition (no. 245 above).

379, 1-8. Aristippum - enatare Brant closely follows Vitruvius, 6, praef. 1.

379, 12. theologicae disserint Read "theologice disserit".

379, 15. philosophicae... cristianae Read "philosophice... cristiane".

379, 25. seipse... extenuat Read "seipsum... extenuat".

379, 25-27. quali socrates - nihil sciret See, for example, Cic., *Ac.*, 2, 74; Hier., *Epist.*, 53, 9.

379, 34-38. Theophrastus - casus Taken from Vitruvius, 6, praef. 2.

387-397. These epigrams are printed in such a weirdly unnatural order that their function and place in Brant's Vergil-edition are largely obscured. No. 387 prefaces Verg., *Georg.*, 4. Nos. 388 and 389 are epigrams "Sebastiani Brant de operibus tribus Virgilii"; they immedi-

ately follow nos. 393 and 392 at the very end of the edition. No. 390 prefaces Verg., *Ecl.*, 1. No. 391 prefaces Verg., *Georg.*, 3. Nos. 392 and 393 serve as the preface to Vergil's *Aeneid* and also occur at the end of the volume (in reverse order), immediately preceding nos. 388 and 389. Nos. 394 and 395 preface Verg., *Georg.*, 1 and 2 respectively. And no. 397/398 introduces the Vergil-edition as a whole.

390. The epigram in fact consists of two hexameters. Also correct two other metrical notes in vol. II, 153: at no. 393 ("3 Distichen") read "2 Distichen"; and at no. 394 ("4 Distichen") read "4 Hexameter".

392-393 These epigrams are edited here according to the version printed at the end of the Vergil-edition (sig. dd9^v = fol. ²XXXIII^v), but in reverse order. The editor seems to have overlooked that the same epigrams also occur right before the start of the *Aeneid* (sig. R1^r = fol. CXXI^r), albeit with different headings: "De operibus Virgilij Sebastianus brant" (no. 392) and "Tetrasticon eiusdem" (no. 393).

395, 1. reconst Correct this reading (A) to "recondit".

395, 3. recinnuntur Correct this reading (A) to "recinuntur".

396. None of this so-called "mehrteiliges Gedicht" is Brant's work. For lines 1-12 see *Anthologia Latina*, 634; for lines 14-15 and 17-25 see *Anthologia Latina*, 1, 1. Lines 27-30 are the proem to Vergil's *Aeneid* (*Aen.*, 1, 1^{a-d}). (In line 28 read "coegi" for "cogi". The line is not a faulty pentameter, as the editor guesses, but an hexameter.)

Had the editor studied Brant's Vergil-edition more attentively, he would surely not have missed a lengthy piece that is indubitably by Brant. Brant inserted it into the *Appendix Vergiliana* (sig. bb6^r and ^v = fol. ²XIII^r and ^v) to explain why he excluded all but the first two poems of the *Priapea*. In editing this text, I tacitly expand the abbreviations, normalize the punctuation and capitalization, and print "j" as "i".

Expurgatio Seb. B., cur Priapeiam imprimi prohibuerit

[Woodcut: statue of Priapus in a garden]

Ad cunctos probae indolis adolescentes expurgatio Sebastiani Brant,
cur Priapeiam praesenti operi non inseruerit ceptaque impressoribus
illius carmina compleri prohibuerit

Ne arbitreris neve existimes, candide puer, abs re nos versus reliquos
spurcissimae Priapeiae reseccasse, fecimus quidem id consultissimo

consilio, quippe quos nec Hyppolitus nec Bellerophontes [Bellerophontes A] nec Maro quoque ipse, si ab inferis emergeret, esset lecturus. Posset quidem forte, si tantum honestatis quantum Latinitatis haberet, inter haud abiectae elegantiae fragmenta quod diximus opusculum reputari. Verum enimvero si sermonis elegantia, si verborum ornatus, si vocabulorum utilitas, si quaeratur Latinitas, reperiuntur mille alii auctores idonei et relectione digni, qui satisfacere huic rei satis superque poterunt, neque ea quaeratur Latinitas per quam foedatur probitas, coinquinatur castitas, collidetur honestas. Atque ut paulo audacius loquar, id in primis constanter certoque [*sig. bb6*] cercius asserere non formido (tam et si Servii [*Aen.*, 1, praef.] ad hoc minus astipuletur opinio) neutiquam tam foedum opus ex castissima Virgilii officina, sed ex spurcifica alicuius patici Othonis tetricaque prodiisse voragine; atque ut conicere licet, ex turpissimi nebulonis Catulli proluvie erupisse crediderim. Nam fieri non potest ut is Maro qui (eodem Servio attestante [Serv., *Aen.*, 1, praef.]) alioquin et vita et ore et animo tam probus fuerit ut Neapoli “Parthenias”, hoc est virginalis, appellaretur vulgo quique, quotiens cunctis in operibus suis de Venere etiam coniugali mentio intercidit, tam verecunde tamen, tam pudice, tamque decenter rem edisserit, ut et virgines ipsas (modo absit improbulus interpretes) illud sine aliqua etiam erubescencia et legere et audire possint, in tam perversum et reprobum sensum pervenerit, tantam ignominiam et labem in gloriam suam posuerit, ut abominabile istud latrinisque et ganeonibus idoneum opus Priapeiae edidisse existimari possit aut debeat. Cuiusquidem sanctissimi Maronis gloria (auctore Macrobio [*Sat.*, 1, 24, 8]) haec est ut nullius laudibus crescat, nullius vituperatione minuatur. At dixerit mihi quispiam, unde haec nova incessit religio? Num veteres Priapeiam Virgilianis codicibus inesse vetuerunt? Num Iuvenalis, Marcialis Coquus³, Catullus, Tibullus, ac plerique alii poetae ob id veniunt refutandi eliminandive, quia obscaena nonnunquam ponunt verba? Quibus ego ingenue respondere possem, nisi longius quam volebam me digressurum vererer, neque tamen interea pueris quenquam horum tam pudendorum carminum auctorem, sed castissimos quosque et, si fieri potest, Christianos poetas legendos audiendosque suademus. Et ut est apud Divum Augustinum nostrum, in eo quem De civitate Dei praescripsit librum [1, 3], Virgilium “propterea parvuli legant, ut videlicet poeta magnus

³ In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Martial was commonly known as “Coquus”.

omniumque praeclarissimus et optimus teneris ebibitus annis non facile oblivione possit aboleri, secundum illud Horatii [*Epist.*, 1, 2, 69-70]:

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu."

Ne igitur detestandus teterque ille et grave olens Priapeiae fetor puerorum animis officiat, eorum cordibus imbibatur, mentibus inhaereat,

Parcimus id circo tibi enim tibi, sancta iuventus,
Et tenerae aetati, moribus atque bonis;
Unde Priapeiam resecatam a codice nostro
Faedam abolere iuvat, iussimus esse procul,
Dignius hoc flammis et edaci opus igne cremandum
Quam pueris tradi publicitusve legi.
Expedit, o iuvenes, verba haec nescisse profecto,
Quae nebulo ille procax spurcifico ore vomit.
Incaestum, impurum, tetrum, horrendumque Priapum
Spernite, deserite, linquite, proicite [porricite A].
Ille pudicitiae contrarius, aemulus, hostis,
Moribus et castis ille inimicus atrox.
Nil sanctum dignumve legi reperitis in illo,
Nil quod non superis displiceatque bonis.
Quis nisi corruptor iuvenum, ganeo, aut halophanta,
Non dedignetur hoc legere improbum opus?
Hoc Cato damnasset, doctus pepulisset ab urbe
Hoc Plato perpetuo dignum opus exilio.
Ipse ego me puerum memini legisse profanum
Atque heu peiorem redditum ab inde gemo.
Parce igitur, quisquis opere isto forte Priapum
Quaeris: Non placuit hunc posuisse. Vale.

397 and 398. These are not two separate epigrams introducing Brant's illustrated edition of Vergil's complete works, but rather one single continuous poem. The editor has mistaken the running title on sig. A2^r for a poem title. This running title should, of course, be removed from the edited text.

397, 9-12. Hic - tamen For the thought cf. 199, 4-10 above (with note at line 4); *Narrenschiff*, vorred 25-30.

397, 11-12. Dardanium - tamen See Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 453-493.

397, 15-18. Unde - nephas Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 77.

397, 19-20. Pictores - viris Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 19-23.

397, 21-23. Laude - habunde Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 79.

397, 24. Nullo - die Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 84.

397, 25-26. Pinxit - bonus Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 98.

397, 27-28. Instituit - levi Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 60.

397, 27. Appolidorus The correct form (which does not fit the meter here) is "Apollodorus".

397, 29-30. Doctior - ingenuam Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 75-76.

397, 31. polignotus Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 58.

397, 32. phidiaca... manus Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 54.

397, 33-34. Auro - viro Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 55.

397, 33. plutarchi Restore "pularchi" (A) or, better, read "bularchi".

For the ancient Greek painter Bularchus see Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 55.

398, 1. Praelia - athenis Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 57.

398, 2. rhodi - prothogenes Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 87-88.

398, 3-4. Parrhasium - foret Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 72.

398, 5-6. Ausus - iussus ei Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 58, where some manuscripts read "pythis" or "Pytis" (as a proper name), rather than as "Pythiis" ("at the Pythian games").

398, 7-8. Plus - suas Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 62.

398, 9-10. Nobilis - hodie Plin., *Nat.*, 35, 63.

398, 13. quorsus Read "quorsum" (A), required by the meter.

401, 2. plautum See Plaut., *Am.*, 268-269.

402, 9. Asicionius Read "Asconius".

402, 17-20. Et frustra - refers Cf. Hor., *Ars*, 79-82.

402, 38. Provita Read "Pro vita".

402, 41. bipedes... aselli Cf. Iuv., 9, 92.

403, 2. parens Read "patens".

405, 7. xj^m The app. crit. wrongly expands this abbreviation to "xj^m<ilium>" instead of "xj^m<ilia>")

405, 14. se Read "te".

408, 1-2. grates... immortalis Read "grates... immortales".

408, 19. Fortunam Read "Fortuna", as in Lucan., 1, 84 (and the lemma in the app. crit.).

408, 25-26. utrumque Read "utcumque".

408, 27. superest Correct this reading to "superi est", as at 195, 457 above.

408, 35. Rega Read "Regna", as at 195, 469 above.

408, 37. After this line the editor omits the pentameter "cogitat at nullus tam prope adesse diem." (Wencker's manuscript and printed edition have "autem" instead of "at".)

408, 70. de nihilo in nihilum Cf. Pers., 3, 84.

408, 71. idem Correct this reading to "item", as in Lucr., 2, 999.

408, 72. in terram, sed quod This reading ultimately comes from Lact., *Inst.*, 7, 12, 5.

408, 74. debemus - nostraque Correct this reading to "debemur morti nos nostraque". The phrase is quoted from Hor., *Ars*, 63.

408, 77. Regum transfertus Read "Regnum transfertur", as in Vulg., *Sirach*, 10, 8.

408, 88. Caesar Cf. Lucan., 3, 371-372.

408, 89-112. Et haud - displicuerit According to Erich König (ed.), *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel* (Munich, 1923), p. 36, these sentences appear only in the printed version of 1713, where they form the letter's conclusion.

408, 94. magnificatum The intended reading must be "magnificentiam".

408, 97. quibusdam... tyrannus Read "quibusdam... tyrannis".

408, 100-101. et proximus - Hannibal Iuv., 6, 290-291.

408, 102-103. Nunc - orbem Iuv., 6, 292-293.

408, 103. viciumque Read "victumque", as in Iuv., 6, 293.

408, 121. Obstat - domi Cf. Iuv., 3, 164-165.

409, 11. Dii Bene vortant Plaut., *Aul.*, 175, and elsewhere.

410, title. Affirmatio - veritatis This heading does not suggest that the following poem deals with "die wahre Musenliebe", as the editor surmises in vol. II, 159. It (ironically) affirms the truth of all the insults that Jacob Locher ("Philomusus") has hurled at Brant. For the epithet see also 411, 55 below.

410, 1. philomipe Read "philomize". Cf. 411, 41 below.

410, 4. Solyrus... Ergaminusque I do not understand these words.

410, 5. Sit Read "Sum", as in lines 1 and 3.

410, 7. paroneses Read "parenese".

410, 8. bomolchian I do not understand this word. **oro** The correct reading must be "ore".

410, 9. furiosus... horestes Otto 1308; cf. 116, 2 above.

410, 11. ingulum Read "iugulum".

410, 14. refers Read "refer".

410, 15-16. ne... putas This reading cannot be right.

410, 16. phronesin Note the short second syllable.

411, 14. partes tua Read "partes tuas".

411, 19. voverit Read "voluerit".

412, 5. fausta pede Correct this reading to "fausto pede".

413. In vol. II, 161, the editor feels obliged to defend this poem as Brant's work. The effort is unnecessary, for the lines reappear under Brant's name as no. 454 below.

414, 6. ψαλτεριον Read "ψαλτέριον".

415, 1. mores hominum... vitam Phaedr., 3, praef. 50.

416. Since the editor neglects the variant readings in Brant's *In laudem divi Maximiliani* (Strasbourg, [1519/20]), I offer them below, under the siglum *B*.

416, title The title in *B* is: "In praematuram Philippi Regis Hispaniarum, optimique principis mortem, Naenia S. Brant".

416, 7. usque The reading in *B* is "ultra".

416, 14. Et The reading in *B* is "Qui". **prius** Read "pius" (*B*).

416, 16. abortis See note at 93, 67 above. In *B* the word is spelled "obortis".

416, 17. Quis The reading in *B* is "Non".

416, 22. parent: Read "parenti" (*B*).

416, 28. After this line, *B* inserts the heading "Divo Maximiliano, patripatriae, Felici triumphatori, semper Augusto, Salus et victoria" — the very same heading used in no. 413 above. Then follow lines 29-32 of the present poem, immediately followed by the four distichs reprinted as no. 454 below.

417, 14. in audaces - tuta Ov., *Met.*, 10, 544.

419. In vol. II, 163 the editor tells us that "epitoma" in line 6 is a metrical error. But the word "epitoma" does not occur in no. 419. It does, however, occur at 187, 6 and elsewhere. For the scansion see note at 150, 21 above.

419, title. Hexasthycon Read "Hexastychon".

423, 32. Francisum Read "Franciscum".

423, 44. humano generis Read "humani generis".

423, 46-47. quanta - sancto Vulg., *Psalm.*, 73, 3.

423, 48-49. polluerunt - tui Cf. Vulg., *Psalm.*, 73, 7.

423, 49. in reprobum sensum Vulg., *Rom.*, 1, 28.

423, 55-63. peritque - impietate sua This passage contains a series of quotations from the Psalms. See Vulg., *Psalm.*, 9, 7; 9, 16; 9, 39 (= 9 B, 18); 10, 7; 9, 6; 82, 11; 17, 43; 72, 6.

423, 64-65. Nescia - modum Verg., *Aen.*, 10, 501-502.

423, 64. fortisque Read "sortisque".

423, 71. qu palam Read "qui palam".

427, 6. lusticieque Read "Iusticieque".

427, 11. Non personarum... acceptor Vulg., *Act.*, 10, 34.

427, 16. Numilegos Read "Nummilegos". **druides** This term for "priests", used in a somewhat derogatory sense here, occurs also at 431, 4 below. Other humanists use the term in an entirely honorable context. See, for example, Heinrich Bebel, "Epicoedion in funere doctoris Galtheri de Vernia", published together with his *Oratio ad regem Maximilianum de laudibus atque amplitudine Germaniae* (Pforzheim, 1504), sig. p6^r; Conrad Celtis, *Od.*, 3, 28; and Erasmus, *Carm.*, 88, 41. See further Noel L. Brann, 'Conrad Celtis and the "Druid" Abbot Trithemius: An Inquiry into Patriotic Humanism', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 (1979), 16-28.

427, 27. Obit Read "Obiit".

429. The composition date of this epigram cannot be "ca. 1510", as the editor supposes, because Maximilian is still addressed as "rex", not "Caesar". The terminus ante quem is thus February 1508, when Maximilian assumed the title of Emperor-elect. Internal evidence pushes the date back even further. Lines 5 and 10 point to Maximilian's marriage-by-proxy to Anne of Brittany in December 1490, while lines 6-8 allude to his successful drive to expel the Hungarians from Austria, Vienna, Steiermark, and Kärnten that was capped by the Treaty of Pressburg on 7 November 1491. The composition date, therefore, must be 1491 — sometime before the shocking news that Anne of Brittany had agreed (on November 15) to marry Charles VIII (on December 6). For the historical background cf. 76, 1-3.

429, 7. compellat Read "compellas". **Bannon** The Middle Latin term "banus" refers to a provincial governor or viceroy of Hungary. Brant uses the Greek accusative ending to avoid elision.

431, 4. druidas Cf. 427, 16 above, with note.

435, 3. anguis - herba Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 3, 93.

435, 4. montes auro splendens Read "montes auro splendentes". For the expression cf. Otto 1132; *Nachträge*, pp. 188 and 280.

435, 5. inter clusa Read "interclusa".

435, 11. thuregum... abbate Read "thuregum... abbatem".

435, 13. baiulius Read "baiulus". Cf. 16, 15 above, with note.

435, 15. contristacj Read "contristarj". As currently edited, several sections of this letter make little or no sense.

436, 28. comiserit Read "commiserit".

438, 2-3. in hac nocte The correct reading is probably "et hac nocte".

438, 6. multos nobilis Read "multos nobiles".

438, 8. mansurgere Read “mansuri sunt”.

440, 23. stabili neru. Read “stabili nexu”, as at 154, 15 above.

443. This poem was composed sometime in the first half of 1518, when Francis I was seeking election as king of the Romans and future emperor (lines 1-3) by buying the Electors’ votes (lines 12-13).

444, 1. garamanticus Ammon Sil., 5, 357.

444, 5. Tagus See note at 27, 34 above.

452. The poem, dated 5 February 1518, is not an epicedion for Emperor Maximilian, as the editor imagines (vol. II, 176). Maximilian, after all, did not die until 12 January 1519. The poem laments the loss of ancient Christian territories to the Turks and exhorts Maximilian to recapture them.

452, title. nyciteria More correctly: “niceteria”.

452, 19. trucidit Correct this reading (A) to “trucidat”.

452, 29-30. Omnibus - sequi Cf. 151, 61-62 above (with note at line 61).

452, 31-44. O tibi - potes Cf. 147, 601-616.

452, 57-64. Te moveat - solo Cf. 147, 619-626.

454. This epigram, virtually identical to no. 413 above, goes back to 1 January 1507. See also note at 416, 28 above.

455, title. Epicedion Read “Epicedion, autore Sebastiano Brant” (A).

455, 2. sceptras Read “sceptrā” (A).

455, 3. Ecce es Read “Ecce ea” (A).

455, 5. gemitus suspiria fundam. Read “gemitus, suspiria fundam,” (A).

455, 14. portus, et aura See note at 189, 58 above.

455, 17. Sed quid - memoro Enn., *Ann.*, 9, 314.

455, 23. sceptruum Read “sceptrum” (A).

455, 25-28. Dij melius - cadet Quoted from 195, 449-452 above.

455, 29. tenuis - pulvis Cf. Iuv., 7, 207.

455, 30. Ossa... molliter cubent Ov., *Am.*, 1, 8, 108; *Epist.*, 7, 162.

456, 9. The app. crit. misprints the reading of A, which in fact has the correct form, with a rough breathing mark before the second rho.

460, 2. tuo Read “cano”. Cf. 194, 14 above; 461, 1 below.

462-464. Though first published in 1519/20, these poems must have been written while Maximilian was still alive, that is to say, before 12 January 1519. Moreover, since Maximilian is no longer addressed as “rex” (cf., for instance, 413, 1 above, dated 1 January 1507) but as “Caesar”, the terminus post quem for all three poems is 4 February 1508,

when Maximilian assumed the title of Emperor-elect. Most probably they are congratulatory epigrams written specifically for that occasion.

462, 14. arm Read “arma” (A).

462, 16. Etquidquid Read “Et quidquid” (A).

462, 17. contrarie Restore the reading “contraire”. Cf., for example, 452, 12 above.

463, 6. ite Read “item” (A).

463, 11. quorum - fatigat Cf. 118, 181 above, with note.

464, 1-4. Caesaris - diligeret Cf. 147, 575-576.

464, 6. strenuus Read “strenuus” (A).

465, 9. illa queatas Read “illaqueatas”.

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DOCTORIS ORATIO DE ALFONSO ORTIZ: EDICIÓN CRÍTICA DE
LAS VERSIONES LATINA Y CASTELLANA**

1. Introducción: el hecho histórico

El año de 1492 constituye un verdadero punto capital en la historia de España y, en la medida de la proyección de ésta en otros estados, también en la de Europa. Tan sólo el acontecimiento que supuso el descubrimiento de América, con todas las críticas que se le quieran hacer (críticas, por lo general, un tanto anacrónicas), valdría para caracterizar y valorar el lapso de esos doce meses. Pero no fue el único. Unos más amables que otros, entre los hechos de trascendencia sucedidos habría que incluir la promulgación de la pragmática sobre la expulsión de los judíos no conversos (31 de marzo), la publicación de la *Gramática de la lengua castellana* de Nebrija (agosto) y el que aquí y ahora nos ocupa: la toma de Granada y el final de lo que tradicionalmente se ha dado en

* Este artículo, en su introducción al hecho histórico, retoma parte de la comunicación que con el título 'Alfonso Ortiz traductor de Alfonso Ortiz: un discurso dirigido a los Reyes Católicos' presenté el 4 de abril de 2000 en el Congreso Internacional *La Universitat de València y el Humanismo: Studia Humanitatis y renovación cultural en Europa y en el Nuevo Mundo*, celebrado en València-Xàtiva del 3 al 8 de abril de 2000. El texto de la comunicación se encuentra en estos momentos en prensa. En dicho trabajo expongo los argumentos que me hacen pensar en la posterioridad de la versión castellana respecto al texto latino. Me gustaría haber podido consultar el trabajo de Jacobo Sanz, 'La autotraducción del castellano al latín y del latín al castellano: Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal (el Tostado) y Alfonso Ortiz', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (aún en prensa, según leo en una bibliografía del autor). Por último, quisiera agradecerle al Prof. Gilbert Tournoy las correcciones que ha hecho sobre el texto crítico de este artículo.

llamar 'Reconquista' y que, según parece más ajustado a la realidad, debería considerarse, simple y llanamente, 'conquista'.¹

Este año señero comenzaba de manera insuperable. El 2 de enero de 1492, concretamente su madrugada, más que el punto final de una guerra, suponía el término de todo un período histórico de casi ocho siglos de duración. En efecto, la victoria no implicaba simplemente un triunfo militar más, sino que representaba la culminación de todo un dilatado proceso de cerca de ochocientos años. Los artífices de semejante proeza fueron los Reyes Católicos, que, a modo de marbete, llevaron un título otorgado en 1494 por el Papa Alejandro VI, precisamente como distinción a la vez que reconocimiento de sus desvelos por mantener y extender el dominio del catolicismo en el mundo.²

Con este contexto político-religioso y esta gesta como telón de fondo, no es de extrañar que escritores contemporáneos de una aguzada sensibilidad católica encontrasen un excelente material literario para componer obras de agradecimiento y elogio hacia los reyes, a la vez que de exaltación de la, en su opinión, única fe verdadera. Entre ellos descubrimos a Alfonso Ortiz, humanista relativamente poco conocido, natural de Villarrobledo (Albacete), canónigo de Toledo y, según sus propias palabras, 'doctor en vtroque iure' y, por lo tanto, hombre instruido en las letras latinas.³

¹ Véase, por ejemplo, Bernard Vincent, *1492, "el año admirable"*, trad. de A. Gil (Barcelona: Crítica, 1992).

² Como es de suponer, sobre la época de los Reyes Católicos hay escritos miles de títulos: libros de carácter general, monografías, artículos, actas de congresos, etc. Tres buenas aproximaciones divulgativas al tema son: Joseph Pérez, *Isabel y Fernando. Los Reyes Católicos*, trad. de F. Santos, 2ª edn (Madrid: Nerea, 1997) y Miguel Ángel Ladero, *La España de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999). Para la toma de Granada resulta especialmente interesante el trabajo de M.ª del Carmen Pescador, 'Cómo fue de verdad la toma de Granada, a la luz de un documento inédito', *Al-Andalus*, 20 (1955), 283-344; de carácter más general son: Miguel Ángel Ladero, *Castilla y la conquista del reino de Granada* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1967) y Miguel Ángel Ladero, *Granada, historia de un país islámico (1232-1571)*, 2ª edn (Madrid: Gredos, 1979).

³ Hasta la fecha son escasos los trabajos que se centren en esta figura o la toquen de pasada. Véanse: Alfonso Ortiz, *Diálogo sobre la educación del Príncipe Don Juan, hijo de los Reyes Católicos*, edición y traducción de G. M. Bertini (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas Ediciones, 1983); Alfonso Ortiz, *Oracion fecha alos muy poderosos principes y muy altos Rey y reyna de españa nuestros señores por el dotor Alfonso ortiz canonigo*

El texto o, para ser más exactos, los textos que forman el núcleo de este trabajo aparecen de manera consecutiva entre los folios del incunable, compuesto en bellos caracteres góticos, que responde al título de *Los tratados del doctor alonso ortiz*, Sevilla 1493, comprendidos el texto latino en los folios 40^r-43^r y el texto castellano en los folios 43^v-48^v. El texto latino se encuentra encabezado por el siguiente *incipit*: *Ad illustrissimos Fernandum et Helisabeth hispaniarum regem et reginam potentissimos Alfonsi ortiz Doctoris oratio incipit*. Se trata, efectivamente, de un discurso gratulatorio y encomiástico dirigido a los reyes, que habría sido pronunciado, según parece, ante los propios monarcas, cuando, tras la conquista de Granada, llegaron a Barcelona.⁴ La pieza oratoria pertenece notoriamente al género epidíctico o demostrativo. No es éste el lugar para hacer un análisis retórico exhaustivo del texto, pero baste decir que su carga retórica y el tono ampuloso general se ajustan perfectamente al tema tratado y, más aún, al autor que lo trata. Los desmedidos elogios enfocados a los reyes son claramente sinceros y, *mutatis mutandis*, equiparables — quizá también en su sinceridad — a los que Cicerón en su *Pro Marcello* dirige a César. Por otro lado, la visceralidad con que se refiere a musulmanes y judíos es de esperar en un hombre de su época, formación y vocación.⁵

de Toledo, notas biográficas y prólogo de V. Espinar, transcripción del manuscrito de I. de la Rosa (Villarrobledo: Ayuntamiento de Villarrobledo, 1994); Alfonso Ortiz, *Tratado del fallecimiento del muy ínclito señor don Juan el tercero, príncipe de las Españas*, ed. J. Sanz (Ávila: Institución “Gran Duque de Alba” de la Diputación Provincial, 2000) y George Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*, traducción, adiciones y notas críticas de P. de Gayangos y E. de Vedia, 3 vols (Buenos Aires, 1948), I.

⁴ El hecho de pronunciar en la época discursos en latín ante un auditorio suficientemente preparado no debe sorprender. Al respecto, son de interés las palabras de José Francisco Pastor, *Las apologías de la lengua castellana en el siglo de oro* (Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1929), p. xxvi:

“El 17 de Abril de 1536, Carlos I, en presencia del Papa Pablo III y los embajadores de Francia y de Venecia, pronunció su discurso en español, rompiendo con la costumbre de hablar en latín, justificando este acto con la afirmación de la nobleza que poseía el español y mereciendo por esto ser entendido por todos.”

⁵ En este sentido ultracrítico se manifiesta Ticknor, I, 421, n. 4: ‘Por lo demás, todo el libro respira intolerancia y fanatismo’, apreciación que no considera las circunstancias concretas de todo tipo en que se produce cualquier obra literaria.

2. Criterios de edición

Para la edición de los textos latino y castellano me he servido del ya citado incunable *Los tratados del doctor alonso ortiz*, Sevilla 1493 (ejemplar de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, INC. 1905), ff. 40r-43r texto lat. y ff. 43v-48v texto cast. Al tratarse de un texto conservado sólo en forma impresa — desconozco si existe en forma manuscrita⁶ — en la *editio princeps* de 1493, me he limitado a ofrecer la obra tal como aparece en el incunable citado, siguiendo, no obstante, el procedimiento común en la edición moderna de este tipo de obras.

Así, por ejemplo, dado lo precario de la puntuación del original — únicamente se emplean el punto bajo ‘.’ y los dos puntos ‘:’, y además con ciertas incoherencias en su uso —, la he regularizado de acuerdo con la norma actual.⁷ Del mismo modo, las mayúsculas se encontrarán donde cabría hallarlas en un texto contemporáneo.⁸

En lo que se refiere a abreviaturas (por suspensión y por contracción), las he resuelto sin señalarlo expresamente entre paréntesis o en cursiva, como a veces se hace en meras transcripciones. Respecto a la vacilación

⁶ Evidentemente, en su momento debió de existir al menos una copia del texto autógrafa del propio Ortiz, que fuese entregada al impresor para componer el texto de la edición sevillana de 1493. No tengo noticia de ella ni directa ni indirecta (por ser citada en alguna bibliografía). Por el contrario, el texto castellano que acompaña al latino en el incunable se conserva manuscrito en el ms. n.º 367 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, ff. 33r-37r. De este último se hizo una Edición (?) Homenaje con motivo del quinto centenario de la publicación de *Los tratados*, bajo el título *Oracion fecha a los muy poderosos principes y muy altos Rey y reina de españa nuestros señores por el dotor Alfonso ortiz canonigo de Toledo*, ya citado en la n. 3. La edición del texto no pasa de ser una transcripción paleográfica del ms. original, con más erratas de imprenta de lo que sería deseable y —lo que es peor— evidentes errores de lectura.

⁷ Aunque hay que reconocer que en este punto la norma del castellano, lejos de ser inflexible, admite pequeñas ‘desviaciones’ idiomáticas. Sobre la puntuación en español moderno (y en el del Siglo de Oro) v. las meridianas palabras de Francisco Rico en Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edn. del Instituto Cervantes dirigida por F. Rico, 2 vols (Barcelona: Crítica, 1998), II, 693-698.

⁸ En el caso de los gentilicios he seguido la práctica de ediciones inglesas y alemanas, en donde, por ser norma en sus lenguas, se escriben con mayúscula como los topónimos correspondientes: *Grecos*, *Hispanienses*, *Mauritana*, *Punica*, etc. Por el contrario, escribo en minúscula la inicial de algunas palabras en que la mayúscula del original no está justificada y mantengo la minúscula de los gentilicios que aparecen en el texto castellano.

entre las grafías ‘u/v’ e ‘i/j’, tan común en textos manuscritos e impresos de la época y posteriores, he optado por mantener las clásicas ‘u’ e ‘i’ en cualquier posición (‘V’ para la ‘u’ mayúscula).⁹ Respeto los casos de asibilación -ci- por -ti- (y su variante ultracorrecta -ti- por -ci-), así como las grafías asimiladas *nanque* [§§13, 17], *tanquam* [§7], *quoruncunque* [§2], *duntaxat* [§13], *cunque* [§§7, 14] y mantengo la fluctuación entre consonantes simples y geminadas o inconsistencias ortográficas en antropónimos, como *Helisabeth* / *Helizabeth*, *Mendoça* / *Mendoza*, o en las palabras en que aparece una vacilación propia de la época, como en *extienda* / *estiende*, *victoria* / *vitoria*, *sancta* / *santa*, *empero* / *enperador*, *embiado* / *enbiado*, etc. He corregido *apostotado* en *apostatado* [§7] y *apostotauan* en *apostatauan* [§11], con toda seguridad, errores del impresor debidos a la mala interpretación y resolución de la abreviatura con la que Ortiz debió de escribir estas dos palabras en el texto autógrafo que entregó al cajista, quien, obviamente, desconocía ese verbo.¹⁰ Transcribo siempre con ‘s’ las eses altas ‘j’, que, por lo general, no aparecen nunca en final absoluto de palabra.¹¹

Para la distribución en párrafos, inexistente en el original latino e incoherente en la versión castellana consecutiva — en donde se indica con el signo del calderón ¶ —, me he guiado por la puntuación tal como la he concebido en la edición. Los números de referencia van entre paréntesis y en negrita. La paragrafación es sólo instrumental y aproximativa.

⁹ Aunque soy consciente de que con ello violento la práctica de esta revista. Creo, no obstante, que la norma gráfica que propongo no es más arbitraria que la corrientemente empleada (‘u’ para la vocal y ‘v’ para la consonante) y, por otra parte, se acerca más a las características gráficas de este texto concreto.

¹⁰ Lo que ocurrió, probablemente, fue un cruce entre las palabras (abreviadas) *apostol* y *apostatar*. La forma *apostotar* no aparece en ninguno de los léxicos consultados, ni en los castellanos (el *Diccionario de Autoridades*, el *Tesoro* de Covarrubias, el de María Moliner, el de la RAE, el etimológico de Corominas-Pascual) ni en los latinos (el *ThLL*, el de du Cange). Tampoco ha sido fructífera la búsqueda en el corpus informático del *CLCLT-3* (*Cetodoc Library of Christian Latin Texts*, Lovanii Novi, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis: Brepols, 1996). Por otro lado, estas dos voces sólo se encuentran en el texto castellano; el texto latino viene a decir lo mismo, pero empleando en ambas ocasiones expresiones perifrásticas. Quedaría muy agradecido a quien me comunicase la existencia de algún ejemplo seguro del verbo *apostotar* en castellano.

¹¹ Cf., sin embargo, *ceteris* [§3].

Al no presentar aparato crítico a pie de página, las correcciones hechas sobre erratas evidentes y de poca monta del original (p. ej. *Herodoti* por el original *horodoti* [§13], *estos males* por *estas males* [§6], *reparadores* por *reperadores* [§6], el primer *sin* por *su* [§5], etc.) se insertan en el texto sin señalarlo. Por otro lado, los signos críticos que aparecen a lo largo de este opúsculo son los usuales con arreglo al llamado ‘sistema de Leiden’. Adaptados al caso que nos ocupa, he aquí su valor:

- <> adición de un segmento que no aparece en el original;
- { } supresión de un segmento que aparece en el original pero que, a efectos de la edición, no debe tenerse en cuenta;
- || cancelación de un segmento cuya supresión ha sido señalada por el propio escriba o manos posteriores (borrándolo, tachándolo o encerrándolo entre paréntesis) en el original; en este caso, sobre el texto impreso.

Por último, nótese que la separación entre folios (y entre el recto y el verso de cada uno de ellos) queda señalada con una doble barra ||; entre las dos columnas de cada fachada con una barra sencilla |.

Las citas de autores antiguos aparecen en tipos cursivos.¹² He señalado, igualmente, aquellos pasajes que, sin ser citas más o menos textuales de autores antiguos (en el caso de la de Estrabón el texto es, además, traducción del original griego), parecen reminiscencias de autores conocidos por Ortiz, presentes en su mente cuando escribió el texto. Por supuesto, no pretendo ninguna exhaustividad en este punto, habida cuenta del gran acervo de ideas y tópicos literarios de todo tipo que un humanista de la época podía llegar a tener.

Los criterios precedentes son igualmente válidos para el texto castellano, hecha la salvedad de que he conservado la distribución de la grafía ‘v’, empleada tanto para ‘u’ como para ‘v’ en inicial de palabra, y de ‘u’ en interior (sin embargo, he escrito los términos *aveys* [§15] y *avello* [§19] con ‘v’ interior para reproducir, en lo posible, la forma original, que representa un falso corte de palabras *a veys* y *a vello*, res-

¹² Las referencias a los pasajes citados las incorporo sólo al texto latino en aparato a pie de página.

pectivamente; por la razón inversa he escrito por separado *se an* [§19] en lugar del *sean* del original; he respetado la indecisión en el empleo de los artículos contractos aún permisibles en el castellano de la época: *ala/s, alos, dela/s, delos, enla/s, enel, enlos, conla/s, conel, conlos*, que aparecen al lado de las formas separadas).¹³ He preferido omitir la ‘R’ mayúscula, que suele transcribirse como ‘rr’, presente en *Rey* y *Reyna* por no mostrar ninguna constancia en su uso. En lo que a los acentos gráficos se refiere, de nuevo en aras de un mayor respeto hacia el original, no he seguido la norma de acentuación vigente en la actualidad y me he limitado a señalar sólo aquellas tildes que tienen una función diacrítica (p. ej. en ‘quién’ como pronombre interrogativo para distinguirlo del relativo ‘quien’, en ‘osará’ como futuro de indicativo, diferente de ‘osara’ imperfecto de subjuntivo, etc.).¹⁴ No transcribo el signo del calderón ¶, cuyo empleo en el texto castellano es bastante confuso. Resuelvo como *e* la nota tironiana τ.

¹³ Véanse, al respecto, Paul M. Lloyd, *Del latín al español. I. Fonología y morfología históricas de la lengua española*, trad. de A. Álvarez (Madrid: Gredos, 1993), 448 y Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española*, 6ª edn (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1941), 262.

¹⁴ En esto me aparto de la postura de Margherita Morreale, ‘Acentuación de los textos medievales’, *Yelmo*, 32 (1977), 17-18.

3. TEXTVS/TEXTO

Ad illustrissimos Fernandum et Helisabeth, Hispaniarum regem et reginam potentissimos, Alfonsi Ortiz doctoris oratio incipit [f.40ra]

(1) Si uictorie uestre mirabiles incredibilesque triumphi, inclyti rex et regina potentissimi, parem facundiam in laudes uestras exigerent, omnis profecto lingua a facie fulgentissima duorum tremebunda sileret nec ipse sine temeritate modo laudator accederem. Quippe sunt omnium ora mortalium in uos principes coniugio unanimes, rebus tam feliciter gestis, merito conuersa.

(2) Nulla enim gens tam barbara tamque ad Gangem semota, que uictoriarum uestrarum, licet ad fines oceani bellico splendore refulserint, iam sit ignara. Sane a finibus terre exiuit fortitudinis uestre sonus auresque procul habitantium infidelium pauore refudit. Et quantum religio nostra letabunda uobis serenissimis uictoribus gratulatur, tantum supersticiose gentis horrida perfidia contremiscit. At quum glorie uestre splendor regum quoruncunque oculos nostra etate fulgore perstrinxerit, quomodo ante ora uestra, illustrius sole radiantia, cuiuscunque mens tam stupenda gesta acute excogitabit aut quomodo ea ornate apteque dicere dilserta uel lingua ualebit<?>. Sed uires eloquii celitus mihi spero daturum qui tales potentie et felicitatis in terris diuinitus regnandi uobis retribuit habenas uincendique subministravit auspicia. [f.40rb]

(3) Nec deerit sanctissima Dei genitrix Virgo, que ecclesie nostre Toletane, cuius legatione fungimur, uotis aspirat, que suo illam sancto uestigio sacrauit, cuius antistitem honore uestis sacrate munivit, que super cunctas Hispaniarum ecclesias munere diuino primatum gerit. Hec conciliorum antiquissima parens iura legesque preclaras ceteris imposuit uiuendique mores docuit, ubi pontifices sanctissimi Eugenius primus, Illefonus Iulianusque sedentes, doctrina et sanctitate egregii, errorum dogmata nefanda ex Hispania profligarunt animosque fidelium in fide catholica illustrarunt, ubi regum Hispanorum preclara monumenta uictoriarumque insignia hodie prefulgent, ubi uestra quoque recensiora

Oracion fecha alos muy poderosos principes e muy altos rey e reyna de España nuestros señores por el dotor Alfonso Ortiz, canonigo de Toledo [f.43va]

(1) Si vuestras increybles vitorias y triunfos marauillosos, inclytos rey e reyna muy poderosos, demandassen para en vuestros loores tanta eloquencia quanto ellos son excelentes, toda lengua por cierto temerosa ante el acatamiento de dos personas tan esclarecidas enmudesceria con justo silencio. Pues yo agora tan pequeño en saber con cuánta temeridad vernía a los referir ante vuestras magestades. Ca son dignamente en vosotros, principes gloriosos, por tan felices hazañas los ojos de todos los mortales enderesçados con digno merescimiento.

(2) Porque no ay gente tan barbara, aun que sea enlas Indias remota, que ya de vuestros tan prosperos vencimientos sea ygnorante, aun que parescan enlos fines solos del ocidente de España con vuestras vitorias resplandescer. Ca delos fines de la tierra ha salido tal sonido de vuestra fortaleza, que ha podido ferir las orejas de todos los biuientes, poniendo paur alos moradores de toda la tierra. Porque quanto nuestra religion christiana con vuestros serenissimos vencimientos se alegra, tanto la obstinada infidelidad de gentes abominables tienbla con espanto de vuestros gloriosos triunfos. Y pues quel resplandor de vuestra gloria ha en nuestra edad escurescido con tan illustre claror la lumbre de qualesquier reyes, cómo antel acatamiento vuestro mas claro quel sol podra ningund juyzio por agudo que sea pensar vuestras excelentes fazañas, o en qué manera sera poderosa ninguna lengua aun que elegante con el ornamento e decencia que deue dezillas<?>. Mas confio yo que me dara fuerças para bien dezir aquel que del cielo por diuino don vos a enbiado tal saber y poderio para reynar e tales fuerças para vencer enla tierra. [f.43vb]

(3) Ni temo quel ayuda de la Virgen madre de Dios me desampará, pues a nuestra yglesia santa, cuya embaxada trahemos, es en sus votos tan propicia. Quién duda que con sus pisadas santissimas ella consagró nuestro santo templo<?>. Quién no sabe con qué ornamento vistio al bienauenturado santo Illefonso, primado suyo<?>. Esta sobre todas las yglesias de España en santidad, deuocion e primacia tiene por diuino don grand preminencia. Esta es la madre delos concilios antiguos en que se estirparon los errores e se enxirieron las virtudes dela fe e religion en España. Esta dio leyes y ritos honestos e santas costumbres para la reformacion delos catholicos e para el aumento de deuocion enlos pueblos. Desta resp<l>andescio dotrina por la sabiduria de sus pontifices santos. Fue el primero Eugenio, por martyrio muy glorioso. Fue Illefonso doctissimo, espanto delos herejes. Fue della prelado sant Julian Pomerio, enlas sacras letras muy excelente. Estos, ll con dotrina e santidad muy esclarecidos, desarraygaron los errores pestiferos e abominables setas que escurescian antes las Españas e alumbraron los coraçones fieles enla sinceridad dela fe catholica, en cuyo sagrario parecen reliquias de nuestra Señora e dela passion del redentor nuestro con joyas preciosas donadas e offrescidas en testimonio dela deuo- [f.44ra]

trophea pendentia armaque et signa posteris admiratione digna manent sedetque hodie quoque a dextris celsitudinis uestre decus ecclesie nostre, prestantissimus primas Petrus Gundisaluus Mendoça, sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie presbyter cardinalis. Cuius fulgoris aflatu ingenii et eloquentie uires mihi adesse iam sentio nouas.

(4) Ordinar igitur arma uestra non sine numine uestro, rex et regina inuictissimi. Arma inquam, quibus hostium gladius, scutum et bellum omne a uestro conspectu Hispanie in terris nostra per secula conqueuit. Accepistis nempe ab Alto regia scepra ea demum tempestate, uos principes Deo charissimi, cum tota fluctibus noxiis Hispania tabesceret, cum ardor belli ciuilis ubique serperet, cum rei publice iura pene || lapsa [f.40va] in pesum iissent.

(5) Nullibi enim quies erat nec quisquam sine discrimine et rerum et uite quidquam tute possidebat. Afflicta pene omnia concussaue metu in urbibus erant. Agrorum latebre latrocinantium furore scatebant. Ad tutandos ab hostium manibus fines Hispanie nondum arma expolierant nostri, sed ut in uiscera patrie ferri ardor truculentus temere irrueret. Domesticus hostis ciuium suorum sanguinem sitibundus suggebat. Viribus superior aut dolis audior laudibus dignus erat.

(6) Confusa itaque omnia, nulla tranquillitate leta, cunctorum ciuium uestrorum animos ad summum corruperant. Preterea lex commutationum numus Greco ex fonte deductus illusionibus multis uarias species ac formas ad negociantium perniciem pro libidine excussorum quotidie mutabat. Cui erat uia publica tuta<?> Ab aratris boum iuga raptor agebat. Ciuitates oppidaue a diripientibus tyrannis absorta cui recensere fas erit<?> Iam legum ueneranda maiestas pudore scelerum faciem obduxerat. Iam regni fides ceciderat, ueritas stupescerat (*sic*), ubi fraudibus scelera, flagitiis crimina uiciisque peccata certabant. Dum hec turbine agerentur, prospexit ab alto Deus uosque optimos tunc adolescentes ad regia gubernacula, remigibus a<f>flictis, nutantia elegit, et, tantis procellarum turbis regni in partes diuisi, uos, regem reginamque, Hispaniarum reparatores opposuit. Et quando mediis in undis naufragium comminantibus uix ad portum adnare uestre uires suppeterent, tunc, mirantibus denique cunctis, uestra fide, constantia et fortitudine omnia rei publice aduersantia preter spem repente cecidisse [[mirabile]] uilsum [f.40vb]

cion delos reyes. Es este santissimo templo donde por culto diuino e obseruancia de religion es mayor decor e deuocion quen todo el vniuerso a donde preside oy, e está ala diestra de vuestra real celsitud para guarda de su decor el muy excelente primado delas Españas don Pero Gonçalves de Mendoça, cardenal presbytero dela sacro sancta Romana Yglesia. Con cuyo espiritu de fauor ya siento recrescerse me nueuas fuerças de ingenio e de eloquencia.

(4) Con la qual començaré ya a dezir vuestras gloriosas armas, pero no sin vuestro fauor, rey y reyna inuictissimos. Armas son sin duda, con las quales la cruel espada delos enemigos, el escudo e defensa dellos e toda la guerra ante vuestro poderio enlas tierras de España en nuestros tiempos ha sosegado e fecho fin muy quieto. Recebistes dela mano del muy alto Dios el ceptro real en tiempos tan turbados, quando con peligrosas tempestades toda España se subuertia, quando más el ardor delas guerras ciuiles era encendido, quando ya los derechos dela republica acostados yuan en total perdicion.

(5) No auia ya lugar su reparo. No auia quien sin peligro de su vida sus propios bienes e sin miedo posseyesse. Todos estauan los estados en aflicion e con justo temor enlas cibdades recogidos. Los escondrijos delos campos con ladronicios manauan sangre, no se acecalauan las armas delos nuestros para la defension delos limites christianos ni para contrariar las armas delos enemigos dela fe, mas para quen las entrañas de nuestra patria nuestro cruel fierro penetrasse. El enemigo domestico sediento beuia la sangre de sus cibdadanos. El mayor en fuerças o más ingenioso para engañar era ya más tenido e alabado entre los nuestros.

[f.44rb]

(6) Y asi estauan todas las cosas fuera del traste dela justicia confusas e sin alguna tranquilidad turbadas. Con que los animos delos nuestros del todo se corronpian cada dia e allende daquesto la ley e medida delas contrataciones delos reynos que es la pecunia dicha en griego numo, que quiere dezir ley, con infinitos engaños cada dia recibia nueuas formas e valor diuerso en su materia, segund la cobdicia del más codicioso, auiendo todos ygual facultad para la cuñar e desfazer en total perdicion dela republica. Pues, a quién eran seguros los caminos publicos<?> A pocos, por cierto. Delos aradros se lleuauan sin defensor las juntas delos bueyes. Las cibdades e villas porlos mayores ocupadas, quién las osará contar<?> Ya la magestad venerable delas leyes con estupor de tantos maleficios auia cubierto su haz. Ya la fe del reyno era cayda. La verdad auia enmudescido. O, cuánta era ya la contienda delos delitos conlos engaños, delos crimines conlos insultos, delos vicios conlos pecados. Pero quando con mayor toruellino estos males se esforçauan, proueyo nos del cielo eligiendo a vos, rey e reyna esclarecidos, para el gouernalle destos reynos de Castilla e ll Aragon, que ya los remos quebrados peligrauan e en tamaña turbacion de tempestades orribles puso alos dos por reparadores delas Españas, e quando los reynos en partes diuisos más tenblauan con vandos e menos poderosas parescian vuestras fuerças para poder nauegar en medio de tales ondas, que con peligros tan fieros amenazauan para anegar alos gouernadores conlos gouernados, entonces no sin se marauillar todas las gentes con fortaleza de fe e constancia animosa

[f.44va]

est, atque bellica illa arma externa, de regni successionem certantia, uestris auspiciis uestraque dextera confracta felici euentu uictorie conspeximus. Summatum quoque regni partes aduerse, sobria pace in uestra iura federe iusto conuerse, uobis regi et regine parere salubrius decreuere. Quis sine perturbatione multorum ingentem uictoriam uestram ad urbem Taurum meminisse poterit? Quis ad Emeritam urbem uestre iusticie aduersantium fugam uestrosque triumphos memorabiles recensere sine multorum pudore audebit? Duobus tandem aut tribus preliis feliciter gestis, Hispanienses tumultus penitus conquieuerant. Preterea maiestates uestre Toleti conuenerant, ubi de pacanda re publica leges promulgate sunt, ubi iura regnorum reformati in melius floruerunt ac nemo eorum qui antea seditionibus nutabant aut uocibus antea strepebant loqui aut saltem mutire ausus est, ubi largitiones regum profuse predecessorum uestrorum, in melius redacte, reformationis legem modestius acceperant. Ibi scelerum contabuit omnis insolentia uestigiaque flagitiorum deleta euauerant pudore uel metu uiuentium legum.

(7) O diuinitus munera data uobis, quorum conspectu corrupti mores tanquam uirtutum aduentu ex tempore profligati sunt! Rapine, fraudes, doli et turba queque malorum penitus absorta est. Post hec autem de bello aduersus fidei hostes pie fideliterque consultum ac tandem deliberatum est. Cunque domi et in uiscera regni hostes religionis christiane funesta diuersorum errorum contagione reperirentur aduersus fidei catholice ueritatem fuisse prelluaricatos, decreuit regia censura et intestina nefarii hostis humani generis piacula expiare et armis impiorum Maurorum simul occurrere, ut Christo Domino, a quo iura regni susceperant, in primis fidei eius zelo sese omni ex parte et armis et industria deuouerent. Succincti tandem pro fidei honore armaturam fidei aduersus Christi hostes induere nulla temporis intercapedine dubitastis, et sicut rem publicam reparare animose cepistis, sic religionis christiane cladem reficere ante omnia uobis cordi fuerat. [f.41ra]

vimos todos sin tener dello esperança los daños contrarios al bien publico subito perescer. Cayeron primero las armas belicosas delos estrangeros que contendian dela sucesion de vuestros reynos e todas las vimos ser quebrantadas con vuestra armada diestra, e sosegaron con el vitorioso fin de vn glorioso triunfo. Las alianças e confederaciones delos grandes en vuestros reynos contrarias vimos conuertas luego con pacifico sosiego e en vuestro seruicio. La ouieron por bien para su justificacion de vos obedecer por sus rey e reyna e por sus naturales señores. Quién se recordará sin turbacion de muchos dela grand vitoria vuestra cerca la cibdad de Toro<?> Quién sin verguença delos contrarios osará referir la fuyda e destroço fecho cerca de Merida enlos contrarios de vuestra justicia<?> Ay, con quánta templança de espiritu distes paz a todos los turbados. Finalmente, con la vitoria de dos o tres batallas prosperamente vencidas fueron en mucho sosiego los escandalos e tumultos de todas las Españas. Despues, vuestras magestades ayuntaron con grand prouidencia los de sus reynos enla cibdad de Toledo, l donde juraron por heredero primogenito de vuestros reynos al inclito principe don Juan, vuestro fijo, donde otrosi para pacificacion dela republica fueron instituydas nuevas leyes e reformados los derechos antiguos reales e la justicia tornada enlos coraçones de vuestros naturales subditos recobró su vigor. Entonces ningunos de aquellos que eran antes muy prontos a escandalos e comociones de pueblos e que alborotauan los reynos osaron hablar ni fazer señal de contradiccion alguna. Donde esomesmo las dadiuas e mercedes desordenadas delas rentas reales recibieron justa e deuida moderacion, alli las desórdenes pasadas enlos juyzios e officiales del reyno ouieron término e fin, las osadias e temerarios insultos cegaron e cubrieron con mesura las pisadas de soberuia con el espanto del juyzio de vuestras magestades asi como de leyes biuas.

[f.44vb]

(7) O diuinal don vuestra prudencia, con justicia e clemencia matizada, en cuya presencia las corruptas costumbres fueron e las osadias torpes se refrenaron e los feroces espiritos se mitigaron, las rapinas e furtos e engaños todos con vuestra luz se desuanescieron, poniendo temor alos que a Dios no temian. Despues fue consultado dela guerra contra los enemigos dela fe ante vuestras reales altezas e fielmente deliberado ser muy necessaria ala religion christiana e al bien público de vuestros reynos. E en este tiempo como fuese sabido quentre los fieles christianos de vuestros reynos e quasi enlas partes mas interiores e principales ouiessen muchos apostatado dela fe e que con nefarios errores se auian contaminado en menosprecio dela ll religion christiana, obseruando ritos e cerimonias judaicas, fizo se decreto justo por vuestra real disciplina, questos interiores daños en offensa de Dios se castigassen e purgando los restaurassedes tan graues roturas quel enemigo del linaje humano entre los catholicos auia contra minado, esforçando se por minas ocultas para desarraygar las plantas nueuamente repuestas enla viña de Dios, no posponiendo por esto de oviar alas armas crueles delos moros por offerer vos a Jesu Christo deuotamente, de cuyas manos recibistes los reynos e con zelo de su santa fe por cada parte con armas justas reprimiessedes la fortaleza e astucia del enemigo de Dios, que por armas públicas e daños ocultos tanto auia ofendido e ofendia cada dia el nombre christiano. E asi como animosamente distes reparo conueniente ala republica, otrosi començastes enderesçados por Dios juntamente vuestra guerra contra los enemigos dela fe catholica e ante todas cosas con diligente estudio mandastes escodrigar los escondrijos donde los errores infieles en tanta rotura auian emanado.

[f.45ra]

(8) Serp<s>erat siquidem per omnes Hispanias iudaice prauitatis uetusta perfidia et letales surculi perniciosissimis incrementis pullulauerant, ad quos erradicandos uigili studio solertique cura animati latibula hostis insidiosi omni spurcitia iudaice prauitatis expiare curastis, et remediis congruentibus tante cecitati uestro lumine claritatem proposuistis ueterum radicum ac surculorum quorundam supputatione, unde ramorum perfidia luxuriari uisa est, ac interdum cauteriis supposita medicina est surculis insitione improbis, nonnullis uero frondium excussa rubigine relictis. Vnde factum arbitramur, ut meritis pro tantis uobis solis diuinitus sit datum super ceteros Hispanorum reges utraque manu aereas demonum potestates superare, quum domi et in penetralibus regnorum hereticos comprimere et arma hostium fidei externa confringere atque a finibus Hispanie, ab illis tandiu possessis, Mauros profligare a Christo, cuius zelo laboribus non pepercistis, uobis esse concessum perpetuo cernamus. Hinc est quod propheta cecinerat: *Dextera Domini fecit uirtutem, dextera Domini exaltauit me*.¹⁴ Felix dextera que iudaica exterminauit arbusta feliciorque Mahumeti debellando contriuit furores. [f.41rb] Ceterum Hispania, quondam fidelibus inhabitata populis, cladibus maximis Mauritanorum feritate fuerat affecta et hostili gladio uastaque cede populata, multosque per annos demonum obsessa prestigiis.

(9) Verumenimvero dextera Domini maiores nostros principes gloriosos exaltauit, qui bella multa prospere gerentes, hostes paulatim hucusque represserant, urbes et oppida rei publice christiane, uictis hostibus, uendicantes in dies. Tandem meridiem uersus nostrorum armis exacti iam Mauri, Punicum regnum in finibus Hispaniarum constituerunt, quod ab urbe Granata, eorum metropoli preclarissima, Granatense appellare placuit, dictum, ut arbitror, a granis punici mali, cum gens illa Punica et Mauritana fuisset, grande siquidem et memorabile regnum, urbibus et terris amplissimum, montibus ac uallibus natura munitum, gurgitibus et aquis irriguum et inaccessibile, equitum peditumque armatorum multitudine copiosa refertum. Que multo difficilior pars Hispanie recuperande asperimusque labor diuinitus uobis relictus est.

(10) Quis Malace urbis fortissima propugnacula nescit<?> Hinc maris Herculei undis precincta, illinc montis summitate insuperabilis cernitur. Quis singilatim urbes, munitiones et oppida celum summitate tangentia enumerabit<?> Quorum commemoratione oratio prolixitate laboraret.

¹⁴ Ps., 117, 16.

(8) Los quales ya auian sarpuilido en mucha manzilla de nuestra catholica Yglesia por todas las Españas e con remedios conuenientes distes lumbre marauillosa a tanta ceguedad cortando los cogollos e viejas rayzes de donde brotauau ramos más dignos de fuego que de ser enxertos e en otros escamondando los viciosos cogollos, toda con industria dela prouida voluntad de Dios. De donde creemos por tales meritos e seruicios a Dios ofrescidos seruos otorgado por diuinal gualardon que entre los otros reyes dela Tierra con ambas manos l pudiesedes vencer la potencia delos spiritus malignos, quando dentro de vuestra casa e enlas entrañas de vuestros reynos vos es dado del Señor comprimir los soberuios e reuocar los errados del camino dela muerte infernal. E fuera delos terminos por succession vuestra adquiridos quebrantassedes las armas delos infieles armados contra nuestra sancta fe adquiriendo ala republica christiana tierras e lançando de España e de sus fines los moros, por luengos tiempos en detrimento del nombre christiano enseñoreados en ellas. Esto es lo quel profeta cantaua diziendo: *La diestra del Señor obró virtud, la diestra del Señor me ensalcó*. O bienauenturada la diestra que desarraygó de España las plantas judaycas e más bienauenturada diestra que con armas bellicosas ha quebrantado los furores de Mahomad. Era otro tiempo poblada toda la España de gentes catholicas, mas la crueldad abominable delos mauritanos de Africa la despoblo e con cuchillo espantable la oprinio faziendo la por luengos tiempos morada delos demonios.

[f.45rb]

(9) Pero la diestra del Señor ensalcó vuestros progenitores principes gloriosos, que con braço de Dios poderoso ouieron por batallas prosperas vitorias e començaron poco a poco recobrar las tierras reprimiendo los enemigos que por las Españas estauan muy desparzidos e con fortalezas enseñoreados fasta las partes donde agora al medio dia auian enfortalescido su reyno, e ya asi retraydos conlas armas de vuestros passados, constituyeron enlos fines de España reyno africano que ya se dezia reyno de Granada, del nombre ll dela principal cibdad que posseyan. La qual, como es mi opinion, fue llamada Granada delos granos delas mançanas punicas, que en nuestra lengua se dizen granadas. Porque esta gente era africana e dela prouincia de Mauritania, donde ellos se llamaron moros. Este reyno es grande por cierto e por el vniuerso muy memorable por ser muy amplissimo en cibdades, villas e tierras, e con montes e sierras e valles naturalmente enfortalescido, con acequias e rios corrientes de aguas cerrado e inaccessible, de caualleros e peones diestros enla guerra e de multitud infinita e armada de gentes muy copiosamente poblado. Esta parte tan difficil e mayor e más peligrosa de recobrar en todas las Españas e de más aspereza fue por la diuina prouidencia dexada para conquistar a vos otros, principes esclarecidos, porque tanto mayor fuesse vuestra victoria quanto era mayor el empresa e de más dificultad.

[f.45va]

(10) Quién no sabe los fortissimos muros e defensas dela cibdad de Malaga<?> Cosa notoria es, porque dela vna parte está ceñida del mar herculeo e dela otra se vee vna sierra de altura inaccessible, que por armas no se puede vencer. Pues, quién podra singularmente contar la fuerça de Ronda ni delas otras cibdades, villas e fortalezas puestas enel cielo sin que extienda mucho su narracion e faga la oracion más prolixa que conuiene<?> E al fin ya los moros retraydos enlos estrechos de tales asperezas e defensiones de reyno tan fuerte, e apretados alas

Restricti tandem Mauri in tam ardua regni propugnacula et ad maritima apulsi, octingentos ferme per annos, contractis undique uiribus, regnum huiusmodi arctium instructione urbiumque frequentia miris machinarumque formis munierant, ita ut || difficile creditu sit humanis armis expugnari aut istinc propelli potuisse, quos decimo tandem iam uincitis anno. [f.41va]

(11) O felicia Hispaniarum regna, que nostris seculis Fernandum et Helizabeth tanta uictoria felices nacta sunt regem atque reginam, quorum armis et animis nostri facti sumus compotes uoti nostrisque desideriis potiti. Profecto uestra triumphi gloria non modo qui superstites hac aura uescimur gloriari licet, sed ad mane{n}s usque nostrorumque sepulchra maiorum leticiam hanc peruenisse putamus, hec certe dies optata tantum ad nostrorum regum gloriam populorumque leticiam tota cedit. O bone Deus, que uincula christianorum in captiuitate asperima languentium contemplor uestra fortissima dextera esse dirupta! Quot funera miseranda posteris esse sublata, quot rapinarum genera extincta, quot oppidanorum irruptiones et scandala submota! Seres sine formidine, agricola; pones sine metu ordine uites: hostis abest. Leges quouis tempore quietos fructus. Pastor securos captabit somnos. Felix uiator, cui metus qui aderat demptus est.¹⁵

(12) Manus uestra, rex et regina clarissimi, gentes fidelibus inimicas disperdidit. Nostri letissima pace fruuntur. Insignia hec et clara trophea nomina uestra eterna in celum referent. Tandem uestris armis cecidere Punica regna in finibus Hispanie tandiu firmata. Cecidit ingens Granata, ab impiorum imperio erepta. Felicia in Christo denuo regna hec facta sunt. Mirabilis Deus in fortitudine sua corroborauit brachium uirtutis uestre, unde refusa est nobis dulcedo triumphi uestri.¹⁶ Quis lolquetur [f.41vb] potentias Domini<?> Quis Fernandi et Helizabeth nomina sine laude preteribit<?> Que secula tam ingrata uenient, que uobis eternas gracias non habeant<?> Que gens nominis Christi cultrix sine commemoratione uestri triumphi somnos excipiet<?> Quis arua hec, fidei Christi quesita, cernere non optabit<?> Cecidit tandem ingens Granata, millibus millium

¹⁵ Verg., *ecl.*, 1, 73: insere nunc, Meliboeae, pios, pone ordine vitis.

¹⁶ Ps. 88, 11: in brachio uirtutis tuae dispersisti inimicos tuos; *Prov.*, 31, 17: accinxit fortitudine lumbos suos et roborauit brachium suum.

partes maritimas e quasi por ochocientos años restauradas l e vnidas sus fuerças, dioles mayor osadia el lugar e la fuerça de tal reyno, enfortalescido essomesmo con industrias de artes humanas por edificios espantables de torres altissimas e de espessura de cibdades e villas con gentes muy copiosas e de otros artificios pertrechadas, en tal manera que es cosa difficil de creer poder ser por armas tal reyno conquistado e en tan breue tiempo combatido e vencido lançando de tan asperos lugares tan fuerte e copiosa morisma e tan animosos enemigos, los quales por diuina concession en diez años aueys vencido, extirpado e confundido. [f.45vb]

(11) O bienaventurados reynos de España, quen nuestros tiempos a don Fernando e doña Ysabel vedes reynar e con tan prosperas victorias ser dilatados los fines christianos. Por cuyas armas e gloriosos triunfos alcançamos ver lo que nuestros passados tanto desearon. Cierta esta gloria victoriosa no solamente da gozo a los biuientes e honor, mas aun a los espiritus e ánimas de nuestros defunctos progenitores e fasta sus sepulchros creemos que se estiende esta tanta alegría de vuestro vencimiento. O deseado tiempo en España. Razon es questos dias sean en fiestas e alegrías empleados porque loamos en ellos a Dios dador delas vitorias. O infinito poder de Dios, qué cadenas de christianos captiuos, en mucho dolor afligidos, contemplo ser rotas e sus personas libradas con vuestra diestra real. Qué muertes veo excusarse de aqui adelante asi delos biuos como delos por nacer. Quántas rapinas e robos e catiuidades de puellblos christianos son ya quitadas con vuestra clara vitoria. Quántas roturas de villas e lugares, quántos escandalos de ánimas c<h>ristianas, que con desesperacion apostatauan dela fe, son ya apagados. Ya sembrará sin miedo el labrador, ya plantará arboles e porná vides para sus nietos sin sospecha del enemigo. Ya las armas de Mahomad no se temen en España, porque cayo del todo su poder con vuestro poder. Cogera ya cada vno en paz sus frutos en los tiempos deuídos. Dormira ya el pastor sin sobresalto del ganado, yra su camino gozoso el viandante donde no teme ser salteado. [f.46ra]

(12) La mano real vuestra, rey e reyna muy esclarecidos, ha desparzido e tyrado de nuestra cara las gentes enemigas dela fe christiana. Ya vsarán vuestros subditos de paz sin acechanças. Vuestras banderas e claros trofeos asi pornán vuestros nombres en el cielo eternos. Con vuestras armas son ya desfechas en España las armas e caydos los reynos de Mahomad, tantos tiempos enfortalescidos. Cayo del todo la grand cibdad de Granada, ca es librada del poder miserable de infieles. Ya el reyno del nombre pestifero de Mahomad nombrado es traydo al jugo de Jesuchristo nuestro Dios. O marauilloso señor delas batallas, o marauillosa fortaleza suya, que aueys así {el} fortalecido el bracho christiano con los triunfos del rey e reyna nuestros señores, de donde redunda a nos tanta dulcedumbre dela gloria de sus vitorias. Quién puede ensalçar con su lengua el poderio del Señor<?> Quién los nombres de don Fernando e de doña Ysabel oluidará sin recontar sus loores<?> Qué tiempos verñan tan desgradescidos que no den inmensas gracias a vuestros trabajos, con los quales ternan ellos folgança<?> Qué gente christiana dormira sin memoria de vuestros triunfos<?> Quién sera que estos campos adquiridos ala fe christiana con vuestro poder no desee ver e se goze conoscellos<?> Ya pues del todo cayo la grandissima [f.46rb]

hostium plena. Cecidere uires sanguinem christianum sitientes. Letare, fidelis cultor agri: infidus abest Hismaelis nepos. Suscedet generatio sancta, populus acquisitionis, auresque omnium fidelium Fernandi et Helizabeth nomina implebunt atque felicia gesta.

(13) Sane si uestros triumphos recentes pristinis regum imperatorumque conferre fas esset, gloria profecto eorum a facie istorum ueterasceret. Quenam Assyriorum gloria regum, quorum nondum erat armata potentia<?> Medorum gesta regum, Phraortis et Cyaxare, in tenebris obscura iacent.¹⁷ Si Cyri, fortissimi regis, uires recenseam, in quo Persarum regna cepere, fatebimur equidem magnas, sed que odio tyranni aui sui Astiagis potius quam sua uirtute creuerant.¹⁸ Vestra autem uirtus nullius odio incensa, sed fidei zelo in hostes Christi exarserat. Horum preterea diuitie maiores quam arma fuerant, que cum uestris minime sunt conferenda, quorum arma diuitias eorum superant. Imperatores Grecos gestorum memoria illustres legimus, quorum scriptores egregii maiori facundia illa {me} memorie mandauerant quam fortitudine et uiribus illi claruerant, eamque ob rem uestris minime sunt conferenda. Atheniensium ingens gloria fuit, Lacedemonum forlissima uirtus atque tyrannorum in Sicilia terribile iugum. Sed Herodoti et Thucididis atque Plutarchi lingue maiores memorabilioresque factis illorum fuerant. Quid Alexandri Magni, cuius nomen Gretia miratur, excelsa regna et trophea cum uestris conferam<?> Cui certe tribus preliis, Dario deuicto, Asia tuta imbellis manus sponte cesserat. Qui licet Porum,¹⁹ regem Indorum, maioris Asie regibus exactis, uicerit, non est admiratione dignum, nam eius mire iam erat aucta potentia uiresque uictoria facte multo maiores. Hos nanque Asie populos, pace eorum dixerim, uincere ac superare non arduum est. Cesarem qui audierit, non inficias ibit. Cuius uerba hec sunt de Asiaticis bellis: *Veni, uidi, uici*,²⁰ que inquit ceu nihil operis nihilque laboris ad debellandos eos populos insumpserit. Vos autem, rex et regina uictores,

[f.42ra]

¹⁷ Hdt., 1, 73, 96, 102, 103; Paus., 4, 24, 2; 5, 10, 3; etc.

¹⁸ Xen., *Cyr.*, 1, 3, 2.

¹⁹ Oros., *Hist.*, 3, 19, 3.

²⁰ Suet., *Iul.*, 37, 2.

cibdad de Granada llena de mil millones de enemigos, cayeron ya las fuerças sedientas dela sangre christiana. Alegre se el catholico morador de España: ya cayo el esfuerço del nieto de Ysmael, su contrario. Sucederá en estos campos que eran de blasfemos moros generacion santa, pueblo de adquisicion por la sangre del redentor tuyo. Ya los nombres de tu rey e reyna abiuarán con sus glorias los reynos christianos para subuersion delos barbaros infieles. Con qué dulcedumbre e suaua son las lenguas christianas blasonarán vuestros triunfos.

(13) Pues si vuestras increybles vitorias touiessemos licencia de comparar con las delos antiguos reyes e enperadores, aun la gloria dellos, maguer sea grande, enuegesceria ante la presencia de vuestros nuevos vencimientos. Qué fama fue delos reyes primeros de Asyria, cuya potencia aún armada no era, ni tan fortonada en batallas<?> Los fechos de Fraortes e de Cyaraxes, reyes de Media, ya en tinieblas yazen sepultos y su memoria en pocos permanesce. Pues si las fuerças del rey Cyro marauillosas recontaremos, con cuyo braço ouieron comienço los reynos de Persia, bien confessaremos su grandeza. Mas crecieron aquellas conel odio del tyranno su aguelo más por cierto que por propria virlltud. [f.46va] El qual desde su nascimiento lo persiguio e temiendo su fatal reyno Astiages cayo enla disposicion dela prouidencia de Dios e perdio el imperio delos medos. Mas vuestra virtud e fortaleza no fue por odio de tyrannos encendida, mas incitada con zelo santo dela fe christiana. E las riquezas de aquellos reyes mayores eran que sus armas ni poder. Pues no se deuen con las vuestras ygualar, cuyas fuerças e valencia de armas son mayores que fueron las riquezas persianas. Leemos otrosi capitanes griegos tener muy claras memorias de sus vencimientos, pero porque era mayor la elegancia delos illustres escritores que la fortaleza de sus fazañas, no se ygualarán con los vuestros. Grande fue la gloria delos caudillos atenienses. Fuerte la delos lacedemones. Terrible la delos tyrannos de Cicilia y muy mayores las lenguas de Herodoto, de Tucidides e Plutarcho. Qué dire del grande Alexandre, cuyo nombre toda la Grecia marauillosamente engrandesce<?> Quién comparará vuestros triunfos alos suyos sin temer ser dicho lisonjero<?> Pero no dexaré de dezir mi parescer. Vencio con pequeño ejército a Dario, rey de Persia, con innumerables gentes poderoso. Pero enla primera batalla dio el lugar estrecho grande ocasion ala vitoria primera suya. La segunda batalla vencio por le ser doblado el esfuerço con la victoria e alos persianos muy diminuydos los animos, que de su naturaleza eran inbeles e temerosos, donde luego sin armas toda la Asia por falta de esfuerço se dio de su grado. Vencio tambien al rey Poro, el mayor principe delas Indias, e puso so el jugo alos otros reyes asiaticos, pero nunca contendio con las armas horribles delos principes l dela Europa, que despues fue señora del mundo. Así que no es cosa digna de admiracion vencer los de Asia, mayormente que con el primer vencimiento crescio como espuma su poder, porque perdieron el esfuerço de sus principes los pueblos asianos, e quán ligera cosa sea sobrar alos de Asia, que son pueblos e gentes de armas e coraçones desarmados, salua la paz dellos. Oyamos al Cesar, el qual, conferiendo sus vitori<a>s enla Asia fortunadas con las dela Galia e España, dixo: *Fue, vi e venci*, como quien con menosprecio delos de Asia quando sol jugo romano los puso ouie<s>se dicho: no gasté mucho tiempo ni trabajé con peligros enla conquista dela Asia, porque fue muy ligera aquella su vitoria. Mas vos, rey e reyna, vencedores excelentes, aueys [f.46vb]

immanes hostes armatasque acies, urbes ualidas et oppida munitiora non sine expugnatione et machinarum irruptione debellastis. Vobis labor ingens, uobis pericula crebro instabant. A tergo quidem Maurorum furores tumultuabantur in castra. Consilia insuper neci uestre deuouentium sese superastis. Denique tanto dignior triumphus uobis accrescit, quanto uictoria periculis proximior aderat. Preterea reges Asie regna ab his eripuerant, quorum non erat firmata potestas communisue religio. Vos siquidem ueterum radices regum ab octingentis circiter annis actas funditus euellere potuistis atque eos qui funesta superstitione humani generis implicitos hostis uisco tenaci conglutinauerat. Quinetiam Galliarum regna cesarea dextera populo | Romano accesserant, e duorum [f.42rb] tamen populis maxima manu opem auxiliumque Romane reipublice dantibus.

(14) Vos autem diuinis duntaxat auspiciis periculosa certamina subiire non recusastis. Res ardua quidem et magna populos Hispanos uincere, qui licet Romanorum armis quondam uictoria cesserint, prius tamen ducentorum annorum curriculis hinc inde certatum est quam tota Hispania eorum iugo reddita fuerit. Ac sepe uictores Romani uicissimque uicti fuerant. Atque defectionibus Hispanorum factionibusque intestini bellicue seuicia de utraque Hispania magis quam armis triumphatum ab illis est et, si Trogo nostro credere licet, non antea Hispania tota Romanis cessit armis quam fuit orbis uniuersus sub eorum imperio ab Augusto Cesare domitus.²¹ Accedat preterea testis locupletior e gente Grecorum regia Strabo, qui in *Geographia* inquit²²: *Gallos Romani minori negotio quam Hispanos subiugarunt. His enim bellum antea inferre incipientes, nouissime finierunt. Illos autem medio in tempore cunctos debellauere penitus, qui intra Rhenum Pyreneosque iacent montes. Nam qui gregatim totis copiis irruerant, gregatim simul debellabantur. Hispani uero, prelia partiti, uires uti depositum seruabant. Sunt igitur omnes natura bellaces, equitatu quam peditatu longe prestantiores. De Hispanorum quoque*

²¹ Iust., *Epit.*, 44, 5, 8.

conquistado crueles e animosos enemigos, huestes muy armadas, cibdades de su natural sitio fuertes e con industria muy sagaz pertrechadas, villas e fortalezas de altura e murallas increybles por peligrosos combates e roturas de muros contra las defensas espantables de gentes belicosas. Acompañaron vuestros reales principes magnanimos continuos trabajos, inestimables peligros, cuydados que desuelauan vuestro sosiego. Alas espaldas de vuestras tiendas sonauan muchas vezes los alaridos mortales dela morisma rabiosa. Con subitos rebates alborçauan cada dia vuestros reales e sobresto todo con magnanimos coraçones sobraistes los iniquos consejos de algunos que aborrescidos auenturaron sus vidas por librar sus cibdades, osando desear poner sus indignas manos en vuestras reales personas, por lo qual tanto fue más glorioso vuestro triunfo quanto más ll estouo cercano al peligro vuestro merescer. Mayormente que los [f.47ra] vencedores dela Asia vencieron reyes cuyo poder no era firme ni natural en sus reynos, ni tenian todos vna comun religion que defendiessen e por cuya guarda osassen morir, mas vos otros, principes muy poderosos, desarraygastes los cimientos e rayzes de reyes antiguos, enla mahometica seta por quasi ochocientos años fortificados e confirmados, e tan firmes que por mortifera supersticion los tenia el enemigo del linaje humano como con biga e fuerte betumen enlazados e muy promptos para morir por su vana credulidad. Qué diremos dela diestra cesarea, que todas las tres partes dela Francia en diez años con sus vitorias atribuyó al pueblo romano. Marauillosas fazañas fueron por cierto, pero más ligeramente e con menos peligros se pudieron todas las tres Galias entonces vencer, porque touo firme en su ayuda el Cesar la gente delos eduos que oy se dizen borgoñas, con los quales no fue dificultad grande, siendo publicamente amigos e auxiliares del pueblo romano, vencer al resto dela Francia, como el Cesar vencio.

(14) Mas vos, principes vnanimes, conla diuina gracia e con el zelo de su santissima fe esforçados, acometistes sin auxiliares tan peligrosas enpresas, ca muy ardua cosa e de grand poderio es vencer pueblos conformes enlas Españas. Y puesto que las romanas armas otro tiempo los conquistaron, mas ante que se acabassen la conquista, duraron por dozientos años sus fuerças, siendo eneste comedio vencidos e vencedores los vnos e los otros, e ante fue muy reñida la libertad de España que del todo la subiectassen las armas romanas, e al fin pudieron más conlas diuisiones e conjuraciones que pusieron entre los principes dellos, que asi diuisos en vandos fueron opressos e fechos subditos de señores muy libres, si justa cosa es creer al Trogo Pompeo por ser nuestro natural. Oyamos su testimonio: no se dio antes toda la España alas armas romanas que todo el orbe vniuerso fue<s>se puesto debaxo de su imperio, quando se acabo de domar por Octauiano Augusto. Allega{s}se para en prueua desto otro más ydoneo testigo, Estrabo, de linaje real. El qual en su Geografia dize asi: *Con menor negocio subiugaron alos franceses los romanos que alos de España, porque estos antes los començaron a conquistar e fueron ellos despues el fin de todas las vitorias romanas. Pero alos franceses en este medio los subiugaron todos enteramente desde el Rodano fasta los montes Pireneos, ca estos juntamente con sus huestes e poderio venian ala batalla e eran vencidos e destroçados todos juntos. Mas los de España guardauan sus fuerças e poder como quien conserua depósito, con que se rehazian e tornauan a se defender. Por lo qual* [f.47rb]

fortitudine Lucius Florus ita inquit²³: *Bellatricem illam uiris et armis nobilem Hispaniam. Illa antea a Romanis obsessa est quam seipsam cognosceret. Sola omnium prouinciarum uires suas, postea quam uicta est, intellexit. In hac quippe per ducentos annos dimicatum est a Cipionibus in Cesarem Augustum. Cunque horrida Hispania in armis et animis sit, ut Iuuenalis ait, fugienda est.*²⁴ Nam uincere eos populos nimium armis bellaces magna laus est, quos tandem sub nomine Maurorum dextera felici superastis uos, rex et regina potentissimi.

(15) Rursus, quid regum Hispanorum, maiorum uestrorum, fortia facta commemorem<?> Profecto meminisse iuaret, ni uererer uestrorum luce [f.42va] obscura fieri magis, cum preclara illa sint, et uestrorum recte factorum commemoratione tamen conticescere sit necesse. Fortes profecto in bello Alfonsi reges fortesque Fernandi, quorum trophea illustra posteris sunt. Sed paruis magna conferre quid ingenii aut commoditatis erit<?> Illi urbes, illi oppida multa ex Maurorum manibus excusserant. Illi bello partas uictorias mirabiles obierunt. Vos autem regna fortissima, uos denique Hispaniarum fines Mauros excedere uestris triumphis coegistis. Nec illi conferre uiribus uestris suorum exercituum uires, licet multo maiores nunc quam antea unquam obtinuissent, ausi sunt.

(16) Felix Hispania, nam belli Punici finis adest, quod octingentos ferme per annos ingruerat. Vestra iam dextera uestraque ope nullus iam nostris instat hostis. Summa pax Hispanis in aruis sedet. Exteros lacessere ad exercenda arma foris iam oportebit. Pax denique nostris optata uenit, nunquam proauis nostris par<t>a licet desiderata nimis.

(17) Quo igitur gaudio uestros subditos affeceritis uictoriis tam insignibus uestris quid attinet dicere<?> Populus christianus omnis ubique terrarum diffusus letitia crescit exultatque gratulando uobis. Barbarorum reges merito contremiscunt. Turchus ipse, potentia ferox, meroribus contabescit. Cernit nanque ruinas, quas intulit christianis ab ortu Europe, uestris reparari tropheis in occidente. Porro cunctas infidelium nationes amaritudinibus afflictas contemplamur dextera uestra concussas. Sedes ipsa Petri beatissimi Romana cum gente profusis gaudiis dies illares in letitia concelebrant. Verum ante alias gentes et

²² Strabo, 4, 4, 2.

²³ Flor., *Epit.*, 1, 22-33.

²⁴ Iuv., 8, 116.

son todos naturalmente belicosos e muy estremados en caualleria e más diestros que en el peonaje. Esomesmo Lucio Floro, ystoriador romano, dize dela fortaleza de España: *Aquella bellicosa España en varones e armas noble, aquella antes fue opressa por los romanos que ella se conosciessse a si mesma. Sola entre todas las prouincias despues de vencida conosco sus fuerças e poderio, en ella por dozientos años duró la guerra delos romanos desde los dos hermanos Scipiones quen || ella murieron fasta Octauiano Cesar Augusto.* E como sea la España en sus armas espantable, como dize Juenal, grande vitoria es vencer pueblos de España, en armas e coraçones feroces. Los quales con nombre de moros por bienauenturada diestra vencistes vos, principes muy poderosos.

[f.47va]

(15) Trayria los illustres fechos delos reyes vuestros predecesores a comparacion con vuestras rezientes vitorias, si no temiesse más escurescer sus claros triunfos conla lumbre delos vuestros, que dalles el honor singular aellos deuido. Fueron por cierto muy fuertes los Alfonsos en armas, bellicosos e prudentes los Fernandos, mas comparar las cosas pequeñas a tan grandes como son vuestros triunfos no sé qué fruto o qué industria sea de ingenio. Porquellos ganaron cibdades, combatieron villas e fortalezas librando las por armas delas manos delos infieles e vencieron batallas marauillosas e muy espantables. Mas vos, principes bienauenturados, ganastes cibdades e reynos, e nunca los moros, aun que más poderosas tenian agora sus armas que nunca, osaron en campo abierto auenturar sus fuerças con vuestro espantable poder para pelear juntamente con vuestros exércitos. Asi que finalmente aveys podido lançar de todas las Españas las armas poderosas de Mahomad.

(16) O bienauenturada con tales principes España, quen sus confines ha visto tan glorioso fin dela guerra que por ochocientos años nos aquexaua e ponía escandalos de muertes crueles e cautiuidades inoportables. Ya no tiene, como solia, España en sus terminos infieles enemigos, aun que subditos los tenga. Conluien, si las armas queremos exercitar, fuera delas Españas busquemos los contrarios. Ya la paz deseada por nuestros mayores tenemos con vuestro clementissimo señorío en nuestro seno.

[f.47vb]

(17) Y pues que así es, inclytos rey e reyna muy poderosos, con qué lenguas podremos referir el ineffable gozo de vuestras bienauenturadas vitorias<?> E quando todos los pueblos christianos tienen tan crescida alegria por ellas, qué sienten los subditos e leales naturales vuestros, para que no vos sean con mayor lealtad animosos en vuestro seruicio<?> O poder vuestro marauilloso, espanto alos barbaros reyes, con qué gemidos el turco grande en señorío oyra referir vuestros vencimientos<?> Porque vee ya manifestamente ser reparadas enel occidente de España con vuestros triunfos las roturas por sus padres fechas enlos pueblos christianos dela Grecia en Europa hazia el oriente. O reparo dela mano de Dios, embiado enlos fines christianos. El qual con mucha estimacion es de agradecer e glorificar e alabar. O qué fiestas de alegria celebra la silla romana de vuestros memorables triunfos, teniendo ante los ojos restaurar se asi magnificamente los daños e pérdidas dela christiana religion. Empero, sobre todas las gentes e reynos catholicos se goza con vuestra gloria la vniuersal

regna fidelia Hispanorum contio ubique uobis gratulabunda exultat ac [f.42vb]
 super cunctas regnorum uestrorum congregationes Toletana mirabiliter
 effertur ecclesia, que, sicut preheminet maiestate alias, sic sacrificiis et
 uotis cerimoniarumque obsequiis profusior tota exillarata est, et quantum
 uobis uictoribus debeat christiana religio gratulationibus ostendere nixa est.

(18) Accendit quoque gaudia nostra prelatorum nostrorum quondam et
 hodie grandis auctoritas, qui regum predecessorum uestrorum triumphis
 in bellis semper adherant consilio auxilioque prestantes. Viuit nempe
 Roderici archipresulis digna memoria, qui, cum Alfonsus rex Mira-
 mamolim, Arabum principem, uictoria mirabili superauit, lateri regio
 constantissime adhe{s}erat. Viuit Egidius Albornorum, cardinalis
 prestantissimus memorabili suorum gestorum gloria, patrimonii beati
 Petri, a tyrannis inuasi, liberator, qui aduersum regem de Bellamarim,
 armis et potentia ducem strennuum, iuxta regis sui signa dimicando
 uictoris regis trophea reportauit. Vestrisque felicis triumphu uictoriis non
 defuit alme ecclesie nostre decus Petrus Gundisaluus Mendoza, card-
 inalis Hispanus, ope et auxillio primus. Non ab re igitur nostra insignis
 ecclesia maior{al}ibus triumphat gaudiis, cum, hoc duce precipuo,
 uestris uictoriis auxilio fuerit.

(19) Egimus igitur triumphales hos dies sine cessatione uestre memorie
 illustrissime in laudem et honorem regis regum uictoriarumque summo
 uictori, Christo Iesu, cuius potestas et imperium, cuius gratia et excelso
 fauore uirtus uestra brachiumque fortissimum inimicorum domuit [f.43ra]
 ceruices potentiamque p<r>ostrauit hostilem. Vota igitur nostra uobis
 gratulantia alacri mente suscipite, o principes illustrissimi, atque animos
 cordaque gaudio feruentia, obsecramus, respicite. Profecto talia sunt ad
 seruitia uestra qualia proferimus uerba. Illa tandem ecclesia Toletana
 uirgineis gressibus sacra uestram a Deo immortalis implorat salutem
 sospitatemque felicem uestramque gratulabunda obstupescit potentiam.
 Nec ualeo uocibus ipse referre quam uobis consequentissima sit
 cupiatque uotis uestros semper esse adauctos honores expectetque in
 dies triumphis gloriosis uestra preclara gesta reges cunctos laudibus
 anteire. Anteibunt certe, Deo propicio, prosperitate uitae uestra diutis-
 sima, ut speramus omnes.

España, e entre las naciones della e más principales yglesias nuestra santa yglesia toledana. Y así como es en religion e ceremonias la más precipua, así en representaciones e alegrías de vuestros triunfos se ha esmerado e toda en gozos singulares e fiestas ocupado con sacrificios, processiones e plegarias votivas en loor de los dones vitoriosos que touo por bien dar vos nuestro Señor. [f.48ra]

(18) Abiúase nuestra alegría considerando la honrra e autoridad que los prelados de nuestra santa yglesia han tenido con los reyes de gloriosa memoria, vuestros progenitores, así en sus altos consejos del bien público como en las guerras. Donde quier que los reyes ouieron victorias excelentes, allí se fallaron los arzobispos de Toledo con sus casas e estados los primeros. O, biue la digna memoria de don Rodrigo arzobispo, el qual en la batalla milagrosa en que fue vencedor el rey don Alfonso contra el Miramamolim, rey muy poderoso, con grand esfuerzo encendia los christianos a la pelea por la defension de la fe. Aún biue don Gil de Albornoz, <e>spanto de la Ytalia, que recobró el patrimonio de la Yglesia Romana. El qual, siendo arzobispo, con victoriosas armas estubo a la diestra de su rey en la batalla famosa en que el rey de Belamarin fue vencido. Pues agora don Pero Gonçales de Mendoça, cardenal de España e nuestro muy digno arzobispo, siempre ha seguido vuestras reales banderas, siendo el primero en los peligros e afrentas de la guerra. Pues no sin causa nuestra yglesia en los gozos es la más principal, pues con tal caudillo fue en los peligros ayudadora.

(19) Y, por tanto, estos dias passados dias triunfales son e se han expendido sin cessar en dar loores al rey de los reyes victorioso vencedor, faziendo inmensas gracias a Jesuchristo, cuyo es el reyno, cuyo es el imperio e poderio, con cuyo fauor e gracia vuestro poder e virtud derribó el poder contrario de vuestros enemigos, pues recibid nuestros votos e plegarias, o principes gloriosos, recibid nuestra alegre congratulacion, considerad nuestros animos con qué gozo los ofrescemos alegres para el seruicio de vuestras altezas, ca por cierto tales son en lo interior quales vuestras bozes los profieren y más querriamos, si se pudiesse mostrar su sinceridad y deseo de vos ser leales que avello de referir con lengua que no puede hartar nuestros affectos. En fin pues aquella sancta yglesia consagrada con las pisadas virginales de la madre de Dios es la que por vuestra salud e prosperidad a ella endereça sus plegarias, derrama sus oraciones por vuestra bienaventurada vida. [f.48rb]

(20) Credimus tantum uoces et uota nostra ab immortali Deo in celis accepta, ut regna hec uestra uobis supersticibus principibus diu multumque gaudeant cum augmento honoris et pacis terrarumque amplificatione et hostium infidelium formidine. In dies preterea expectamus preclara uestra facta sic splendore tanto fulgere quanto animosius atque fidei zelo deuotius eius seruicio personas regias statumque uestrum exposueritis. Atque uestra fide deinceps subditorum fides fiet maior uestraque iusticia mire crescet nostra. Nam gloria regum suorum desideriis subditorum corda illustrabit ad referendas uocibus suis uictorias in uniuerso memorabiles, quibus caput nostrum super cunctos terrarum populos merito efferre audebimus, qui nostris diebus clementiam Domini uidimus super nos, cuius imperio reges regnorum gubernacula tenent. Cuius sit uobis [f.43rb] perhennis fauor, dum uitales carpitis auras. Quos demum post secula multa ad eternas euocat sedes Deus, ubi regna uestra sine fine manebunt.

(20) Creemos sin duda nuestras bozes deuotas seran recebidas enel cielo e nuestras demandas acceptas, que por luengos tiempos gozen vuestros reynos de tan bienauenturados principes, que con tanta felicidad asi han sus tierras aumentado, redemido e librado delas manos infieles. E cada dia esperamos que vuestras esclarecidas fazañas resplandesçeran tanto quanto con mayor ánimo e deuocion de su sancta fe acceptaredes semejantes empresas a su seruicio. E de aqui adelante con vuestra fe real la fe de vuestros subditos sera mayor, e con vuestra justicia crescera la nuestra y la gloria vuestra encendera en vuestros reynos deseo de memoria, para quentre todas las nasciones e gentes osen leuantar sus coraçones e con bozes dignas de memoria referir la gloria de sus principes gloriosos. Porque vimos en nuestros dias sobre nos otros la clemencia de Dios socorrer alas caydas dolorosas de España, ll dando a vos, rey y reyna escogidos [f.48va] para nuestra reparacion, tanta gracia e poderio que pudiessemos no solamente ser librados de males, mas aun ser promouidos a tantos e tan crescidos bienes e gozos nunca pensados conla mano poderosa de Dios. Cuyo fauor e ayuda sea siempre sobre vuestras altezas con que enderesçados en esta vida despues de luengos tiempos merescays reynar enlas sillas eternas.

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A NOTE ON THE NEO-LATIN SOURCES FOR THE WORD 'UTOPIA'

Thomas More's, *Utopia*, was first published by Thierry Martens in Leuven in November/December 1516.¹ As a neo-Latin novel which explored the nature of the ideal state, *Utopia* was immensely successful and became the inspiration for a genre of Latin fiction which investigated the same subject.² More coined the word, 'Utopia,' from two Greek roots: ou-[='not'] and topos [= 'place'].³ Thus 'Utopia' means 'Not Place' or 'No Place'. The evidence in support of this definition rather than a derivation from the Greek roots eu-[='happy'] and topos [= 'place'] occurs in the correspondence between More and Erasmus where, as P.S. Allen noted, mention is made several times of 'Nusquama nostra' when *Utopia* is meant; for example, in the well-known letter which More sent to Erasmus on 3 September 1516 shortly before the publication of *Utopia*, he wrote: 'NVSQVAMAM nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te mitto.'⁴ 'Utopia' is thus the neo-Greek equivalent of the neo-Latin, 'Nusquama', derived from the adverb, 'nusquam', 'no where'.

¹ For dates relevant to Thomas More, I have relied upon the detailed chronology published by Germain Marc'hadour, *L'Univers de Thomas More: Chronologie critique de More, Erasme, et leur époque (1477-1536)* (Paris, 1963); on the date of the printing of *Utopia*, see p. 237. See also André Prévost, *L'Utopie de Thomas More. Présentation, texte original, apparat critique, exégèse, traduction et notes* (Paris, 1978), pp. 217-24.

² On the indebtedness of subsequent neo-Latin novels to More's *Utopia*, see Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies, Part I*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 5 (Leuven, 1990), pp. 165-66; see also Jozef IJsewijn with Dirk Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies, Part II*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 14 (Leuven, 1998), pp. 253-54.

³ On the etymology of the word, see Father Edward Surtz's commentary on the text in *Utopia*, edd. Edward Surtz, S.J. and J.H. Hexter, *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 4 (New Haven - London, 1965), p. 385, *sub annotatione* 112/1-2.

⁴ *Opvs epistolarvm Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P.S. Allen, II (Oxford, 1910), epist. 461, pp. 339-40, l. 1; it may be of historical interest to note that the question whether 'Utopia' was derived from ou + topos or eu + topos was hotly debated in *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, 5 (January-June 1888); under Notes, Feb. 11, see J.A. Picton, 'Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia'', 101-2; for the Replies to Picton's note, see March 24, 229-31 and May 12, 371.

In 1973, Alan F. Nagel suggested that the source from which More derived the name, 'Utopia', was a passage at the close of Plato's *Republic*, Book IX, as transmitted through Ficino's neo-Latin translation;⁵ in 1991, in his admirable book, *More's Utopia*, Dominic Baker-Smith explicated Nagel's important claim more fully and also showed the thematic relevance of the source to our understanding of More's *Utopia* as a whole.⁶ The purpose of this note is to revisit the source in Plato, particularly as it was transmitted in neo-Latin, and to consider the Latin versions in which Thomas More could have known the *Republic*.

In the passage from the *Republic* which Nagel identified (IX.592.A-B), Socrates, in conversation with Glaucon, argues that a wise man would consider playing a political role in his own city but not in the city of his birth. Glaucon interprets the meaning of 'in his own city' as 'the city whose establishment we have described, the city whose home is in the ideal; for I think that it can be found nowhere on earth (592 A-B).'⁷ As Baker-Smith has observed, the word in the Greek text which corresponds to 'nowhere' is 'oudamou' whose meaning is clearly the basis for 'Utopia', but whose etymology is not.⁸ It was this factor, together with the evidence that More and Erasmus referred to 'Utopia' as 'Nusquama', which prompted Nagel to locate the source in Ficino whose words he reports as follows: 'quae verbis solum, in terris vero nusquam, ut arbitror, exstat'; with regard to the version of Ficino which he is using, Nagel tells us: 'I cite from the 1781 edition'.⁹ The wording of the text of

⁵ Alan F. Nagel, 'Lies and the Limitable Inane: Contradiction in More's 'Utopia'', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 26 (1973), 173-80 (esp. p. 173 and note 2). John Michael Parrish has suggested that Seneca's essay, *De otio*, may constitute the source for the Latin, 'Nusquama' ('A New Source for More's 'Utopia'', *The Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 493-8 (esp. p. 494). However, Parrish makes no mention of the extensive tradition of fifteenth-century Latin translations of Plato's *Republic* in which the source for 'Nusquama' is, in the first place (in my view), more likely to be located, especially given that the first imprint of Plato's *Opera* in Greek did not appear until 1513 (Venice: Aldus Manutius); on these neo-Latin translations, see below, pp. 124-5.

⁶ Dominic Baker-Smith, *More's 'Utopia'* (Toronto - Buffalo - London: Renaissance Society of America Reprint Texts 11, 2000), pp. 75-103 (esp. pp. 96-7, and 103, n. 24).

⁷ Plato, in *Twelve Volumes. The Republic*, transl. Paul Shorey, 5-6 (London - Cambridge, Mass: Loeb Classical Library, 1978-80), VI, 413 and 415.

⁸ In noting that 'Utopia' is not derived etymologically from 'oudamou', Baker-Smith (*More's 'Utopia'*, p. 97) reflects a tradition which goes back as far as More's contemporary, Germanus Brixius, and Gerardus Vossius (1577-1649); see Surtz, *Utopia*, p. 385, *sub annotatione* 112/1-2.

⁹ Nagel, 'Lies and the Limitable Inane', p. 173, n. 2.

Ficino from which Baker-Smith quotes concurs with the version reported by Nagel; Baker-Smith does not specifically tell us in his text which edition of Ficino he is using but his bibliography contains a reference to Ficino's *Opera Omnia* (Basle: H. Petrinus, 1576).¹⁰

The inference that More knew Ficino's rendering of Plato's *Opera* is eminently reasonable given the date when the translation was published and the opportunities which More would have had to use it. More would have been about six years old in 1484 when the first edition of Ficino's translation was printed outside Florence at S. Jacopo di Ripoli, a Dominican convent, on the press of Fra Domenico da Pistoia and Lorenzo Veneto located there.¹¹ Ficino, who had completed his translation by 1468-69, had for various reasons delayed publication until a year which he deemed astrologically propitious¹²; unfortunately, the anticipated cosmic favour did not ensure the quality of his text as it came off the press and much to his disappointment, his translation abounded in errors.¹³ Nevertheless, the first edition, unusually large at 1025 copies, was sold out in six years and a second edition was printed almost immediately at Venice in 1491, the year before Thomas More went up to Oxford.¹⁴ Forty-one years later in 1532, Simon Grynaeus (1493-1541), a professor of Greek at Basel, corrected and revised Ficino's translation and printed the text with Froben.¹⁵ The flawed nature of the first edition of Ficino is an important point to which I shall return but first it is worthwhile considering when and how More might have first come into contact with Ficino's translation.

On the basis of the evidence which survives, Ficino's translation of Plato's *Opera* seems hardly to have circulated in England in More's

¹⁰ Baker-Smith, *More's 'Utopia'*, pp. 97, 103 (and note 24), and 250.

¹¹ On More's date of birth, see Marc'hadour, *L'Univers de Thomas More*, p. 43; on the date and place of printing of the first edition of Ficino's translation of Plato's *Opera*, see James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 17, 1-2 (Leiden - New York, 1990), I, 301.

¹² Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 301-4.

¹³ Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 319-20.

¹⁴ On the size of the first edition of Ficino's translation of Plato's *Opera*, see L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford, 1991³), p. 155; on the date of the second edition, see Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 320; on the date that More went up to Oxford, see Marc'hadour, *L'Univers de Thomas More*, p. 79.

¹⁵ Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, II, 479-82.

lifetime; the earliest reference to the text which Sears Jayne cites in his recent book is preserved in Cambridge University Grace Book B where it is recorded that one Thomas Hammond, an entering student, gave the University a copy of the second edition of Ficino's translation as part of his admission fee in 1500-1501.¹⁶ This rare documentation suggests, at least, that by the time More was in his early twenties and studying law and Greek in London, one copy of Ficino was available in England.¹⁷ However, there are other avenues through which More could have been introduced to the text. For one thing, he could have encountered it when he went to the Continent as, for example, in 1508, when he visited the universities at Paris and Leuven, or later in 1515, when, as is well known, he sojourned in Flanders as one of Henry the VIII's trade delegation to Charles V and in part wrote *Utopia*.¹⁸ Even before his travels abroad, More would undoubtedly have learned something about Ficino and his works from such friends as William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, John Colet, and William Lily, all of whom had studied in Italy; Grocyn and Linacre spent time in Florence late in the period of Ficino, and Colet, whose personal contact with Ficino is debated, nevertheless corresponded with him.¹⁹ But the friend through whom More might have

¹⁶ Sears Jayne, *Plato in Renaissance England*, Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Idées/International Archives of the History of Ideas, 141 (Dordrecht - Boston - London, 1995), pp. 83-84; see also James McConica, 'Elizabethan Oxford: The Collegiate Society', *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume III: The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica (Oxford, 1986), pp. 645-732 (esp. pp. 706 and 712). Cf. J.B. Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet and More: The early Tudor Humanists and their Books*, The Panizzi Lectures 1990 (London: The British Library, 1991), pp. 136-41.

¹⁷ Marc'hadour, *L'Univers de Thomas More*, pp. 109, 115, and 117.

¹⁸ On More's visit to the Continent in 1508, see Marc'hadour, *L'Univers de Thomas More*, p. 157. The primary source in which we learn of this visit is More's letter to Martinus Dorpius, written on 21 October, 1515; see *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. Elizabeth Frances Rogers (Princeton, 1947), no. 15, pp. 27-74 (esp. p. 36, ll. 278 ff). On the visit of 1515, see Marc'hadour, *L'Univers de Thomas More*, pp. 213, 215, 217, 219, 221.

¹⁹ For a concise account of the events in the life of Ficino (1433-99), see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, transl. Virginia Conant (New York, 1943), pp. 16-17 and also the entry on Ficino (*sub nomine*) by Michael J.B. Allen in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler, 6 vols. (New York, 1999), II, 353-57. On Thomas Linacre (*ca* 1460-1524), who studied at Florence between 1487 and 1493, see the entry by Stanford E. Lehmberg in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, III, 427. Linacre, who was Grocyn's Executor, made an inventory of the latter's books in 1520; the inventory, which lists no copy of Ficino's translation of Plato's *Opera*, was published by Montagu Burrows, 'Linacre's Catalogue of Grocyn's Books, Followed by a Memoir of Grocyn', *Collectanea*, Second Series (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1890), Part 5, pp. 317-80 (esp. pp. 319-23). On John Colet (1467-1519), see the entry by John B. Gleason

had the readiest access to Ficino's translation is Erasmus whom he first met in 1499 during Erasmus's first visit to England; Erasmus subsequently returned to England for periods of varying duration; he was More's house-guest in 1505 and again in 1509 when he wrote *Moriae encomium*.²⁰ Maria Cytowska has demonstrated that Erasmus relied on Ficino's translation of Plato's *Opera* until 1507 when his knowledge of Greek was sufficiently fluent that he could read Plato in Greek in manuscript and, after 1513, in the Aldine imprint.²¹

Taking for granted, then, that More knew Ficino's translation of Plato's *Opera*, most probably through Erasmus, we may draw two conclusions, one a likelihood, the other a fact: it is likely that More had to wait until at least 1499 before he encountered a copy of Ficino's translation; if he did see a copy before the publication of *Utopia* in 1516, it would have been a first or second edition.²² Had More looked at *Republic* IX.592.A-B in the first edition of Ficino's translation, it is unlikely that he would have read the text in the form which Nagel and Baker-Smith quote because at that point there is a corruption.²³ For 'quae verbis solum, in terris vero nusquam, ut arbitror, exstat', the first edition reads, 'que et in verbis est dumtaxat: interius vero nusquam ut arbitror'.²⁴ The corruption 'interius' for 'in terris', which still appears in the second edition, is corrected in Grynaeus's revision of 1532.²⁵

in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, II, 36-38. In his earlier biography of Colet, Gleason opines that Colet could have met Ficino; see his *John Colet* (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1989), pp. 42-52. Sears Jayne denied this possibility; see his *John Colet and Marsilio Ficino* (Aberdeen: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 76-77 which is also the major study of the correspondence between Colet and Ficino; for Jayne's most recent assessment of the nature of Colet's interest in Plato, see his *Plato in Renaissance England*, pp. 83-84.

²⁰ Marc'hadour, *L'Univers de Thomas More*, pp. 103, 135 and 165.

²¹ Maria Cytowska, 'Erasmus de Rotterdam et Marsile Ficino son maître', *Eos*, 63 (1975), 165-79 (esp. p. 173). On the *editio princeps* of Plato, which Aldus Manutius printed at Venice in 1513, and the influence it might have had in inspiring More to write *Utopia*, see the remarks of Dominic Baker-Smith as recorded by Germain Marc'hadour in his *Thomas More, 'Utopia'* (Paris: Didier Érudition—CNED, 1998), pp. 28-35 (esp. p. 30); see earlier Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Thomas More as a Renaissance Humanist', *Moreana*, 65-66, (1980), 5-22 (esp. p. 10).

²² Ficino's translation of Plato's *Opera* appeared for the third time in 1517 (Venice: Philippus Pincius); for a comprehensive census of the printed editions of Platonic texts between ca 1474 and 1600, see Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, II, 738-96 (esp. pp. 739-85).

²³ Also noticed by Kristeller, 'Thomas More as a Renaissance Humanist', pp. 9-10 and 19, note 32.

The important observation with regard to the source for 'Utopia' is that 'nusquam' remains intact in the first edition. Moreover, the corruption 'interius' would probably not have been impenetrable to as skilled a Latinist as More especially if he knew the earlier translations of the *Republic*; and in any case, the corruption in Ficino might have been enough to prompt him to consult earlier translations by way of comparison and clarification.

There were three neo-Latin translations of Plato's *Republic*, circulating in manuscript, which pre-date Ficino's version; the translators were:

- a) Ubertus Decembrius (ca 1370-1427) and Manuel Chrysoloras (1349-1415) whose version was published before the summer of 1402;
- b) Petrus Candidus Decembrius (1399-1477), the son of Ubertus, who completed his version in 1439;
- c) Antonius Cassarinus (s. xiv ex.-1477) whose version postdated the work of the Decembrii.²⁶

The passage with which we are concerned here appears in each of these translations as follows:

- a) Ubertus Decembrius and Manuel Chrysoloras [Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 2050, fol. 100v; s. XV, 1/4. Hankins, II, 723, no. *303]: Glaucon: 'Ego,' inquit, 'intelligo. In civitate

²⁴ *Platonis opera latina Marsilio Ficino interprete* (Florence: First Edition, 1484), Part 2, fol. y-iii; *Platonis opera latina Marsilio Ficino interprete* (Venice: Second Edition, 1491), p. 233, col. 1. I am grateful to the Librarians of Rare Book and Special Collections at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), especially Dr Bruce Swann and Dr Alvan Bregman, for their kindness in allowing me to inspect these volumes in their splendid collection.

²⁵ *Omnia divini Platonis opera translatione Marsilii Ficini, emendatione et ad graecum codicem collatione Simonis Grynaei... index uberrimus* (Basel: Froben, 1539), p. 653: 'quae & uerbis solum, in terris uero nusquam, ut arbitror, extat'; I am grateful to the Librarians of Special Collections at the University of Kentucky, especially Claire McCann, for allowing me to inspect this volume; I also thank Accius Watanabe of Yale University who kindly inspected a first edition (1532) of Grynaeus on my behalf and confirmed that the reading of the passage as found there concurs with the reading in the 1539 edition. On the question whether there were copies of Grynaeus's revision of Ficino and his Greek Plato in the More household, see J. B. Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet, and More*, p. 47.

²⁶ On all three translations, see Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 105-60 (esp. pp. 106-8, 117-9, 126, 154-5, and 159); on Chrysoloras, see also John Monfasani, *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, I, 448-50.

videlicet ais quam condentes sermone narravimus; in terra vero ipsam nusquam esse concipio.'

- b) Petrus Candidus Decembrius [Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10669, fol. 188v; Milan, ca. 1441. Hankins, II, 731, no. *356]: *Gla.* Intelligo, inquit, in ea civitate dicis, scilicet quam una condentes sermone disseruimus in uerbis solum existente; nusquam enim illam in terris esse auguror.
- c) Antonius Cassarinus [Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2060, fol. 237v; Rome, 1463. Hankins, II, 727, no. 325]: [Glaucion] 'Percipio,' inquit, 'in ea scilicet te dicere, de qua paulo ante memoravimus, quae est in sermonibus, quoniam eam terrarum nusquam esse arbitror.'²⁷

The adverb 'nusquam' appears in all three of these translations.²⁸ Hence one cannot exclude the possibility that More could have read the source for 'Utopia' not just in Ficino, but also in an earlier translation.

It is well known that Petrus Candidus Decembrius had composed his Latin translation of the *Republic* in an attempt to obtain the patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1391-1447), to whom he sent a splendid presentation copy of his text after he completed it in 1439. That copy reached Duke Humphrey in England in June of 1441²⁹; an indenture

²⁷ I am grateful to my husband, Terence Tunberg, who kindly inspected all three Vatican manuscripts on my behalf and provided me with the transcriptions for Ottob. lat. 2050 and Vat. lat. 2060; punctuation and orthography have been modernized. The transcription of Vat. lat. 10669 is cited from Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 142-3, n. 70 (where the passage from the *Republic* is numbered IX, 619B).

²⁸ It is worth noting that Ficino seems to have known the translation by Ubertus Decembrius and Chrysoloras; see Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 310 and II, 471-2.

²⁹ Albinia de la Mare, 'The History of the University Library', in *Duke Humfrey's Library & the Divinity School, 1488-1988: An Exhibition at the Bodleian Library, June-August 1988* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 1-125 (esp. p. 20 and no. 39, and p. 45).

³⁰ The indenture has been edited by Alfonso Sammut, *Unfredo, Duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani*, Medioevo e umanesimo, 41 (Padua, 1980), pp. 72-84 (esp. p. 84); the indenture was earlier edited by Henry Anstey, *Epistolae academicae Oxon. (Registrum F): Part I (1421-1457)*, Oxford Historical Society, 35 (Oxford, 1898), pp. 232-7 (esp. p. 237) (the 'novam traductionem totius policie platonice' is item no. 132 in Anstey's edition; he wrongly gave the 'secundo folio' as '-ris incitatum' for the correct reading, '-ris incitacio'. Gianvito Resta suggested in 1962 that the copy of Decembrius's *Republic* preserved under the shelfmark, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 10669, was the presentation copy which Decembrius sent to Duke Humphrey in 1440 (*Le epitomi di*

listing the books subsequently given by Humphrey to Oxford University in February 1443/4 includes as item 133, 'novam traductionem tocius policie platonice'.³⁰ Humphrey gave Oxford more than 280 volumes which contributed significantly to the basis of the university library.³¹ While access to these volumes was regulated,³² his books were evidently much consulted by qualified readers; a letter of 14 July 1445 from the University to Duke Humphrey describes the throngs of avid readers who 'libris vestris certatim incumbunt'.³³ Thomas Chaundler, Chancellor at Oxford (1457-61, 1472-79), evidently knew Decembrius's *Republic* to judge from a passage in his *Libellus de laudibus duarum civitatum*.³⁴ Thanks ultimately to Duke Humphrey, Decembrius's translation also became known at Cambridge. Two copies of the translation, owned by Humphrey, are recorded as passing to the Library at King's College following his death³⁵; John Doget (d. 1501), who was educated at King's

Plutarco nel Quattrocento (Padua, 1962), pp. 52-4, n. 1). Following Resta, several scholars cautiously identified Vat. lat. 10669 with the copy of the 'novam traductionem tocius policie platonice' recorded in the indenture of 1443/4 (see Richard Hunt and Albinia de la Mare, *Duke Humphrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century. Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1970), no. 10, pp. 5-6; Alfonso Sammut, *Unfredo, Duca di Gloucester*, no. 39, pp. 124-5; de la Mare, 'The History of the University Library', no. 39, pp. 45-9.) Recently the provenance of Vat. lat. 10669 as belonging to Duke Humphrey has been called into question by Massimo Zaggia who suggests that the codex belonged instead to the Spanish nobleman, Íñigo de Avalos; see 'La versione latina di Pier Candido Decembrio dalla *Repubblica* di Platone: per la storia della tradizione', *Interpres*, 13 (1993), 7-55 (esp. pp. 38-47).

³¹ De la Mare, 'The History of the University Library', p. 18.

³² *Ibid.*, no. 25e, p. 22. The statute of 1439 regulating the maintenance and use of Duke Humphrey's books has been edited by Anstey, *Epistolae academicae*, pp. 187-91; on Duke Humphrey's books given to Oxford, see also M. B. Parkes, 'The Provision of Books', *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume II: Late Medieval Oxford*, edd. J.I. Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford, 1992), pp. 407-83 (esp. pp. 472-83). On the Statute of 20 November 1412 governing access to the University Library, see De la Mare, 'The History of the University Library', no. 23, p. 16; the statute has been edited by Strickland Gibson, *Statuta antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 216-21.

³³ Anstey, *Epistolae academicae*, pp. 244-6.

³⁴ R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 133-7 (esp. p. 135, n. 8).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57 and note 4. One of the two copies has been identified as London, British Library, MS Harley 1705; see Hunt and de la Mare, *Duke Humphrey and English Humanism*, no. 9, p. 5; Sammut, *Unfredo, Duca di Gloucester*, no. 10, pp. 103-4; Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2, 694-5. The 1452 catalogue of King's College, Cambridge, in which the two copies of Plato's *Republic*, formerly owned by Humphrey, are listed has been edited by Sammut, *Unfredo, Duca di Gloucester*, pp. 85-94; see esp. nos. 42-3, p. 87. On the history of how King's College, Cambridge, acquired books owned by Duke Humphrey, see A.N.L. Munby, 'Notes on King's College Library in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1, 3 (1951), 280-6 (esp. pp. 280-3).

College, used Decembrius's *Republic*.³⁶ Other evidence for the dissemination of the text in England is provided by Durham Cathedral, Chapter Library, MS C. IV. 3, copied in England, s. xv². This codex, whose textual affiliation remains to be established, contains the complete text of Decembrius's *Republic* together with glosses; its first known owner was Richard Nykke, Bishop of Norwich (1501-1535/6).³⁷

In 1492, four years after a new library was inaugurated at Oxford to house Duke Humphrey's books³⁸, Thomas More, then about fourteen years old, came up to the University, to Canterbury College, where he remained for two years before returning to London to study law.³⁹ As an entering student, More probably never handled the copy of Decembrius's *Republic* which Humphrey had donated to Oxford but he might well have heard tell of it or talked with scholars who knew it or other copies, especially given that even as a youth he had already developed an interest in Plato's text. Erasmus told Ulrich Hutten in a letter of 23 July 1519 that More, 'adolescens etiamnum dialogum moliebatur, in quo Platonis communitatem ad vxores vsque defendit'.⁴⁰ The reference is to *Republic*, V, (449A-471C), where Socrates argues that the Guardians should hold wives and children in common, a passage severely criticized

³⁶ Weiss, *Humanism in England*, pp. 163-7 (esp. p. 166).

³⁷ The most authoritative recent discussion of Durham Cathedral, Chapter Library, MS C. IV. 3, is provided by David Rundle, *Of Republics and Tyrants: aspects of quattrocento humanist writings and their reception in England, c. 1400-c. 1460* (Oxford: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1997), pp. 227-9 and 355-70. I am indebted to Dr Rundle for the valuable information that the textual affiliation of the Durham manuscript has yet to be established but that it was not copied from Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 10669, a question raised earlier by de la Mare, 'The History of the University Library', no. 87, p. 96; see also Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2, 413, n. 6, and Sammut, *Unfredo, Duca di Gloucester*, pp. 139-40. I wish to take this opportunity to thank Dr Rundle for his very great kindness in discussing with me various and numerous issues pertinent to both the Durham manuscript and also Vat. lat. 10669. I also thank Roger C. Norris, Deputy Chapter Librarian, The Chapter Library, Durham Cathedral, for his generosity in taking time to answer a long list of questions which I sent him pertinent to the Durham manuscript.

³⁸ On the physical history of the library which was built above the Divinity School to house Duke Humphrey's books (it is still there today), see Stanley Gillam, 'The History of the Building', in *Duke Humphrey's Library & the Divinity School, 1488-1988: An Exhibition at the Bodleian Library, June-August 1988*, pp. 127-39. On the subsequent sad history of the loss of Duke Humphrey's books, see N.R. Ker, 'The Provision of Books', *The History of the University of Oxford. Volume III*, pp. 441-519 (esp. pp. 465-6).

³⁹ For a recent discussion of More's connection with Canterbury College and, possibly, St Mary's Hall while he was at Oxford, see Peter Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More* (New York - London, 1998), pp. 38-41.

⁴⁰ *Opvs epistolarvm Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, IV, 12-23 (esp. p. 21, ll. 253-4).

in the fifteenth century by Plato's detractors.⁴¹ If More did have exposure to Decembrius's translation as early as his period at Oxford, it is not improbable that his first knowledge of the *Republic* came through that channel.

So far there are five indications which suggest that Thomas More might have had recourse to the *Republic* in Decembrius's translation: the scarcity of copies of Ficino's translation in England, the corrupt reading in the first and second editions of Ficino, the shared reading of 'nusquam' in all of the four earliest translations, the availability of Decembrius's text in England including Oxford, and More's residence in England and, for two years, at Oxford. But there is a sixth consideration which may offer the most persuasive argument of all that More knew Decembrius's text. If we return to the passage at the close of *Republic* IX, and read just beyond the sentence which evidently gave More his source for the word, 'Utopia', we find that Socrates qualifies Glaucon's somewhat stark inference that the Republic which they have been describing exists nowhere. Socrates suggests that a paradigm of it may exist in heaven. James Hankins has recently explained the unusual significance which Socrates's answer had for Petrus Candidus Decembrius. When Petrus undertook to translate Plato's *Republic* in order to gain patronage, he ran a considerable risk in associating himself with a philosopher whose method of arguing, personal morality, and paganism were under attack in the fifteenth century.⁴² To negate such hostility, Petrus had provided his *Republic* with an extensive apparatus which encouraged readers to understand the text as an allegory⁴³; moreover in his title, Petrus called the *Republic*, *Celestis Politia*, a name which he tied to Socrates's words about heaven at the close of Book IX. In the margin beside this passage in one of the surviving witnesses to his translation, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, MS lat. 10669, fol. 188v, Decembrius wrote in his own hand that he had taken his title from this passage.⁴⁴ This important gloss is also transmitted in two other witnesses to the text: Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 66, fol. 198v, copied for

⁴¹ See, for example, Leonardo Bruni's comments in his *Life of Aristotle* (1429) as translated by Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 64-65.

⁴² Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 130-2.

⁴³ Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 132-8.

⁴⁴ Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 142-3 and notes 70-1.

Decembrius by a scribe in his employ⁴⁵, and the English manuscript, Durham Cathedral, Chapter Library, MS C. IV. 3, fol. 176v/180v.⁴⁶ A conclusion which follows from Decembrius's identification of the source for his title is that Thomas More was clearly not the first neo-Latin writer to use the passage at the close of *Republic IX*, as the inspiration for the name of a fictional society; he was writing within a tradition of which, given the dissemination of Decembrius's gloss and his own interest in Plato, he was probably well aware.

To conclude. On the 29th of March, 1518, while residing at Abingdon with Henry's court who had stopped there to escape the plague⁴⁷, More wrote a letter to the rectors of Oxford University in which he expressed unequivocal disapproval that Greek studies, officially introduced at Oxford the previous year, had been publicly maligned by the spokesman of a group opposed to Greek who called themselves the Trojans. In assessing the central role which Greek writers had played in the transmission of learning, More says in regard to philosophy, 'exceptis duntaxat his, quae Cicero reliquit et Seneca, nihil habent Latinorum scholae, nisi vel Graecum, vel quod e Graeca lingua traductum est'.⁴⁸ More's observation, intended to support the intellectual primacy of Greek letters, incidentally acknowledges the fundamental place which the Latin language had in providing access to Greek texts through translation. The same point is made by the evidence that the source for the word, 'Utopia', was indeed derived from a Greek text but only by way of the Latin translations of Ficino and, as I suspect, Petrus Candidus Decembrius. Interestingly, at a time when More and Erasmus had long since been fluent users of Greek, the word that still came naturally to them as a name for their imaginary Republic was 'Nusquama'. Another observation is equally important. The neo-Latin tradition of some texts originating in Greek could be complicated in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries not only in terms of multiple translations but also with regard to

⁴⁵ On the Salamanca manuscript, see Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, II, 548-75 (esp. p. 572 [592B 2] and 716, no. *258).

⁴⁶ I am grateful to Roger Norris, Deputy Chapter Librarian, The Chapter Library, Durham Cathedral, for his very great kindness in confirming that the gloss is transmitted in the Durham manuscript and for sending me a xerox from the microfilm of the page on which the gloss may be read.

⁴⁷ On the circumstances surrounding the letter, see Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More*, pp. 207-8.

⁴⁸ *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, no. 60, pp. 111-20 (esp. p. 117, ll.185-7).

copies circulating both in manuscript and print; what the derivation of the word, 'Utopia', suggests is that the early humanists, like Seneca's honey-gathering bees, had an expert knowledge of the range of Latin sources available to them and drew from them both *ad libitum* and also as necessity dictated.⁴⁹

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⁴⁹ In addition to those already mentioned in preceding footnotes, I wish to thank the following for generous help: Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield, Dr David Bradshaw, Professor David Ganz, Father Germain Marc'hadour, and Dr Malcolm B. Parkes. I also wish to thank the Librarians in the Classics Reading Room of the Blegen Library, University of Cincinnati, for their generosity in allowing me to consult their excellent collection. I also thank the Reference Librarians at the W.T. Young Library, University of Kentucky, especially Katherine J. Black, Teresa Burgett, Carla Cantagallo, and C.J. Parris, and the Staff of Interlibrary Loan, for their erudition and indefatigable energy in helping me locate crucial printed sources.

Peter ORTH

ZUR *SOLYMIS* DES GIOVANNI MARIA CATTANEO

Als die Türken im Laufe des 15. Jahrhunderts spektakuläre Erfolge erzielten — den Sieg von Varna 1444, die Eroberung Konstantinopels 1453, die Landung in Otranto 1480 — und im lateinischen Westen mit vorerst geringem Erfolg Gegenmaßnahmen erwogen und geplant wurden, richtete sich die Aufmerksamkeit der Zeitgenossen verstärkt auf den so erfolgreich und vorbildlich erscheinenden ersten Kreuzzug. In der lateinischen Publizistik häufen sich vor allem nach dem Verlust Konstantinopels die Verweise auf Papst Urban II. und die militärischen Führer der *expeditio*, allen voran Gottfried von Bouillon, die als exemplarische Größen die Zuhörer und Leser bald beflügeln, bald beschämen sollen.¹

Bereits seit dem zweiten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts wird diese Sichtweise und propagandistische Inanspruchnahme des ersten Kreuzzuges vorbereitet und verstärkt durch die humanistische Historiographie, meist im Rahmen umfassender Geschichtswerke, selten in eigenständigen

¹ Dazu im Überblick Laetitia Boehm, “‘Gesta Dei per Francos’ — oder ‘Gesta Francorum’? Die Kreuzzüge als historiographisches Problem”, *Saeculum*, 8 (1957), 43-81 (Ss. 51-62); Robert Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), Ss. 226-240; Ludwig Schmugge, *Die Kreuzzüge aus der Sicht humanistischer Geschichtsschreiber*, Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel, 21 (Basel - Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1987) und zuletzt James Hankins, ‘Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II.’, in *Dumbarton Oaks Symposium 1993: Byzantium and the Italians, 13th – 15th Centuries*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (Washington, DC: Harvard University Press, 1995), Ss. 111-207. Zum literarischen Echo auf Otranto vgl. *Gli umanisti e la guerra Otrantina: Testi dei secoli XV e XVI*, a cura di Lucia Gualdo Rosa, Isabella Nuovo e Domenico Defilippis. Introduzione di Francesco Tateo, Nuova Biblioteca Dedalo, 5 (Bari: Ed. Dedalo, 1982) und die in *Otranto 1480. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio promosso in occasione del V centenario della caduta di Otranto ad opera dei Turchi (Otranto, 19-23 maggio 1980)*, a cura di Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, 2 Bde., Università degli Studi, Lecce. Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche e Sociali. Saggi e Ricerche, 21-22 (Galatina: Congedo, 1986) gesammelten Beiträge. Die vorliegende Miszelle ergänzt eine Untersuchung über ‘Papst Urbans II. Kreuzzugsrede in Clermont (1095) bei lateinischen Schriftstellern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts’, die in dem Band *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen, Konflikte und Konfliktregelung*, hg. von Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers und Nikolas Jaspert erscheinen wird.

Darstellungen der Unternehmung. Einflußreich scheinen vor allem die Dekaden Flavio Biondos (1392-1463) gewesen zu sein, die in Handschriften und Frühdrucken in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts große Verbreitung fanden. Biondo verwandte ungefähr den zehnten Teil der zweiten Dekade auf dieses Ereignis und verstand es, in seiner Fassung der Predigt Urbans in Clermont 1095 die aktuelle Bedrohung durch die Türken aufscheinen zu lassen.² Auch die jüngere, 1463/1464 in humanistischer Manier geschriebene selbständige Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges *De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto pro Christi sepulchro et Iudaea recuperandis* des Florentiners Benedetto Accolti (1415-1464) scheint — auch in italienischer und deutscher Übersetzung — bis in das 16. Jahrhundert wirksam gewesen zu sein,³ wurde in ihrer Verbreitung aber sicherlich übertroffen durch die Geschichte der französischen Könige des Veronesen Paolo Emili, der das erstmals 1516 gedruckte vierte Buch seiner *De rebus gestis Francorum libri* fast vollständig dem ersten Kreuzzug widmete und wiederum in Urbans Predigt auf die türkische Bedrohung anzuspielen wußte.⁴

Trotz seiner Popularität in der neulateinischen Prosa ist der erste Kreuzzug erst spät Sujet neulateinischer Dichtungen geworden.⁵ Nur ein

² Bartolomeo Nogara, *Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio*, Studi e Testi, 48 (Rom: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1927 / ND 1973), Ss. CVII-CXII; Denys Hay, 'Flavio Biondo and the Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 45 (1959), 97-128 (nachgedruckt in: *Art and Politics in Renaissance Italy: British Academy Lectures*, selected and introduced by George Holmes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), Ss. 59-90); vgl. ferner Boehm, 'Kreuzzüge', Ss. 52-53; Schmugge, *Kreuzzüge*, Ss. 8-16. 20-21. 25 und 35 und Ottavio Clavuot, *Biondos 'Italia Illustrata': Summa oder Neuschöpfung? Über die Arbeitsmethoden eines Humanisten*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 69 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), Ss. 11-14.

³ Black, *Accolti*, Ss. 224-270 und 298-317; Boehm, 'Kreuzzüge', Ss. 53-54 und Schmugge, *Kreuzzüge*, Ss. 12-13; moderne Ausgabe in: *Recueil des historiens des croisades 1: Historiens occidentaux*, hrsg. von der Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 5 Bde. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1844-1895), V, 525-620.

⁴ Vgl. Raffaella Zaccaria, 'Emili, Paolo', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 42 (1993), 593-596; Boehm, 'Kreuzzüge', S. 55 und Schmugge, *Kreuzzüge*, S. 23. Ein Auszug der kreuzzugsgeschichtlichen Teile des Werkes wurde 1590 in italienischer Übersetzung publiziert.

⁵ Vgl. die knappen Hinweise von Jozef IJsewijn (with Dirk Sacré), *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies: Part 2: Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 14 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), Ss. 27-28. Ludwig Braun, 'Lateinische Epik im Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 1 (1999), 9-20 (Ss. 9-11 und 17f.) macht darauf aufmerksam, daß vor dem Hintergrund der Türkenkriege der Kampf zwischen Christen und Nicht-Christen in der lateinischen Epik eine bedeutende Rolle spielt, Kreuzzugsepen im engeren Sinne nennt er jedoch nicht.

Epos überhaupt, die 1591 beendete *Syrias* des Petrus Angelius Bargaeus (1517-1596), stellt seinen Verlauf bis zur Eroberung Jerusalems in zwölf Büchern dar.⁶ Wenig älter ist die noch ungedruckte *Lotareis* eines nicht weiter bekannten Perotus. Sie entstand zwischen 1563 und 1571 und schließt, ein Torso, im neunten Buch mit der Eroberung Antiochias. Den Titel verdankt Perotus' Epos ihrem Helden, Gottfried IV. von Bouillon, Herzog von Niederlothringen, und vor allem ihren Adressaten, den Guisen Herzog Charles III. (1543-1608) und Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine (1525-1574), um deren Gunst der Dichter wirbt.⁷

Perotus wie Bargaeus bezogen ihre historischen Kenntnisse ausschließlich aus Prosadarstellungen des ersten Kreuzzuges, denen des 12. Jahrhunderts wie Robertus Monachus, Albert von Aachen und Wilhelm von Tyrus neben den genannten des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Ihre poetische Diktion prägten jedoch die großen lateinischen Epiker der Antike, allen voran Vergil. Eine Verbindung zur lateinischen Kreuzzugsepik des 12. Jahrhunderts, die ihrerseits auf Roberts *Historia Hierosolymitana* rekurrierte, ist nicht erkennbar und angesichts ihrer schmalen Überlieferung auch nicht wahrscheinlich.⁸ Die *Solymis* des

⁶ Grundlegend für Leben und Werk des Bargaeus ist Guido Manacorda, 'Petrus Angelius Bargaeus (Piero Angeli da Barga)', *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Filosofia e Filologia*, 18 (1905), 1-131, ferner Alberto Asor-Rosa, 'Angeli, Pietro', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 3 (1961), 201-204 und Peter M. Brown, 'Pietro degli Angeli da Barga: "Humanista dello studio di Pisa"', *Italica*, 47 (1970), 285-295. Die Gesamtausgabe (*Petri Angelii Bargaei Syrias, hoc est expeditio illa celeberrima Christianorum principum, qua Hierosolyma ductu Goffredi Bulionis Lotharingiae ducis a Turcarum tyrannide liberata est. Eiusdem votivum carmen In D. Catharinam. Roberti Titii [...] in duodecim libros Syriados [...] scholia* (Florenz, 1591)) wurde 1616 ebendort nachgedruckt.

⁷ Die irrtümliche Identifizierung des Autors mit dem bereits 1556 gestorbenen Aemilius Perrotus beruht auf der Beschreibung des autographen Codex unicus, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 1944, in *Bibliothèque Historique de la France contenant le Catalogue des Ouvrages, imprimés & manuscrits, qui traitent de l'Histoire de ce Royaume, ou qui y ont rapport; avec des notes critiques et historiques*, par feu Jacques Lelong, Prêtre de l'Oratoire, Bibliothécaire de la Maison de Paris. Nouvelle édition, Revue, corrigée & considérablement augmentée par M. Fevret de Fontette, Conseiller au Parlement de Dijon, 5 Bde. (Paris: Herissant, 1768-1778), II (1769), S. 132 Nr. 16600, die Paul E. Comte de Riant, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 1 (1881), S. 548 Anm. 9 und Auguste Molinier in seinem *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, 4 Bde. (Paris: Plon, 1885-1892), II (1886), Ss. 289-290 aufgriffen. Den Hinweis auf die *Lotareis* verdanke ich Professor Dr. Peter Christian Jacobsen, Erlangen. Ich schulde Frau Isabelle de Conihout, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Dank für wichtige briefliche Auskünfte und Hinweise. Bargaeus und Perotus werden in meinem Anm. 1 genannten Beitrag näher untersucht und Teile der *Lotareis* zum Druck gebracht werden.

⁸ Vgl. Peter Christian Jacobsen, 'Epos', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 3 (1986), Sp. 2079 und die Editionen *Metellus von Tegernsee: Expeditio Ierosolimitana*, Erstausgabe von

Giovanni Maria Cattaneo, deren Titel allerdings an eines der hochmittelalterlichen Epen erinnert, den nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen *Solimarius* Gunthers, dürfte hier keine Ausnahme sein.

Cattaneo stammte aus Novara und kam 1509 in Diensten des späteren Kardinals Bandinello Sauli nach Rom. Er besorgte eine kommentierte Ausgabe der Briefe des jüngeren Plinius, die zu seinen Lebzeiten mehrfach aufgelegt wurde, und tat sich, Schüler des Demetrios Chalkondyles (1423-1511) in Mailand, als Übersetzer aus dem Griechischen — Werke des Isokrates, Aphthonius und Lucians — hervor; eigene Prosaarbeiten scheinen verloren zu sein.⁹ Cattaneo gehörte dem berühmten literarischen Zirkel um den Juristen und kurialen Beamten Johannes (Hans) Goritz (Corycius) an, zu dem viele bedeutende Vertreter des literarischen Lebens in Rom zählten, deren Namen uns im folgenden weiter begegnen werden, neben anderen Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), Jacopo Sadoletto (1477-1547) und Marco Girolamo Vida (um 1485-1566). Cattaneo selbst steuerte drei Epigramme zu den *Coryciana* bei, jener Sammlung von Gedichten, die mit Goritz befreundete Literaten

Peter Christian Jacobsen, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 6 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982); *Gunther der Dichter: Ligurinus*, hrsg. von Erwin Assmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 63 (Hannover: Hahn, 1987), Ss. 499-512 (sc. der *Solimarius* Gunthers); zur Vorlage des *Solimarius* siehe *Gunther von Pairis: Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, Untersuchungen und kritische Ausgabe von Peter Orth, Spolia Berolinensia, 5 (Hildesheim - Zürich: Weidmann, 1994), Ss. 3-4; *The Historia vie Hierosolimitane of Gilo of Paris, and a second, anonymous author*, ed. and transl. by C.W. Grocock and Elizabeth Siberry, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), Ss. LVII-LXIV, die für Gilo eine mit Robert dem Mönch gemeinsame Vorlage annehmen.

⁹ Gianni Ballistreri, 'Cattaneo (Cataneo), Giovanni Maria', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 22 (1979), 468-471 (Sp. 469-470); *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Peter G. Bietenholz, 3 Bde. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985-1987), I, 286-287; *L'Europe des humanistes (XIV^e - XVII^e siècles)*, répertoire établi par Jean-François Maillard, Judit Kecskeméti et Monique Portalier, Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 65 (Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique - Brepols, 1995), S. 108; Jozef IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, Academia Latinitati Fovendae: Varia, 7 (Rom: Herder, 1997), S. 396. Zur lateinischen Version der *Progymnasmata* des Aphthonius M.V. Péres Custodio, 'Etopeyea y Descripción: preceptiva y praxis estilística en las versiones latinas de los *progymnasmata*', in *La recepción de las artes clásicas en el siglo XVI*, ed. Eustaquio Sánchez Salor - Luis Merino Jerez - Santiago López Moreda (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 1996), Ss. 361-366. Cattaneo scheint der Verfasser hexametrischer *Carmina de certo Turcarum adventu non credito cum exhortatione ad arma in eos suscipienda* [s.l.a.] (benutzt wurde das Exemplar 4 P.o.lat. 773 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München) zu sein, die in der vorgenannten Literatur nicht erwähnt werden; das schmale Bändchen mit 12 Seiten ist an Papst Leo X. (1513-1521) gerichtet.

gelegentlich eines seit 1512 jährlich von ihm veranstalteten festlichen Mahles am Tag der heiligen Anna ihrem Gastgeber widmeten. Ein in zwei Handschriften erhaltenes Begleitschreiben deutet darauf hin, daß Cattaneo eine erste Sammlung dieser meist kleinen Gelegenheitsgedichte veranstaltete.¹⁰ Gleichwohl fand und findet Cattaneo als Dichter wenig Anerkennung. Neben einem Gedicht zum Lobe Genuas und weiteren Epigrammen sollte die *Solymis* sein *opus magnum* werden.

Es gibt Hinweise auf Vorarbeiten Cattaneos: Im November 1516 entlieh er gegen Pfand ein Exemplar der *Historia Hierosolymitana* Roberts des Mönchs aus der Vatikanischen Bibliothek, das heutige Ms. Vat. lat. 2005; im September 1518 gab er einen Koran, den ihm der kurz zuvor verstorbene jüngere Filippo Beroaldo (1472-1518) überlassen hatte, zurück.¹¹ Allerdings hat Cattaneo sein Kreuzzugsgedicht nicht vollendet, gewiß auch deshalb, weil das, was er zustande brachte, prominente Kritiker in Bembo und Giovio fand. Giovio bespricht die *Solymis* — anscheinend aus eigener Kenntnis — in seinen *Elogia virorum literis illustrium*:¹²

Descripsit demum carmine Genuam in heri (*das ist Kardinal Bandinello Sauli*) gratiam, atque inde poesis amore iam plane senex correptus est, sera et parum ideo felici libidine, quum Musas nunquam tentatis numeris in iuventa laccessisset. Itaque Gotifredi Bolionis sacrum bellum, sub titulo 'Solymidos', quo potuit ore decantatum est; in quo poemate non morosus et aequus lector argumenti pietatem et quaedam schemata iucundae novitatis admirabitur, si carmina, tanquam salebrosa et distortis numeris luxata, probare noluerit. Id opus author quum, alieni ingenii iudicium subiturus, ad Bembum, me praesente, detulisset, lecto statim titulo, Bembus hylari comitate: "Nunquam, Catanaee, putassem" inquit "te alioqui virum de utraque lingua optime meritum, hac ipsa, qua nos gaudemus carminum facultate, valuisse, quum nihil omnino, ad quod Musae dulces arrideant, in severo et militari vultu tuo prorsus emineat." [...] Nondum autem perfecto poemate, rediit ad pedestrem orationem; non obscure ipsa spe conceptae laudis destitutus.

¹⁰ Vgl. IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, Ss. 17-18. Der Brief ist ebendort Ss. 49-50 gedruckt, die Epigramme sind *Coryciana* 15, 139 und 170.

¹¹ Ballistreri, 'Cattaneo', Sp. 469.

¹² Paulus Iovius (Paolo Giovio), *Elogia virorum literis illustrium* 79 (*Pauli Iovii Opera*, 9 Bde. (Rom: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956-1984), VIII (1972), S. 103). Freundlicher fällt Giovios Urteil in seinem *Dialogus de viris et foeminis aetate nostra florentibus* 2 (*Pauli Iovii Opera*, IX, 234) aus: 'Marius Cattaneus, Novariensis vir graece latineque doctissimus, qui iam pridem C. Plinii Caecilii epistolas luculentis commentationibus illustravit, ingravescente aetate ad studia carminum provehitur, et alacriter Gottifredum canit deletis Syrorum et Parthorum copiis Hyerosolymarum regnum Christiano nomini vendicantem.'

Das anscheinend einzige erhaltene Fragment läßt trotz der Stellenangabe in der Überschrift — ‘Ex XI Solymidos’ — keinen eindeutigen Schluß auf den tatsächlich fertiggestellten Teil der Dichtung zu. Das Bruchstück ist in einer Sammelhandschrift aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 400 (254), fol. 118^{r-v} enthalten, fol. 118^v-119^v gefolgt von der bekannten hexametrischen Beschreibung der Laocoon-Gruppe durch Sadoletto. Die in der Forschung noch wenig beachtete Handschrift enthält vor allem kleinere poetische Stücke, selbständige wie Exzerpte, deren Mehrzahl im zweiten und dritten Jahrzehnt des 16. Jahrhunderts entstanden ist und von römischen Autoren aus der Umgebung der Kurie, besonders jedoch aus Goritzens Kreis stammt.¹³

Auf den ersten Blick ist ein Zusammenhang mit dem Kreuzzugsthema nicht auszumachen, vielmehr handelt es sich um eine in militärisch-kriegerische Metaphern gekleidete Beschreibung des Schachspiels in 31 Hexametern, das eine letzte, syntaktisch isolierte Zeile — vielleicht der Beginn eines weiteren, überleitenden Hexameters — als Erfindung des Palamedes deklariert, der bekanntlich vor Troja den Griechen damit einen Zeitvertreib bereitete.¹⁴ Zuerst (1-3) werden Schachbrett und Spielsteine beschrieben, dann (4-10) die Aufstellung der Figuren, (11-28) ihre

¹³ Fol. 117^v ist leer. Vgl. die Beschreibung des Codex in *Iacopo Sannazaro: De partu virginis*, a cura di Charles Fantazzi e Alessandro Perosa, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento. Studi e testi, 17 (Florenz: Olschki, 1988), Ss. IX-XIV, hier S. XI mit Anm. 4; zuletzt Giovanna Perini, ‘Raffaello e l’antico: alcune precisazioni’, *Bollettino d’arte del Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali*, 89/90 (1995), 111-144 (Ss. 111-113 und 129-130) und dies., ‘Contributo a Malvasia epigrafista: precisazioni documentarie sull’Aelia Laelia Crispis e altre lapidi bolognesi’, *Arte a Bologna. Bollettino dei Musei civici d’arte antica*, 4 (1997), 108-129, die eine Datierung der Handschrift zwischen 1530 und 1540 vorschlägt. Cattaneos Fragment ist nicht verzeichnet bei Ludwig Bertalot, *Initia humanistica Latina: Initienverzeichnis lateinischer Prosa und Poesie aus der Zeit des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, bearbeitet von Ursula Jaitner-Hahner, 2 Bde. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985-1990). Die Handschriftenabteilung der Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna, hat großzügig Mikrofilmaufnahmen von Teilen der Handschrift zur Verfügung gestellt. Ich bin Frau Dr. Biancastella Antonino und Frau Dr. Laura Miani, beide Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna, für bibliographische Hinweise zu Dank verpflichtet.

¹⁴ Vgl. Hans F. Massmann, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen, vorzugsweise des deutschen Schachspiels: Nebst vollständiger und fortlaufender Literatur des Spieles, sowie Abbildungen und Registern* (Quedlinburg - Leipzig, 1839 / ND Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1983), S. 16 zur angeblichen Erfindung des Spieles durch Palamedes. Zu einer mittelalterlichen Tradition, die Odysseus zum Urheber des Spieles vor Troja erklärt, Paul Klopsch, *Pseudo-Ovidius: De vetula: Untersuchungen und Text*, *Mittelaltinische Studien und Texte*, 2 (Leiden - Köln: Brill, 1967), S. 76 zu *De vetula* 1, 577-582.

Zugvarianten und schließlich (29-31) das Ende einer Partie durch Remis oder Matt. Die Spielfiguren heißen 'rex' (27f.), 'regina' (22-25), 'vels' (Läufer, 18f.), 'eques' (16f.), 'dux' (Turm, 19f.)¹⁵ und 'pedes' (11-15). Bis auf die 'pedites' genießen die übrigen als 'in equo pugnantes' (21) das Privileg, auch Rückzieher machen zu dürfen. Cattaneo präsentiert das Schachspiel als Schlacht, mit eigener Schlachtordnung und Truppengattungen; die Züge der Figuren sind Kampfhandlungen, deren episches Vokabular fast ausschließlich der *Aeneis* Vergils entlehnt ist.

Welchen Platz könnte die in sich geschlossene Ekphrasis in einem Epos über den ersten Kreuzzug gehabt haben? Unter der Prämisse, daß Cattaneo sich tatsächlich an der *Historia Hierosolymitana* Roberts des Mönchs orientierte, ist eigentlich nur jene Szene denkbar, in der die mit der langwierigen Belagerung Antiochias beschäftigten Kreuzfahrer trotz aller Strapazen der Gesandtschaft eines potentiellen Verbündeten, des 'princeps Babyloniae' (das ist der ägyptische Wesir Al-Afdal), einen prächtigen Empfang mit ritterlich-höfischem Aufwand bereiten:¹⁶

seseque eorum susceptioni solemniter praemuniunt. Tentoria variis ornamentorum generibus venustantur; terrae infixis sudibus scuta apponuntur, quibus in crastinum Quintanae ludus, scilicet equestris, exerceretur. Aleae, *scaci*, veloces cursus equorum flexis in gyrum frenis non defuerunt, et militares impetus; hastarumque vibrationes in alterutrum ibi celebratae sunt. In quibus actibus monstrabatur quia nullo pavore trepidabant qui talia operabantur.

Roberts Schilderung, deren Details bei Albert von Aachen und Wilhelm von Tyrus fehlen¹⁷, fordert eine poetische Ausschmückung nachgerade heraus, und Cattaneos metaphorische Beschreibung fügt sich gut in die Szenerie Roberts. Dagegen ist ein Zusammenhang mit einem von Fulcher von Chartres wiedergegebenen Gespräch zwischen Kerbogha, dem Atabeg von Mossul, der nunmehr die Kreuzfahrer in Antiochia eingeschlossen hat, und Amirdalis, der ihm den Aufmarsch des christlichen

¹⁵ Harold James Ruthven Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913 / ND 1969), S. 832 Anm. 28 gibt als frühesten Beleg für diese Bezeichnung, hier die englische Entsprechung *duke*, Arthur Sauls *Famous Game of Chess-Play* von 1614.

¹⁶ Robertus Monachus, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 5, 1 (*Recueil des historiens des croisades 1: Historiens occidentaux*, III (1866), S. 791AB).

¹⁷ Albert von Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 3, 59 (*Recueil des historiens des croisades 1: Historiens occidentaux*, IV (1879), Ss. 379-380); Wilhelm von Tyrus, *Chronicon* 4, 24 (ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), S. 268); vgl. auch Metellus von Tegernsee 3, 551-557 (*Expositio Ierosolimitana*, ed. Jacobsen, Ss. 51-52), hier 556f. 'Alea, milicie gaudentis ludicra queque | Munia fervebant'.

Heeres meldet, ausgeschlossen.¹⁸ Stünde im elften Buch der *Solymis* also die Eroberung Antiochias noch aus, wäre ein Abschluß des Epos mit einem zwölften Buch, vergleichbar Bargaeus' *Syrias*, deren zwölftes Buch mit dem Fall Antiochias und Jerusalems endet, denkbar.

Das Schachspiel ist häufig Gegenstand neulateinischer Literatur; berühmt ist ein hexametrisches Gedicht, das ihm Marco Girolamo Vida widmete, der *Scacchia ludus* (oder *De ludo scacchorum*), an dem er seit 1507 arbeitete. Das Werk ist in vier Fassungen erhalten, deren jüngste, 1527 in Rom gedruckte und am weitesten verbreitete wahrscheinlich bereits vor 1519/1520 fertiggestellt war.¹⁹ Die Entstehung des *Scacchia ludus* fällt also in die römische Zeit Vidas und rückt damit chronologisch und räumlich in die Nähe der *Solymis*. In der Tat gibt es eine solche Fülle von Berührungspunkten des Fragments vor allem mit der jüngsten Version des *Ludus*, daß sie nicht allein mit der gemeinsamen Thematik erklärt werden können.²⁰ Vida kleidet seine Beschreibung des Schachspiels

¹⁸ Fulcher von Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 1, 22, 5 (ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), S. 253): (sc. Amirdalis) 'confestim ad Corbagath properans, quod viderat intimavit ei dicens: "quid scaccis ludis? en Franci veniunt!" cui respondit ille: "Veniuntne ad bellum?" respondit Amirdalis: "adhuc ignoro, sed parumper exspecta."'

¹⁹ Zum Schachspiel in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit Massmann, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen, vorzugsweise des deutschen Schachspieles*, Ss. 96-99; Murray, *A History of Chess*, Ss. 496-526 und 789-793; Hans Petschar, 'Schachspiel', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 7 (1995), 1427-1431; IJsewijn, *Companion*, II, 355; zu Vidas Gedicht *The Game of Chess. Marco Girolamo Vida's Scacchia ludus: With English Verse Translation and the Texts of the Three Earlier Versions*, ed. with Introduction and Notes by Mario A. Di Cesare, Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica, 13 (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), Ss. 9-26; Mario A. Di Cesare, 'The «Scacchia ludus» of Marco Girolamo Vida: The Didactic Poem as Fictional Text', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytni: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Wolfenbüttel 12 August to 16 August 1985*, ed. Stella P. Revard - Fidel Rädle - Mario A. Di Cesare, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 53 (Binghamton, New York, 1988), Ss. 425-432 und zuletzt Reinhold F. Gleis - Thomas Paulsen, "... und sie spielt sich doch!" Zur Rekonstruierbarkeit der Schachpartie in Vidas *Scacchia ludus*, *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 1 (1999), 65-97. Von den zahlreichen Übersetzungen des Gedichtes sei nur genannt *Marcus Hieronymus Vida: Schachspiel der Götter*, eingeleitet und mit der Übersetzung von Johann Joseph Ignatius Hoffmann hrsg. von Walter Ludwig, Lebendige Antike (Zürich: Artemis, 1979).

²⁰ Diese Version ist ediert in *The Game of Chess*, ed. Di Cesare, Ss. 36-68; nur eine Stelle deutet auf die dritte Fassung (*The Game of Chess* 94-111) hin, vgl. 4f. 'Ut gemini populi inter se niveque, nigrique | Aequali numero certent, bicoloribus armis' mit Vers 2f. des Fragments. Gemeinsamkeiten nur aufgrund des Gegenstandes bestehen etwa mit den im 10. Jahrhundert entstandenen *Versus de scachis* (Dieter Schaller - Ewald Könsgen, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), Nr. 15032; *Carmina medii aevi maximam partem inedita*, ed. Hermannus

in die Rahmenhandlung der Hochzeit von Tellus und Oceanus; Oceanus läßt, als die Festtafel aufgehoben ist, ein Schachbrett bringen, um seine Gäste zu unterhalten. Zunächst beschreibt er das Spielfeld (22-28); einem Behältnis (37 'versa in tabulam deprompsit ab urna') werden die Spielfiguren entnommen und in ihrer Gesamtheit vorgestellt (38-51); dann wendet sich Oceanus der Aufstellung (52-77) und schließlich den Regeln zu (89-168; 'certandi leges'). Jetzt befiehlt Iuppiter Apoll und Merkur, vor den Augen der versammelten Hochzeitsgäste eine Partie auszutragen, deren Darstellung (182-635) drei Viertel der 658 Verse des *Ludus* einnimmt. Diese Partie, die beide Kontrahenten mit nicht immer lauterem Mitteln austragen und dabei an die Grenzen des Regelwerks stoßen, hat Vida als auf dem Spielbrett wogendes Schlachtgetümmel gestaltet und sich in vielen Details von Vergils *Aeneis* inspirieren lassen.²¹ Für Vida ist das Schachspiel ein Abbild des Krieges: (1f.) 'Ludimus effigiem belli simulataque veris | Proelia, buxo acies fictas, et ludicra regna' — und Gelegenheit zu einem vergnüglichen, mitunter burlesken Spiel mit Sprache und Motiven der lateinischen Epik.²²

Die Beziehungen in Struktur und Wortwahl konzentrieren sich in der Tat auf das erste Viertel des *Ludus*, die Ausführungen des Oceanus. Ohne Zweifel ist Cattaneo der Nehmende gewesen, hat er doch alle Elemente der Beschreibung, besonders das Regelwerk nur in den wichtigsten Zügen und verkürzt dargestellt — mehr hätte auch den Rahmen einer dem Epos eingefügten Ekphrasis gesprengt. Dabei variiert Cattaneo nicht ungeschickt Vidas Vorgaben und verbindet sie mit eigenen Vergil-Reminiszenzen. Auch in der Benennung zweier Figuren, der des Läufers ('veles') und des Turmes ('dux'), weicht er von Vida ab ('sagittiferus iuvenis' bzw. 'Areiphilus' — 'arx').

Der nachfolgende Abdruck des Fragments folgt der Bologneser Handschrift bis auf geringfügige Korrekturen, die im Text selbst oder im kritischen Apparat kenntlich gemacht worden sind. Der zweite Apparat dokumentiert die Beziehungen zur vierten Fassung von Vidas *Scaccia ludus*, der dritte Similien in der römischen Literatur.

Hagenus (Bern: Froben, 1877), Ss. 137-141 Nr. 82 und Murray, *A History of Chess*, Ss. 512-514; dazu Helena M. Gamer, 'The Earliest Evidence of Chess in Western Literature: The Einsiedeln Verses', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 734-750 (Ss. 740-744)) 35 'In quorum medio rex et regina locantur' (vgl. 6f); 54 'Mittit in obliquum vulnera saeva parem' (vgl. 12); 83 'tramite recto' (vgl. 19) und 98 'Si conclusus erit, praelia tota ruunt' (vgl. 30).

²¹ *The Game of Chess*, ed. Di Cesare, Ss. 29-31.

²² Yasmin Haskell, 'Work or Play? Latin «Recreational» Georgic Poetry of the Italian Renaissance', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 48 (1999), 132-159 (Ss. 157-158).

Ex XI Solymidos Joannis Mariae Catanei

- Funditur aurata subito de pyxide factus
 Calculus aequalis numero niveusque nigerque
 In tabula<m>, quadris quae picta coloribus iisdem est.
 Hinc atque inde acies geminas et bella parabant,
 5 Idem ordo viresque pares spatiumque dabatur
 Camporum par agminibus. Rex atque marita
 In medio loca prima tene<n>t ac proxima uterque
 Veles habet laterum custos equitesque sequuntur
 Inde duo totidemque duces pro cornibus astant.
 10 At peditum generosa phalanx in fronte locata
 Pugnam ineunt primi et, si sors aspexerit ullos,
 Proxima quaeque metunt obliquo vulnere, nec fas
 Fer<r>e pedem pediti retro, verum instat et urget.
 Si tandem quadris figet sua signa supremis,
 15 Par ille imperium regine ac iura tenebit.
 Solus eques priva dotatur lege, catervas
 Fundat ut hostiles transcendens ordine terno,
 Veles subque vaga latronis imagine campum
 Discurrens obliqua petit, verum ordine recto
 20 Tela inimica duces quatiant. Datur aequa potestas
 Omnibus ire in equo pugnantibus atque redire.
 Bellipotens regina furens ut fortis Amazon
 Nunc parvo mucrone ferit durave securi,
 Nunc ense aurato transversum verberat hostem
 25 Intorquetque procul iaculum celeresve sagittas |
 118^v Atque aciem in totam laxas effundit habenas.
 Ipse suas inter turmas et tela tyrannus
 Versatur spatio metuitque abscedere longo.
 Aut aequo ancipitem dis<s>olvunt foedere martem
 30 Aut non ante abeunt, quam rex conclusus ab hoste
 Alter colla dedit laeto captiva triumpho.
 Inventum Palamedis

13 pedem *corr.* ex paedem 16 dotatur *corr.* ex dotatus 27 tella *cod.*

1-3 Vida *Scacchia* 37 versa in tabulam deprompsit ab urna | Arte laboratam buxum
 2 Vida *Scacchia* 369 (3, 39) niveique, nigrique 4 Vida *Scacchia* 410 (71, 73) Hinc atque
 inde; Vida *Scacchia* 45 in bella paratas 5-6 Vida *Scacchia* 203 In mediis campi spatiis

7 Vida *Scacchia* 54sq. aequis | In medio sedes spatii **8-9** Vida *Scacchia* 67sq. duo dehinc ... equites **9** Vida *Scacchia* 70sq. in cornibus ... stant **10** phalanx: Vida *Scacchia* 252 **11** Vida *Scacchia* 77 Congressusque ineant primos, pugnamque laceasant **12** Vida *Scacchia* 116 Cum feriunt, ictum obliquant, et vulnera furtim | Intentant **14-15** cf. Vida *Scacchia* 461-466 (465sq. suprema ... penetralia) **20** Vida *Scacchia* 43 non aequa potestas **22** Vida *Scacchia* 139 (510) regina furens; Amazon: Vida *Scacchia* 251 **28** Vida *Scacchia* 162 haud procurrere longius ausit

3 Ov., *fasti*, 4, 275 picta coloribus **4** Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 788 geminas ... acies; bella parabant: Ov., *am.*, 1, 1, 1; Stat., *Theb.*, 11, 97 **7** Ov., *fast.*, 6, 304 quae loca prima tenet **8** Stat., *Theb.*, 10, 184 laterum custos **9** Tac., *ann.*, 14, 34, 2 conglobatus pro cornibus eques astitit **10** Verg., *Aen.*, 12, 277 animosa phalanx; Lucr., 1, 879 primaeque in fronte locata **11** Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 647 Primus init bellum **12** Verg., *Aen.*, 10, 513 Proxima quaeque metit gladio **13** Verg., *Aen.*, 10, 433 instat et urget **14** sua signa: cf. Ov., *fast.*, 3, 161; *epist.*, 4, 155 **15** iura tenebit: Claud., 10, 34 **17** Verg., *Aen.*, 5, 120 terno ... ordine **20** Verg., *Aen.*, 11, 809 tela inimica; aequa potestas: Hor., *ars*, 10; Iuv., 4, 71; Prud., *c. Symm.*, 2, 415 **22-26** cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 11, 648-654 (sc. die 'Amazon' Camilla im Kampf) **24** ense aurato: Verg., *Aen.*, 9, 303sq. **25** Verg., *Aen.*, 10, 323 Intorquens iaculum; Verg., *Aen.*, 12, 394 celerisque sagittas **26** Verg., *Aen.*, 5, 818 (12, 499) omnis effundit habenas **29** aequo ... foedere: Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 520 **32 (2)** cf. Cassiod., *var.*, 8, 31, 61sq. Palamediacis calculis occupari

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FRANCISCUS CRANEVELDIUS AND THE THREE LEONARDI OF BRUGES. A STUDY IN PATRONAGE

Patronage is fundamentally a relation of inequality. It supposes on the one hand someone who is of a higher position and who, therefore, is able to do someone else a favour, whereas on the other hand it requires a person who asks for this favour or who needs it, and who is prepared to acknowledge the fact that he is of inferior status. Not always is this relation explicitly worded, and there are even examples of persons who did not act quite politely towards their benefactors, but essentially this inequality and its awareness are of primary importance in the process which we call patronage.

Not only are the different positions of the two parties essential, their activities and functions also vary, and in that manner the way they express themselves in this relation. Even the tone they use in their contact depends upon their relative positions. In the present study I should like to lay before the reader some aspects of patronage in the humanistic circles of Bruges in the 1520s. I will try to develop the various aspects just mentioned. Because the files are not overwhelmingly abundant, a thorough treatment may be achieved.

However, there is one methodological aspect I should mention before telling my tale. Patronage can be traced in history in various manners or fields. One of the most revealing sources — and the source this article will focus on — is formed by letters, and indeed letters are an ideal instrument for the study of this phenomenon. The problem is, however, that in many cases, as in the examples I should like to present, the letters that have been preserved in connection with this relation of patronage, are at the same time our only sources for the subject. That means that the role of this correspondence may become exaggerated within the actual historical events, as the specific object of our study is the only source of the matter and source and facts tend to become identical.

In the heart of the Leuven University library one of its greatest treasures is kept in a special safe. In this case the treasure is not a valuable manuscript, but a rather shabby looking set of papers. They constitute the collection of the Cranevelt letters. Franciscus Craneveldius or, in Dutch, Frans van Cranevelt (1485-1564) was born in Nijmegen and studied in Leuven.¹ After he graduated as *primus* in 1505, he continued to study law, and in 1510 became even *doctor utriusque iuris*. After some years of unknown juridical activities in Leuven, he became pensionary of Bruges, and was finally appointed a member of Mechlin parliament (the highest court of justice in the Habsburg Low Countries) in 1522, which post he held until his death. Apart from his professional juridical activities he found time to devote himself to the *bonae litterae*: he studied Greek and even started on Hebrew, thereby aiming at the humanistic ideal of the *tres linguae sacrae* as taught in the Leuven *Collegium Trilingue*. Furthermore, he made some translations of Greek texts into Latin. Above all, however, he corresponded with many more or less well known humanists, such as Erasmus, More and Vives. Apart from these Cranevelt had contacts with a great variety of regional humanists like his compatriot Gerard Geldenhouwer,² the Zealanders Hadrianus Barlandus and Johannes Borsalus, the Leuven professor of Bruges origin Petrus Curtius, the Luxemburger Conradus Vecerius, and above all the Bruges canon Johannes Fevynus from Veurne.³ He even had his contacts in Rome.⁴

Three bundles of his correspondence have come down to us: two of them have been known since 1914 and were edited by H. de Vocht as the first volume of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.⁵ The last bundle — which

¹ Cf. P.G. Bietenholz - T.B. Deutscher (edd.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus* (Toronto - Buffalo - London, 1985-1987), I, 354-355; H. Schulte Herbrüggen, *Morus ad Craneveldium. Litterae Balduinianae novae/ More to Cranevelt. New Baudouin Letters*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 11 (Leuven, 1997).

² Cf. *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II, 82-84; I. Bejczy - S. Stegeman - M. Verweij, *Gerard Geldenhouwer van Nijmegen (1482-1542). Historische werken* (Hilversum, 1998); M. Verweij, 'Erasmus in the *Collectanea*, 1520-1530, of Gerard Geldenhouwer (1482-1542)', *Lias*, 25 (1998), 31-41.

³ Cf. *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II, 26; M. Verweij, 'Fevynus and some dark rumours on Erasmus, Bruges, Jan.-Feb. 1524', *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 22 (1998), 5-9.

⁴ A paper on this subject by the present author will be published in the *acta* of the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies congress held in Cambridge, August 2000.

⁵ Cf. H. de Vocht (ed.), *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528. A Collection of Original Letters Edited from the Manuscripts and Illustrated with Notes and Commentaries*, Humanistica Lovaniensia 1 (Louvain, 1928) (= *Litt. Cran.*).

in fact chronologically comes first — was discovered at a London auction in 1989 and has been edited since then by the late Joseph IJsewijn, together with Gilbert Tournoy, Dirk Sacré and myself in subsequent volumes of the same *Humanistica*.⁶ The vast majority of these letters were the letters Cranevelt received, only some of them having been written by Cranevelt himself. As it evidently was not Cranevelt's usual practice to keep drafts,⁷ we have only half of the correspondence, which of course makes interpretation sometimes quite tricky. This particularly holds true in the subject of the present paper. It should be stressed that we know only one side of the matter and that we very rarely can be sure of Cranevelt's own thoughts.

Apart from the humanistic activities developed by Cranevelt as sketched above, which have been known since the publication of the letters, it is evident that he also encouraged some younger local talents in Bruges. Among these a triad is found which consisted of men of the same first name: the three Leonardi.

The first Leonardus, however, is hardly known at all. He must be Leonardus Heliopolus, who matriculated at Leuven University on 21 May, 1518 as a *clericus Tornacensis*.⁸ Bruges was part of the Tournai diocese in that period. As he explicitly is mentioned *clericus*, he may have been somewhat older than most students. Heliopolus is mentioned once in a letter of another Leonardus, viz. Clodius, who claims to have written some prologue to Plato's *Hipparchus* in honour to the three Leonardi and recited on the feast of St. Leonard.⁹ A second reference to Heliopolus is found in a damaged passage at the end of a letter by the last Leonardus, Vandevalus, who recommends him to Cranevelt.¹⁰ The

⁶ Cf. J. IJsewijn - G. Tournoy - D. Sacré - M. Verweij, 'Litterae ad Craneveldium Balduiniana. A Preliminary Edition', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 41 (1992), 1-85; 42 (1993), 2-51; 43 (1994), 15-68; 44 (1995), 1-78 (= *Litt. Bald.*).

⁷ See on the problem of Cranevelt and the drafts of his letters: M. Verweij, 'Remarks on some so-called Erasman correspondence', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 114-126 (esp. pp. 115-116).

⁸ Cf. A. Schillings, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, 3 (Brussels, 1962), p. 585, n. 117. The only references to Heliopolus are found in *Litt. Bald.*, 88, written by Clodius some time after 6 November 1521, and in *Litt. Bald.*, 104 and its reply, *Litt. Bald.*, 105, both from March 1522.

⁹ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 88: "Prologum nostrum utcumque in Platonis Hipparchum proxima divi Leonardi festivitate lusum in gratiam trium Leonardorum, utputa Vandevali, Eleopoli et demum Clodii ad te transmittemus non post multos dies." The text, however, does not survive.

¹⁰ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 104: "M<agister> Leonardus [...u]traque lingua anxie doctus [...d]ixit [...] commendatum."

identification of this Leonardus with Heliopolus is confirmed by Cranevelt's answer to this letter, where he says that Heliopolus is accepted and that the three Leonardi are in his *album amicorum* since long.¹¹ It seems, therefore, safe to conclude some connection, but we cannot be more positive about Cranevelt's relation to the first Leonardus. That the three Leonardi were associated with each other is, however, quite clear. Equally interesting is the fact that one of them recommends the other: they acted as a group and all parties were fully aware of the relation of patronage. A last point should be made of the fact that Heliopolus apparently did not write any letters to Cranevelt: correspondence did not play any role in their relation, which at the same time accounts for the fact that we do not know anything about it.

The second Leonardus is better known. Leonardus Vandevalus was a Bruges physician and is first mentioned in the Cranevelt collection in a letter, again, by Clodius.¹² He matriculated at Leuven University on 2 October 1508, more specifically as a poor student in the Arts' college or Pedagogy of the Lily.¹³ This Pedagogy was the most humanistic minded Arts' college, so it seems reasonable to suppose that Vandevalus received a true humanistic education and even partook in the study of Plautus, directed by Martinus Dorpius in the same college.¹⁴ Apart from his humanistic studies, the fact that Vandevalus and Clodius seem to have been on friendly footing, is suggestive of some sort of informal club.

Vandevalus' proper story begins only somewhat later, when he wrote a letter to Cranevelt in February 1522. Apparently, Vandevalus was writing a book, which among other subjects discussed alchemy. Vandevalus was of poor origin, as he could not pay his full college fees in Leuven, and he still was quite young. Moreover, we have no proof that Vandevalus also studied medicine, so he may not have been an official *doctor medicinae*. It seems quite reasonable to assume that he was not very wealthy or very important, and he would not have had the authority to have a book published without many problems.

¹¹ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 105: "Eleopolum scito mihi fore commendatissimum meque trium Leonardorum nomina iamdudum in album amicorum retulisse."

¹² Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 76, dated 2 October 1521.

¹³ Cf. A. Schillings, *Matricule*, 3, p. 365, n. 174: "Leonardus van der Vale de Brughis, pauper."

¹⁴ See on Dorpius' Plautine activities: J. IJsewijn, 'Theatrum Belgo-Latinum. Het Neolatijns toneel in de Nederlanden', *Academiae analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren*, 43 (1981), 71-114 (esp. pp. 86-88 and 96-109).

Vandevalus directs himself to Cranevelt and asks him to be the judge of his manuscript.¹⁵ Cranevelt must have read it, but he did apparently not know what to think of it. He passed it over to his friend Johannes Fevynus and asked for a second opinion. Fevynus answers in a more or less negative way: he judges the way Vandevalus handled the matter too simple and elementary.¹⁶ Shortly afterwards, Cranevelt must have written his reply to Vandevalus, which must have been full of critical remarks: this letter is lost. A prior letter by Cranevelt equally has been lost, and cannot be dated accurately: it is not clear whether this letter was just a confirmation of the reception of the first letter, or that it was more closely related to a later phase of the episode. On the other hand, we do have Vandevalus' reply to Cranevelt's remarks: in a lengthy letter he defends himself.¹⁷ As Cranevelt must have written that he did not possess enough knowledge of the field of alchemy, Vandevalus promised to send him a book about the subject, so he would be able to judge from another source as well. From Vandevalus' reply we can deduce some of the critical remarks by Cranevelt, which seem to have been both linguistic or stylistic and related to the contents of the book, asking about obscurities. The last document about this matter is a letter by Cranevelt to Vandevalus.¹⁸ Cranevelt thanks him for the book he gave. Interesting is Cranevelt's remark that the subject is too difficult, even if one fully believes in it, which Cranevelt states he does not. The decision to publish or not is left to Vandevalus himself. There is, however, no printed book known by Vandevalus, so it seems reasonable to conclude that Vandevalus did never actually publish it. Apparently he lacked the support of his patron, because Cranevelt does not seem very eager about it. By the way, as Cranevelt's own letter still has its place in the collection, it may be that this letter never actually was sent.

The fact that Vandevalus recommended Leonardus Heliopolus has already been discussed. This recommendation seems to suggest that relations were normal at this point of history, but we never hear again from Vandevalus. There may be three possible explications. It may be that Vandevalus was disappointed, and that his interest in Cranevelt as a patron waned. It may also be that the specific matter of the book — the only subject in their correspondence — had been dealt with completely,

¹⁵ See *Litt. Bald.*, 98, apparently received 10 February 1522.

¹⁶ See *Litt. Bald.*, 101, written after 15 March 1522.

¹⁷ See *Litt. Bald.*, 104, written sometime in March 1522.

¹⁸ See *Litt. Bald.*, 105, written sometime in March 1522.

and that there was no reason to write more. Finally one has to bear in mind the fact that Cranevelt moved to Mechlin in September 1522, which meant a radical change of relations: Cranevelt was no longer able to act as a direct patron in Bruges.

So much for the actual facts. It is evident that Cranevelt was asked for his opinion, and that Vandevalus must have thought that Cranevelt's judgement could have favourable effects upon a printer. In this case we have a clear example of a concrete object or favour the weaker party asks of the stronger. We have also proof of some of the actions the patron undertakes in the matter. At first sight, the role of letters in this process is also quite clear: they are an essential means of communication to ask a favour and to discuss it subsequently. But there is more.

Cranevelt's letter is friendly, but to the point. He assures Vandevalus of his sympathy and ends with *Vale et me, ut facis, ama*. Vandevalus' letters, however, are somewhat different in tone. All of Ep. 98 and about a quarter of Ep. 104 consist in an abundant praise of Cranevelt by Vandevalus.

In Ep. 98 Cranevelt is compared to the greatest philosophers and rhetoricians of Antiquity. I have no doubt that Cranevelt was a learned man or even a great man, but to say that he alone surpasses all Aristotles, Platos and Socrateses seems somewhat farfetched. Vandevalus seems to realise that he is overdoing his part, but he adds that he speaks not to flatter, but according to truth.¹⁹ However, he stoops almost to downright flattery.

In the same way, Vandevalus' joy at receiving a letter full of critical remarks seems at least excessive: he has never in his whole life met with something more sweet, and he reads it and reads it again, and still has had not enough of it.²⁰ In fact the abundant joy takes one whole page of the four of which this letter consists.

¹⁹ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 98: "In utrorumque coetu tantus mihi videris, ut si rhetores numerentur Demosthenes, Cicerones, Isocrates, Catones, non modo [[n]] unus ex his videre, sed hi omnes; hoc est, quod in illorum aliquo desyderamus, in te nemo est qui desyderet. Rursum si sapientes quis narret Aristoteles, Platones, Socrates, nullus non sis, et adeo Plato es et [[aut]] Cicero ut uberius pene in te videatur eloquentia et reluceat sapientia quam in illorum alterutro. Haec a me putabis fortassis adulantius dicta; nam scimus hoc omnibus prudentibus commune, ut suam non agnoscant cum magnitudinem, tum societatem. Sed ego non fucis ago, at vera rerum imagine."

²⁰ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 104: "Dispeream, mi Francisce, si unquam mellitius mihi contigit! Legi, relegi, nec exaturata mens est. Saepius deosculatus sum tam candidum erga nos peccus, tam amoris plena praecordia, tam denique nostrae tenuitatis studiosam amplitudinem."

Vandevalus' style is a curious mixture of expressions of informal friendship and this fulsome flattery. He calls Cranevelt by his surname: *mi Francisce*, while most correspondents and even his closest friends use just *Cranevelli* or something like that. But this impression of being a close friend is undermined by the praise of Cranevelt. It is clear that Vandevalus and Cranevelt are not on the same level of intimacy as e.g. Cranevelt and Fevynus. On one hand Vandevalus has to stress Cranevelt's superiority — an essential part in this kind of relation — but at the same time he wants to suggest a close friendship: he definitely is not the dominant party in this relation.

Moreover, this tribute to Cranevelt's learning seems somewhat incompatible with the tone of the rest of the letter. Most of the time Vandevalus defends himself almost stubbornly: either Cranevelt misread something (which is not to be wondered at with their respective handwriting) or it is just a trifling matter of style, or he does not quite understand what is written and Vandevalus almost pedantically explains. At any rate, he does not seem to be quite as exultant over Cranevelt's criticism as the opening part of the letter suggests. The letter by Fevynus and the final answer by Cranevelt may suggest that Vandevalus was in fact of a rather stubborn disposition, someone who could not be told to do something differently, and who had a rather high opinion of himself.

The third and last Leonardus is best known to us, and his file is by far the largest. Leonardus Clodius must have been born in Bruges and possibly may be identified with *Leonardus Cloet de Brughis* who matriculated as a poor student at Leuven University on 27 November 1514.²¹ He must have been the youngest of our company of three. He was certainly the *cliens* who had most to thank Cranevelt for, as it was largely by Cranevelt's support that he was appointed as a teacher of the St. Donatian's chapter school in Bruges in 1522. However, he apparently did not live up to expectations and was fired in 1524. He is never heard of afterwards.

He lived in St. Walburga parish, somewhat to the north of the centre of town, near St. Giles parish where the large Spanish colony lived, among whom was Vives. Clodius was a man of some literary talent: his prologue to Plato's *Hipparchus* has already been mentioned, while another text is referred to as *Compendium Epicureae Theologiae*, which

²¹ Cf. A. Schillings, *Matricule*, 3, p. 501, n. 56. In Middle Dutch *oe* often was pronounced *oo*.

apparently is some sort of school drama, and for that matter quite early (1523).²² None of these texts survives. We do have six letters by him to Cranevelt and they clearly show his writer's talent. Both his literary style and his handwriting are among the most agreeable of the Cranevelt collection. In fact his beautiful handwriting rivals Thomas More's and is surpassed only by the hand of Vives' secretary.

The first time he is mentioned, is in a letter by Geldenhouwer,²³ where the author asks Cranevelt to send his valet to «that master Leonard who sang those verses affixed to the theatre».²⁴ Geldenhouwer sends a letter to Clodius, which has not survived. There are, however, two important elements in this communication: first of all, Clodius is known for his literary talents, and secondly, he is known to Geldenhouwer as well. As Geldenhouwer was in Leuven in the period 1514-1516, and as Cranevelt left Leuven only in 1515, it seems reasonable to suppose that they met Clodius in Leuven, when a student. It seems equally safe to deduce that Clodius already was regarded as a talented young humanist student, and that that was the basis for the patronage he later enjoyed in Bruges. That may also explain the rancor that arose between Cranevelt and Fevynus after Clodius' dismissal in 1524: Cranevelt's favour for Clodius had deep roots.

The story of Clodius and Cranevelt opens with a letter by Clodius of March (?) 1521, in which he thanks Cranevelt for his favours, and presents a young man just arrived, probably from Nieuwpoort in western Flanders on the coast, who should be tested by Cranevelt.²⁵ Although Clodius refers to favours already bestowed upon him by Cranevelt, we cannot be sure of their nature. In a second letter we get a glimpse of the possible nature of these favours.²⁶ Clodius announces that he has heard of his forthcoming appointment as schoolmaster. However, there seems to be still some hesitation or uncertainty, and therefore Clodius fears things might go wrong in the end. But, as he remarks with subtlety, should that be the case, it would not escape Fevynus' attention. Fevynus was to be *scholaster* of the Bruges St. Donatian chapter from 1523 onwards, but

²² Cf. *Litt. Cran.*, 39.

²³ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 11, dated ca. 29 July 1520.

²⁴ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 11: "Facies mihi rem gratam, si miseris famulum tuum Andream ad illum M<agistrum> Leonardum, qui versiculos theatri affixos cecinit, cum meis hisce literulis."

²⁵ See *Litt. Bald.*, 48, dated 23 March (?) 1521.

²⁶ See *Litt. Bald.*, 76, dated 2 October 1521.

he may have already had some influence with the present *scholaster*, Gulielmus Bertrandus. I do not need to explain that Clodius had no doubt that his fears would be passed on to Fevynus who would presumably take the hint. In fact, he did. Two letters by Fevynus, which contain further information on this matter,²⁷ have survived. In the first one Fevynus informs Cranevelt that nothing has been decided with regard to Clodius as yet. Fevynus will, however, oblige him for Cranevelt's sake (or even for Clodius' own sake). Clodius should try to find out what Bertrandus has decided, because the matter rests with him. In the second letter, which hardly is more than a short note, Fevynus writes that Cranevelt should make Clodius write a letter to him as if to inform what Clodius should do. However, Clodius is not to know Fevynus is lobbying for him.

From these letters it is evident that Cranevelt is trying to help Clodius to get this appointment, and that in doing so he has approached his friend Fevynus, a canon of St. Donatian chapter, for help. However, there is no direct appeal for assistance by Clodius to Cranevelt. Either this must have been discussed orally, or it was so obvious that any reference would be superfluous.²⁸ There is no painful flattery to ask a favour here, as with Vandevalus, but that Cranevelt should help and actually is involved and uses his influence with Fevynus to secure Clodius' post, seems to be almost natural. One curious detail is that Fevynus refers to Clodius as *Coldius* twice: this can hardly be a mistake, and presumably must be regarded as some deliberate, though unsophisticated, device directed against unwelcome readers of this letter.²⁹

Ep. 88 presents a sequel to this matter.³⁰ Apparently Clodius' appointment still has not been confirmed officially, so he sees himself compelled to continue his action. Again he directs himself to Cranevelt with a beautifully written letter, the first half of which consists in elaborate

²⁷ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 82 and 83, both from October 1521, but without exact date.

²⁸ A closer intimacy than can be gathered out of the letters as such, may be detected in the fact that Clodius begins Ep. 76 remarking that he is ill and that he therefore cannot come to Cranevelt in person, which seems to suggest that he would have done so in better circumstances.

²⁹ Another theoretical possibility is that this form renders Clodius' actual name in Flemish: in that case *Clodius* would be a deliberate humanistic transformation of his real name, in accordance with the name of Cicero's adversary (not quite a positive reference...). However, for the time being, we accept that Clodius' real name corresponded more closely to his Latin name.

³⁰ See *Litt. Bald.*, 88, not dated, but written after 6 November 1521, because of the reference to St. Leonard.

praise of Cranevelt, while the latter half returns to practical business. Cranevelt should try to meet Bertrandus, otherwise Clodius might miss his chance. Clodius refers to other members of the chapter (including Fevynus and Erasmus' friend Marcus Laurinus) who share this opinion. As it concerns an inside matter of the chapter, it seems somewhat strange that Cranevelt, an outsider, should interfere, whereas the support of various men from the chapter itself does not seem to be sufficient. Cranevelt's importance to Clodius as his patron may not be illustrated better.

Maybe Cranevelt's influence was to outweigh a possible objection to Clodius' appointment, that he appears not to have graduated from Leuven. However, Clodius refers to his own teacher, Petrus Oesterhout, who indeed cannot be found in the Leuven registers of immatriculation. Furthermore neither the apostles nor the Doctors of the Church Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine had proper academic degrees, and who would doubt their abilities or authority? A title is just a title and has no relation to true learning.³¹ From this passage we may conclude that Clodius never took a degree, although he may have started his studies in Leuven, as suggested above. Perhaps this throws some light on his character as well: he may have been of good intentions and he may have had a way with words, but he apparently lacked the backbone to conclude what he started. Or can one detect here a reference to some negative experience in Leuven?

In the final paragraph Clodius refers to some literary activity. Here the three Leonardi are mentioned for the first time as a group: it is the reference to the prologue to Plato's *Hipparchus*, which already has been mentioned. It may be of strategic value as well to refer to this activity, because one of the most important bonds between Cranevelt and Clodius must have been their common interest in humanism, and a reminder of this literary practice would only point to this shared interest once more. In fact, it seems Clodius has changed his strategy: contrary to the prior letters he now starts with an abundant praise of the destinee, using a style that almost approaches Vandevalus' flattery. Friendship can only exist between equals, and therefore Clodius wonders what in heaven's name may be his talent or merit that Cranevelt wants to be his friend. After all, compared to Cranevelt he is as the night in comparison with

³¹ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 88: "Titulus enim auget et in stultis auctoritatem, scientiam vero non sic."

the sun. Cranevelt should be considered the teacher of law, yes the Solon of their age: he is not so much Franciscus or Craneveldius, but the person whose words are listened to as oracles of Apollo in the whole of Flanders.³² As in Vandevalus' letters, allusions to Antiquity abound. Typical of Clodius, however, is his fluent Latin style, and his use of rather rare words. In the passage quoted, e.g. *illustrator* is found only since Lactantius, while *nomodidactes* does not occur in classical Latin at all, but may be found in Greek, e.g. in Plutarch.³³ This deliberate use of a 'classical' style, combined with the many rhetorical elements one can find in this letter, may belong to the same stratagem as the allusion to his literary activity: reminding Cranevelt of their mutual humanistic interest.

This changed tactic appears also in the direct request to Cranevelt for help, whereas in earlier letters Clodius just hinted, but never asked so explicitly. Even his fervent pleading with his reference to the apostles and the Doctors of the Church is something new, which belongs to the same line. He ends his letter with a direct appeal to his patron: Cranevelt is his only hope, his only asylum, where the anchor of his salvation rests.³⁴

In the rest of the correspondence there is no direct further reference to Clodius' appointment, but it is clear that he got his job. For some months there is no news at all, but mid April Clodius wrote again.³⁵ This is his longest letter and at the same time, in my opinion, his best. It is also one of those letters which can be read for the sake of amusement only and without taking the circumstances into much account.

Clodius returns a book which he had borrowed from Cranevelt, and which he had used in class. It is a work by Lucian in Latin translation, a favourite author with the humanists: Cranevelt was studying Greek ardently at the moment.³⁶ Clodius thanks his patron and apologises for

³² Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 88: "Propter quae rursus sic tecum sum conferendus velut noctis caliginosae tenebrae cum omnium rerum illustratore Phoebō. Consiliis preterea simul et prudentia vales ut merito huius seculi venerere nomodidactes, addam Solon, imo et addam non Franciscus, non Craneveldius, sed is ipse a quo in Flandria ceu ab Apolline exaudiuntur oracula."

³³ E.g. Plutarch, *Cato*, 20.

³⁴ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 88: "Quare, Catonianissime domine doctor, tu solus asylum; in te uno proiecta est extremae salutis anchora. Presta, precor, ne in mora periculum, auxilium et suspensum quodammodo salva."

³⁵ See *Litt. Bald.*, 110, dated 13 April 1522.

³⁶ Fevynus mentions the same book in Ep. 97, from the beginning of 1522: "Lucianus tuus oblectavit sane aliquot dies me et nescio an incommodo tuo diutius usus sim, quod

having kept it so long, but 'that was the fault of his pupils'.³⁷ In this way he stresses the fact that he has made good use of it, and continues the explicit link with the *bonae litterae*. At the same time he has occasion to express his enthusiasm for this text.

However, this matter serves only as a starting point for his letter. The rest is taken up with the amusing story of a dinner which he attended, and where he met with some Dominican friars. He uses all his powers of caricaturing and sketches a not at all flattering image of these brethren. The most important element is the discussion, which arose between these monks and Clodius about humanism, about such *neoterici* as Erasmus, More and Vives.

Like the previous letter, this one abounds with allusions to classical authors or realities, and contains many rare words, in this case often of scholastic origin to stress the barbarism of his opponents. Interesting is the remark at the end, where he writes that he told the same story to Fevynus and to Vives, thereby explicitly connecting himself with the Bruges humanist group.³⁸ Clodius ends his letter with a clear program: he does not belong to any party, but he just loves good literature and learned men³⁹: he is not in a position to judge, but he hates the turmoil of the mendicants, who by the way were Erasmus' most arduous adversaries in Leuven as well. As Erasmus' delicate position often was a subject of concern for the Bruges humanists, one may assume Clodius very well knew the possible effect his allusions could have. His remark that he sees very well that learned men always are accepted by the *doctissimi*, may also be regarded as bearing upon his own situation. It is clear that Clodius in this case wants to confirm his own membership in the humanist party and also wants to show that he is really a reliable member of the group, as he has just put up a serious fight on behalf of humanism. This letter does not ask for a favour, but is essential in his

cum grecisses, tum Latina haud gravate admisces sive ut expeditius et minore opera illas condiscas sive ut conferas has Latinas cum illis."

³⁷ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 110: "Verum quod hactenus apud me moratus sit, tirunculorum est peccatum, quos videbam impense Lucianum amare argumentisque huius maximopere delectari propter variam in eo fabularum novitatem."

³⁸ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 110: "Na[mque] hesterno pomeridie eandem [[fab]] comoediam domino [meo] Fevino ac praeceptoris Vivi. Vives se hominem aie[bat] novisse [[se]] quovis Thrasone gloriosiore bullaque ventosa inaniorem."

³⁹ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 110: "Quantum ad me attinet, [non] sum in via neque de via huius sive huius, amo [...] simpliciter bonas literas et doctos omnes, quos [...] doctissimis video nusquam non acceptos."

relation with his patron as an expression of gratitude for the book he borrowed, and as an explicit assertion of his own ideological position: he is a humanist, and Cranevelt should not forget this elementary fact.

Only some weeks later Clodius wrote his next letter, which, however, has come down to us quite damaged, with loss of text and a rather unclear date.⁴⁰ This letter is more outspokenly flattering. Among other subjects, Clodius thanks Cranevelt for having daily conversation with Erasmus, which must point to an Erasmian work Cranevelt gave Clodius for private use or use in class. Furthermore, Clodius asks that Cranevelt should accept an unknown third person into his patronage: it is already the second time Clodius intervenes on behalf of another candidate for patronage, just as Vandevalus recommended Heliopolus. This is, of course, quite interesting as it reveals how a social network of patronage came into being: Cranevelt was known as a benefactor, and his clients tried to suggest their friends for his protection as well.

However, there are more interesting matters in this particular letter. In it, Clodius also recommends himself to Cranevelt's protection. In fact, it is the only testimony in Clodius' letters, where he asks to be accepted into Cranevelt's circle or protection so explicitly. He asserts that he reveres Cranevelt as a god and he even asks to be adopted as his son.⁴¹ After this request he inserts his intervention on behalf of his poor friend, the unknown third. Therefore, it may be that this supplication serves as an introductory device to make his appeal more acceptable, and should not be regarded and interpreted too literally with regard to Clodius' own position. After all, Clodius did not have any reason to doubt his own situation as far as we know or can surmise from the surviving letters, but one can never be absolutely sure about what is going on in someone's mind, and the passage remains curious as it is.

Of equal interest is the opening of this letter. It seems that Clodius was aware of the frequency of his letters himself. However that may be, that served as a starting point for his observations. He points out to Cranevelt that frequent contact is essential in a matter of friendship,

⁴⁰ See *Litt. Bald.*, 112, maybe dated 1 June 1522.

⁴¹ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 112: "Proinde quando ita vi[detur] tibi ut tu tantus (quem non solum suspicio max[ime], sed vice numinis cuiusdam lubens recolo) homi[nem] infimum diligere voles et amare, cupio cum apostol[o rogare] non modo ut ames, verum totum me tibi facias [familiarem (?)] et adoptes in filium." Although the particular word *familiarem* is a restoration, the tone of the passage cannot be doubted and the general idea is clear enough.

which fact is corroborated by Cicero, Pliny and Erasmus, all three famous writers of letters.⁴² If it is interesting that Clodius talks about the subject of friendship in a letter which explicitly asks for a favour, just as he did in Ep. 88 — is this part of Clodius' tactics? —, it is even more so from the particular point of interest of letter writing, as he explicitly refers to letters as a means of doing so. Furthermore, Clodius may have given away much more of his motivation than he may have imagined himself. Perhaps we even touch here the essential basis of his entire correspondence. Clodius writes rather many letters and he seldom asks for a concrete or specific favour, although he usually does refer to something, which has given rise to the particular letter. While he can be very verbose, he sometimes writes even brilliantly and his letters contain many allusions to classical authors. It is as if he wants to be read, to be noticed by Cranevelt, as if he fears Cranevelt might forget about his existence with all the fatal consequences. He wants to be associated with the humanist party in Bruges and he never neglects an opportunity of referring to good friends such as Fevynus and Vives, i.e. to good friends of Cranevelt and to Clodius' personal relation with them and their high esteem for him. Perhaps we have here another means of establishing a relationship of patronage: not begging for favours, not stooping to flattery, but making certain one is noticed continuously.

The last letter of Clodius' correspondence which has survived — and which probably was the last item of the entire correspondence — dates from the period immediately following Cranevelt's new appointment in Mechlin.⁴³ This letter shows every element of Clodius' tactics and intentions as we have come to know them. An obvious occasion for Clodius to write is to send Cranevelt his best wishes for new year 1523,⁴⁴ thereby reminding him again of his very existence. This is even clear from Clodius' explicit request to be included among the group of Cranevelt's *intimi*.⁴⁵ But there is more to it. Now that Cranevelt has left, Clodius has

⁴² Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 112: "Frequenter usuvenire videmus cu[m] apud] oratores plurimos, tum Ciceronem ac Plinium praecipue Roterodamumque Tullium ut diuturnum i[nter] amicos silentium non admodum probetur, quod nonnumquam eo langescat amicitia, mutuis alioqui aut litera[rum] aut officiorum collationibus valitura semper."

⁴³ See *Litt. Cran.*, 39, dated 1 February 1523.

⁴⁴ This interpretation is based on De Vocht's restitution of the damaged beginning of the letter. The expression of his best wishes may in truth have been connected with the new year, but absolute certainty cannot be given.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Litt. Cran.*, 39: "Illud tamen temere efflagitabo, si quando Socraticum t[uum] ingenium remissum sit ad humiliora, Clodii inter intimos memineris."

had yet another occasion to admire Cranevelt's talents. Clodius has contact with Geldenhouwer who was in Bruges at the time and who showed him a common work of Cranevelt and himself. In fact, this is the only time Clodius explicitly expresses his admiration for Cranevelt's learning, and that not in a vague and general way, but fixed on one particular work.⁴⁶ In general, Clodius' contact with Geldenhouwer and his praise of him fit in with the same pattern we have seen so far of deliberately connecting himself with the humanistic group, in this case someone who at the time was very close to Cranevelt. Geldenhouwer is, by the way, the person who delivered this letter in Mechlin. The last item mentioned in the letter is the composition of a play the text of which he sends together with the letter.⁴⁷

Over and over again, Clodius maintains and cherishes his image as an active humanist, a talented author who recommends his work to the attention of his patron, someone who has contacts with other conspicuous humanists. Clearly, this letter has no other function than maintaining his contact with his patron and showing, at the same time, that he deserves his patronage. The contacts with Geldenhouwer confirm the hypothesis of an earlier acquaintance and Clodius' abundant praise of him⁴⁸ must recommend the author of this letter in the eyes of the recipient. Above all, he never neglects a chance of stressing his literary activities, which probably lay at the bottom of their relationship and of Cranevelt's patronage. In this sense, this last letter summarises almost every aspect of Clodius' strategy and of this relationship of patronage.

In general Clodius' style may be called reverential and not too flattering with some exceptions. He wants to show he is a good writer, someone who knows Antiquity and who is fully aware of rhetorical technique. It does not seem that he has any difficulty in composing his letters: his sentences are fluent, the structure of his letters is clear, he is fully aware of the way he says things. In itself this style may be considered some kind of recommendation in its own right, as Cranevelt is reminded over and over again that Clodius was quite a capable fellow. There may not be much doubt that that was exactly Clodius' aim. And from the results

⁴⁶ Cf. *Litt. Cran.*, 39: "in quo quis mortalium non admiretur tuu[m] studium!"

⁴⁷ This play which was enacted on the day following St. Paul's conversion and which was called by Clodius *Compendium Epicureae Theologiae*, has been lost. Cranevelt apparently did not keep it in his collection of letters.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Litt. Cran.*, 39: "Noviomagus nos quotidie (quae [est] hominis summa humanitas) invisit. ... Mittimus cum Noviomago, bello per I[ovem] ac faceto, gnavoque tabellario, Compendium."

as they may be reconstructed from the remaining letters, one can safely deduce that Clodius achieved his aim as well. He shows himself affable and agreeable company, just the type you would like to have as a client. He had wit and humour as is manifest in the letter about the monks, and he shows himself devoted to humanistic studies. In his letters from the period he was a teacher, he stresses the use he made of Cranevelt's gifts: he wants to show he is a good and enthusiast schoolmaster. No doubt he succeeded in presenting this image of himself, because Cranevelt was annoyed at Clodius' dismissal in 1524, although he had lived in Mechlin for two years by that time.⁴⁹ By the way, this also shows that Cranevelt was a good patron, that he cared about his clients.

A last item, which may be of interest is the way Clodius addresses Cranevelt. The evidence can be found, both in the letters themselves and in the addresses on the back of the letters. There is a distinct evolution in his way of addressing himself to Cranevelt. In the earlier letters, he calls Cranevelt a very learned lawyer and his own preceptor.⁵⁰ But soon he turns to referring to Cranevelt as his patron. Interestingly enough, the first trace of this new title can be found in Ep. 88, the letter in which he explicitly asked for Cranevelt's intervention, as if their relation of patronage had to be stressed even in the title.⁵¹ After his appointment Clodius continues in the same vein: he calls Cranevelt without any problem 'his only patron'.⁵² At the same time references to Cranevelt's

⁴⁹ Cf. *Litt. Cran.*, 53 and 55, d.d. 17 April and 4 May 1523, where Fevynus defends himself against Cranevelt's accusation of having rebuked Clodius too much. De Vocht supposes that Clodius had given a version of the events of his own: if so, Clodius did probably not do this by letter, as there is no trace of such a letter in this otherwise well kept and complete collection.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 48: "observandissime praeceptor"; *Ibid.*, address: "Legum Canonumque acutissimo interpreti Domino Francisco Craneveldio, a Brugarum consiliis" (with reference to the fact that Cranevelt was a *doctor utriusque iuris*); *Litt. Bald.*, 76: "doctissime praeceptor"; *Ibid.*, address: "Iureconsultissimo doctore Francisco Craneveldio, a secretis consiliisque Bruganis".

⁵¹ Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 88, address: "Iureconsultissimo doctore et Mecoenati amplissimo, domino Francisco Craneveldio a consiliis Bruganis".

⁵² Cf. *Litt. Bald.*, 110: "[Domino Francisco Cra]nevellio, viro [omnibus (?) arti]culis absolutissimo et patrono unico Leonardus Clodius presbyter" (the opening sentence of this letter is heavily damaged, but the essential words *patrono unico* can be read clearly and without any doubt); *Ibid.*, address: "Clarissimo cum natalibus, tum omni doctrina Patrono, Francisco Craneveld[io] doctore, Brugis"; *Litt. Bald.*, 112, address: "Absolutissimo omnium literarum doctore, d<omino> Francisco Cranevellio, Patrono suo et Moece-nati Largissimo"; *Litt. Cran.*, 39, address (the opening of the letter is a reconstruction by De Vocht!): "Caesarii Senatus Sapientissimo Consiliario D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio, Patrono et Mecoenati primo".

official legal activities disappear (except in the last letter, but then Cranevelt had risen high in society): the way Clodius addresses Cranevelt tends to become more personal. Cranevelt is no longer first and foremost an important citizen, he is above all Clodius' own patron. That may also point to a development in Clodius' way of seeing things: perhaps he was more certain of Cranevelt's patronage or perhaps his relationship as a client was beginning to be based more on the actual patronage he had enjoyed than on just the difference in status between Cranevelt and himself. The relation of patronage between Cranevelt and Clodius was presumably based on prior contacts in Leuven. We are able to ascertain some fields of action: we know Cranevelt intervened on Clodius' behalf in securing his appointment as a schoolmaster and we know Cranevelt lent some books to Clodius. Although only Clodius' letters have survived and we can, therefore, say nothing about Cranevelt's way of communicating to Clodius, their correspondence is an interesting file, which reveals many aspects of life in the Bruges humanist circle. Clodius' main intention when writing these letters seems to be to make himself seen and remembered: his letters are attempts to gain attention, requests that his patron should remember him.

In this respect the three Leonardi belong all to Cranevelt's clients, but they did not have the same type of relationship. The role letters played in this patronage differed widely. Heliopolus did not write at all, but he is recommended by one of his colleagues. Vandevalus wrote on one particular occasion to ask a favour, and he could not find enough superlatives to address Cranevelt. Clodius used letters as a regular means of communication, to secure Cranevelt's favour and, above all, to secure his favourable attitude: he showed himself a capable author and a good humanist, a true member of the humanist party and an adversary of the conservative monks. What counted most was that Cranevelt fully realised — with all its implications — that Clodius 'simply loved good literature and all learned men', and that he knew 'that learned men were never unwelcome to the most learned'.

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ARSENAL MS 360 AS A WITNESS TO THE CAREER AND
WRITINGS OF BERNARD ANDRÉ*

Among the first of the early court humanists to find a position in England after Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth Field was Bernard André, the blind poet from Toulouse. The basic details of André's career have long been familiar. He was an Augustinian friar, a doctor of canon and civil law, and a tutor at Oxford. Henry VII evidently had high regard for his abilities, appointing him tutor to his eldest son and heir, Prince Arthur. Until his death around 1522, André also held the posts of poet laureate and royal historiographer under both Henry VII and Henry VIII. His fame rests primarily on his *Vita Henrici Septimi*, a work with many of the vices and few of the virtues of the new humanist historiography. A number of recent studies, in particular those of David Carlson, have helped to fill in this outline of André's career. Nonetheless, much remains obscure and many of his works are lost or unedited.¹

* My thanks to Carla Bozzolo, James Forse, Rachel Koopmans, Frank Mantello, Daniel Sheerin, and Gilbert Tournoy for their help with this article. I have expanded abbreviations (excluding numbers), standardized capitalization according to modern forms, and provided punctuation when necessary to clarify the sense of the passage; otherwise the texts are as found in the manuscript. The following abbreviations have been used:

BRUO = A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957-59).

FEA = *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, 12 vols (London: Univ. of London, 1962-67).

Memorials = *Memorials of King Henry the Seventh*, ed. James Gairdner, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 10 (London: Longman, 1858).

¹ Nothing is known of André's career before he arrived in England in 1485, although by then he was already around thirty-five years old. Mystery surrounds his introduction to Henry VII and his appointment as tutor to Prince Arthur as well. On André's writings, with references to studies, editions, and manuscripts, see David R. Carlson, 'The Writings of Bernard André (c. 1450-c. 1522)', *Renaissance Studies*, 12 (1998), 229-50. This supersedes the entry in Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 77-79. The most recent biographical sketch of André's career, with references to the earlier dictionaries, is Gilbert Tournoy, 'Bernard André', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. Peter G. Bietenholz (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1985), I, 52-53.

Scholars have known for some time of Arsenal manuscript 360 (Paris), which contains the unique copy of André's commentary on books 11-19 of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.² William Nelson first used the manuscript for its little-known list of André's works. Then in a survey of the English Austin friars, Francis Roth gave a brief overview of the manuscript's contents. While this description overlooked much and was mistaken in many details, it was still the only attempt at an inventory since the brief description in the 1885 catalogue. Gilbert Tournoy provided further details, and suggested that the manuscript would be worth further study for a better understanding of André's career and works. And Constance Blackwell studied André's commentary technique, showing how André had relied heavily on Niccolò Perotti's *Cornucopiae* to expand definitions and etymologies of various words in the original.³

For evidence on André's career, the manuscript remains almost completely unexplored. Yet careful study shows it to be a remarkable witness to fifteen years of André's life (1496-1510) instead of the two or three years previously imagined. Unlike some André manuscripts, Arsenal

Important studies dealing with André include William Nelson, *John Skelton Laureate* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939), pp. 14-31, 40-47 (on the nature of the early post of poet laureate), 239-42; Francis Roth, 'A History of the English Austin Friars', *Augustiniana*, 16 (1966), 451-61; Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Poems Written by Erasmus for Bernard André', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 27 (1978), 45-51; Constance Blackwell, 'Niccolò Perotti in England—Part I: John Anwykyll, Bernard André, John Colet and Luis Vives', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 5 (1982), 13-28; 'Humanism and Politics in English Royal Biography: The Use of Cicero, Plutarch and Sallust in the *Vita Henrici Quinti* (1438) by Titus Livius de Frulovisi and the *Vita Henrici Septimi* (1500-1503) by Bernard André', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (Binghamton, N. Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986), pp. 431-40; David R. Carlson, 'King Arthur and Court Poems for the Birth of Arthur Tudor in 1486', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 36 (1987), 147-83; 'Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22 (1991), 253-79; *English Humanist Books. Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 60-81, 203-215; Daniel Hobbins, 'The Poet Laureate as Stabilizer: Bernard André and the *Vita Regis Henrici Septimi*', *Proceedings of the Medieval Association of the Midwest*, 4 (1997), 61-79; 'The Sanctification of the Tudor Dynasty in Bernard André's *Vita Regis Henrici Septimi*', *Shakespeare and Renaissance Association of West Virginia Selected Papers*, 21 (1998), 29-40.

² It is important to distinguish between the manuscript and the commentary. The manuscript includes in addition to the commentary a preliminary quire of 22 folios, with various items, discussed below.

³ On Nelson's and Roth's editions of the list, see below, Appendix 2. Tournoy, 'Two Poems by Erasmus for André', 47-49. Blackwell, 'Niccolò Perotti in England', 17-19. Carlson includes an entry on the commentary in his recent article on André's writings: 'Writings of André', 236.

360 is by no means a presentation copy. It is instead an enormous rough draft of around seven hundred folios, probably the version taken to André's dictation and the closest we can come (given the author's blindness) to an actual autograph. Six scribes copied the text of the commentary, which is often scratched out, carelessly written, and spelled incorrectly.⁴ The pages vary in size, some are missing, extra sheets have been added, the number of lines varies widely from page to page, and the foliation is frequently incorrect. The whole impression is of a work in progress.

In my study of the manuscript, I have discovered two poems composed for a royal wedding in 1508, an excerpt from the lost *Defensio poetices*, and several short chronicles.⁵ And I have found evidence about various works of André, including several never before recorded. But what I believe most fascinating is what the commentary reveals about André's fortunes in England, what role he saw for the work, and what he hoped to accomplish by it. André organized the commentary according to a temporal pattern tied to Prince Arthur's birthday, and in this way fashioned the work into a periodic reminder of his loyal service to the prince. But circumstances — in particular the prince's death — forced him to alter his plan, and it is this changing purpose of the work that is most revealing and interesting historically. In this article I consider André's purpose in writing the commentary; the evidence it offers about his career and writings; his circle of dedicatees; and the manuscript's dating and contents. Two appendices present a thorough codicological description of the manuscript (which underlies many of my conclusions) and a new edition of the list of works.⁶

But first, I should say a few words about humanist discussions of the *De civitate Dei*.⁷ While André had some interest in the central theological

⁴ Gairdner (*Memorials*, p. xv) also notes 'very inaccurate' spelling in the manuscripts of the *Vita* and the annals for Henry VII's twentieth and twenty-third years.

⁵ At one time, I believe the commentary also included André's lost epitaph for Prince Arthur. See below, '2. Evidence regarding André's other writings'.

⁶ I should note here that in addition to all the evidence on André, the manuscript also contains the autograph marginal comments of John Burton, the primary dedicatee, up to f. 313v. I will prove this attribution and consider other evidence on Burton in another article in preparation.

⁷ For an overview of attitudes toward Augustine during the Renaissance, see John Monfasani, 'Renaissance Humanism', in *Augustine through the Ages*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald and others (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 713-16 with bibliography. See also Charles Béné, 'Les Pères de l'Eglise et la réception des auteurs classiques', in *Die Rezeption der Antike: Zum Problem der Kontinuität zwischen Mittelalter*

argument of the *De civitate Dei*, like his medieval predecessors he tended to focus more on the work's historical and literary features.⁸ Other humanists took similar approaches. André himself is witness to the 'commentaries and sacred letters' of John Burton upon at least book 11 (an unrecorded work), and from André's description it seems that Burton's treatment was much like his own.⁹ Thomas More treated the work in lectures (now lost) not 'from the theological point of view,

und Renaissance, ed. August Buck (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1981), pp. 41-53. An important collection of essays on the Renaissance commentary is *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, ed. August Buck and Otto Herding, Kommission für Humanismusforschung, 1 (Boppard: Boldt, 1975).

⁸ On the medieval tradition, see Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1960); 'John Ridewall's Commentary on *De civitate Dei*', *Medium Aevum*, 25 (1956), 140-53; and 'John Baconthorpe's Postill on St. Matthew', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1958), 112-14. Constance Blackwell remarks that unlike the medieval commentators, André 'tried always to clarify Augustine's meaning be it grammatical or religious'. 'Niccolò Perotti in England', 18. André has various interests besides philology (discussed by Blackwell), including textual criticism, biblical and classical chronology, the canonicity of the books of scripture, heresy and its origins, and astronomy and the other liberal arts. His citations to and use of contemporary authors also need further research. These include (at least) the *Apologia* of Pico (ff. 352r-354r), the *Elegantiae* of Lorenzo Valla (ff. 369r, 500v), his friend John Burton (see below), the preface to a *novissima* edition of the Bible (ff. 531r-535v), and the *Supplementum Chronicarum* of the Augustinian Jacobus Philippus Foresti of Bergamo (ff. 122v-123r). André feels a certain distaste in his use of the latter. Foresti is one of those present-day writers, he thinks, who are 'insufficiently concerned with excellent speech, but are otherwise learned in christian literature': 'Quare ex nostre fidei ac temporis scriptoribus parum exquisiti sermonis studiosis aliquin veris christiane literature doctissimis hec pauca (te ita iubente) mutuatus sum.' On Foresti, see Achim Krümmel, *Das 'Supplementum Chronicarum' des Augustinermönches Jacobus Philippus Foresti von Bergamo* (Herzberg: Traugott Bautz, 1992). The commentary also shows that André knew Greek (he quotes from Plutarch on ff. 96v-97v). References to medieval authors include Bede, Nicholas of Lyra (his postil on the Bible), the ordinary gloss on the bible, and Aquinas.

⁹ 'De Sabellianis habitu, qualitate, et substantia, vide copiosissime in his comentariis [leg. 'commentariis'] quos Joannes Burton, theologorum ac philosophorum sui temporis precellentissimus, perpetua super hunc librum memoria dignos reliquit' (f. 153v); 'Atricio [leg. 'Attritio']. De hac et contritione in sacris litteris et commentariis clarissimi doctoris Burton super hunc librum copiosissime scripta reperies' (f. 174v); '...ille [i.e. Burton] enim in arduis plerumque et theologicis questionibus mihi magno auxilio fuit, et de illis ipse suos scripserat commentarios. Ego vero tantum infima sectatus, nisi cum aliquid in ipsis divi Augustini operibus reliquis proposito meo quadrans inveniebam, commentationes istas, ut cernis lector, divino numine fultus, tenuiter sum prosecutus' (f. 349r). It seems that these last-mentioned 'commentaries on difficult theological questions' should be distinguished from the commentaries on book 11. On f. 106v, André says that Burton annotated book 11 cap. 5 'cum Francisco de Maronis'. Burton seems then to have relied upon the widely disseminated collection of excerpts (*flores*) of Francis de Mayronis O.F.M. from the *De civitate Dei*. On Burton, see further below, '3. The dedicatees'.

but from the standpoint of history and philosophy'.¹⁰ Likewise, in his famous commentary on the *De civitate Dei*, Vives was 'much more interested in the history of Roman jurisprudence than in Saint Augustine's interpretation of Genesis, more concerned with Cicero and Quintilian than with Saint Paul or Saint Jerome'.¹¹

Vives's commentary with the edition of Erasmus of course became the standard, while André's was forgotten. One might wonder who, aside from the dedicatees, read André's commentary. The evidence is scanty. The famous Italian preacher Johannes Benedictus Moncettus (OSA) wrote a letter and two poems to André in praise of the commentary, both of which were copied into the front of the manuscript.¹² Erasmus apparently saw the commentary as well, for he wrote a short poem in its praise, added after the poems of Moncettus.¹³ But it is impossible to say whether Erasmus actually read it. His poem is so short and general it cannot even be taken as proof that he saw the commentary.¹⁴ In any case, Erasmus never spoke of the commentary elsewhere, even in his correspondence with Vives (from 1520) on their projected

¹⁰ This is according to his biographer Thomas Stapleton, cited in Martin N. Raitiere, 'More's *Utopia* and *The City of God*', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 20 (1973), 144. More delivered the lectures in 1501 at St. Lawrence Jewry.

¹¹ Carlos G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), p. 137.

¹² Very little is known about Moncettus. He conducted a visitation in France and England in 1514-1515, when he saw André's commentary (see below, '4. Dating the manuscript'). On his fame as a preacher, which apparently rivaled that of Giles of Viterbo at one point, see Francis X. Martin, *Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar: Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo 1469-1532* (Villanova, Penn.: Augustinian Press, 1992), p. 61 (cf. p. 108). He was still living in 1527, when he wrote a letter from Mantua to the duke of Milan. See the references to several of his works in Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 6 vols (London: Warburg Institute, 1963-93), IV, 98a; VI, 28b; and in Francis Roth, *The English Austin Friars 1249-1538*, 2 vols (New York: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1966), I, 130, 502; II, 402.

¹³ The 6-line poem has been published first by Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Poems Written by Erasmus for Bernard André', 48 and most recently in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vols. 85-86, *Poems*, ed. Harry Vredeveld, transl. Clarence H. Miller (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 344-45, 703-5. On the dating, see below, '4. Dating the manuscript'. Since there is no evidence that the commentary ever existed in more than one version, Erasmus probably saw this copy (if he saw any copy at all), still incomplete, at that time in three volumes (see Appendix 1), and looking very much like a rough draft.

¹⁴ It is unclear why Erasmus wrote the poem. It is possible that the poems of Moncettus and Erasmus were being collected for future publication of the commentary (see below, n. 36). Along with several other humanists, Erasmus also contributed a poem in praise of André's *Hymni Christiani*, printed in 1517 (Carlson, 'Writings of André', 243).

commentary and edition of the *De civitate Dei*. Nor does Vives — who dedicated his commentary to Henry VIII — appear to have heard of André's commentary.¹⁵ Erasmus may have mentioned it to him, but the evidence suggests that the succeeding generation of humanists completely neglected it.

1. The purpose of the commentary

What is at once striking about the commentary is its mixture of forms. Taken together, it would be hard to imagine such a miscellaneous collection: poems, chronicles, eulogies, citations to and excerpts from lost works, and bits of autobiography, all addressed to six individuals over a period of fifteen years, and packaged under the label of patristic commentary.¹⁶ Most interesting historically — and most surprising since this is, after all, a commentary — is the witness it offers to the unfolding of André's career. We see André begin the commentary in book 11 (1496) with high hopes and rhetorical flourishes, invoking Prince Arthur (in lines borrowed from Virgil), only recently placed under his tuition, and deferring to his learned dedicatee, John Burton. Before long the poems come, announcing the beginning and end of each book. But Burton dies just two years into the project (1498), to the evident dismay of André, who must now search for other correctors. Still the books continue, one a year, often beginning and ending on the prince's birthday, 20 September. As the marriage between Prince Arthur and Princess Catherine approaches, André, clearly dazzled by the prospect, updates the reader (in a short chronicle) on the progress toward Catherine's arrival. His dismissal as tutor to Prince Arthur (September 1500) comes as a blow — he tells us so in dactylic hexameters (poem 10) — but he makes the most of things and throws himself into other projects. A few months after the wedding (early 1502), he prefaces book 16 with a triumphant introductory letter to his Maecenas, Richard Fox. But then with the prince's

¹⁵ Vives knew the medieval tradition: he mocks Trevet, Waleys, and Passavanti, who wrote additions to Waleys. On this and the collaboration with Erasmus, see *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen, 12 vols (London: Clarendon Press, 1906–58), V, 37–38 nn. 33, 35, and 38. On the entire project and the collaboration between Erasmus and Vives, see *ibid.*, pp. 117–18.

¹⁶ See below, '5. Inventory of the commentary', for a complete listing of these items. For dates in the commentary with references, see below, '4. Dating the manuscript'.

death (2 April 1502), André falls silent for nearly four years. One chapter into book 16, following a scribal change, he apologizes for his long silence and then bares his soul in dramatic form: 'But this I know for certain, that since I have been bereft of the half of my soul, I will never complete what remains with the kind of abundance of detail that I employed in the earlier (books).'¹⁷ From this point on (late 1505), the commentary becomes a burden to him. The old plan of a book a year is forgotten. Months, even years pass between chapters and books. The dedicatees come and go, apparently little interested in correcting André's faults, despite his frequent pleas. The poems taper off until they vanish by book 18. Henry VII dies (21 April 1509), and André says nothing for nearly a year. He rallies though, and addressing Fox once more after an eight-year interval (1510), invokes the new king and now pregnant queen before forging ahead through another thirty-five folios. There the commentary breaks off and the track is lost (probably 1510, f. 680v).

It should be apparent from this overview that André saw commentary as a rather plastic genre, permitting poetic decoration and intrusion of his own private feelings (just as in his royal biography), even chronicle interludes. There is a political element to all this. Prince Arthur is around every corner, at the beginning and end of every book written before his death (books 11-16 cap. 1). The poetry is an important clue to the strategy. André seems originally to have conceived of the books as annual tributes to the prince, just as he promises a yearly offering to Henry VII in the *Vita Henrici Septimi*.¹⁸ He ever has one eye on the future king, 'Arthur the Second', celebrated fulsomely in verse according to André's usual style.¹⁹ His preoccupation with the approaching royal wedding

¹⁷ 'Quamquam hoc certo scio, quoniam dimidio anime mee privatus sum, me numquam postea tali rerum copia ut in prioribus usus sum quod reliquum est executurum' (f. 536v).

¹⁸ At one time books 11-13 actually possessed a physical independence, each possibly circulating as a distinct codicological unit. This is clear from the quiring (see Appendix 1). See also below, '5. Inventory of the commentary', at the rubric for book 13, which first appears on f. 309v — the last folio of a quire — but then again at the beginning of the next quire on f. 311v, following various poems. The promise of a yearly offering appears in the *dedicatio* of the *Vita*: 'Itaque tibi quotannis, plus minusve, pro ingenii ubertate vel sterilitate annua persolvere est animus; quo, velut unus e colonis tuis, his saltem fructibus quos agellus meus fert agnoscere intelligar bonam fidem.' *Memorials*, p. 4.

¹⁹ André's frequent use of the designation *Arturus Secundus* is important evidence, and betrays his awareness of the name's significance, whether or not he fully embraced the notion behind it (cf. Carlson, 'King Arthur and Court Poems for the Birth of Arthur

appears from the chronicle appended to book 14, telling of Arthur's bitter disappointment at the postponement of Catherine's arrival in 1500.²⁰ Prior to the coming of the Spanish party in 1501, he consoles Arthur with a poem (12) encouraging him to pick up the commentary when the days of waiting grow long. (Dubious advice, surely, but that is beside the point.) After Arthur's death, his spirit haunts the pages. André repeatedly laments the lost prince, the last occasion nearly six years after the event.²¹ He is reluctant to continue, he says, but does so for deliverance from the languor brought on by the prince's death.²² The period of mourning seems exaggerated, even in a tutor for his former student. But it should be remembered that whatever Prince Arthur meant to André personally, he was also the key to André's continued employment. Poem 12 and the index, authorized by André and drafted for the prince while André was yet in the midst of book 14, show that André really considered the prince a primary reader, as unlikely as this sounds (Arthur died at age fifteen). His comment in March 1508, that he began the commentary when he was Prince Arthur's guest, betrays the lingering association in his mind between the prince and the commentary.²³

Tudor'). André also refers to Prince Arthur as 'Arturus Secundus' in the *Vita Henrici Septimi*: '...quibus [i.e. 'Wallenses'] Arturus Secundus, antenominati regis primogenitus princeps, cum haec scriberem dominabatur' (*Memorials*, p. 10). Based on the usage of *Arturus Secundus* in the Arsenal MS, I have modified Gairdner's edition from 'Arturus secundus' to 'Arturus Secundus': 'Arthur II', that is, not 'a second Arthur'. In the poem he had written for the creation of Prince Arthur, André actually mentions King Arthur by name: 'Haec est illa dies qua Arturi saecula magni | Effigiem pueri sub imagine cernere claram | Nostra queant' (*Memorials*, p. 44).

²⁰ It is also known that André was one of the witnesses at the marriage by proxy between Arthur and Catherine on 19 May 1499. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain*, vol. 1, *Henry VII (1485-1509)*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1862), no. 241.

²¹ Ff. 536v-539r, 547r, and 584r.

²² '[lacuna]...nemini mirum esse debet si iam pene quadrianium [*leg.* 'quadriennium'] siluerim. Sed ne torpor et inhercia que mentis hominum labefactat nobis irreperet a quo me tantus dolor detraxerat, repetere consilium [*leg.* 'consilium'] fuit' (f. 539r). Note in this context the verses André composed at some point as a eulogy for Prince Arthur, and included in his *Hymni Christiani*, ff. XLVIIv-XLVIIIr: 'In vigilia beati Matthaei'. Carlson, 'Writings of André', 231.

²³ 'In hoc capite scripturi dicturique ... e presepiis ut aiunt ad sulcos revertamur oportet, quamquam non sine magna animi egritudine excellentis recordationis Arthuri cerenissimi [*leg.* 'serenissimi'] principis, cuius hospicio hoc a nobis ut scis quantulumcumque opusculum incoavimus, prout prosequamur' (f. 584r). The person being addressed is apparently Peter Ferdinand, previously addressed on ff. 547r-548v. See further below, '3. The dedicatees'.

Likewise revealing is the construction of the commentary, with books opening and closing around the prince's birthday.²⁴ Had Arthur not died, apparently this would have continued until André had finished the commentary. At the start of book 12, he says he will complete one book a year through book 22 (the last book), when Arthur will be twenty-two years old (1508), and so mighty in virtue — no surprise to those who knew him as a child — that the commentary will be superfluous.²⁵ This is clear evidence that André foresaw a prolonged attachment to the prince even after his tutoring was over — and maybe Arthur was king. Whatever André thought of the work as a commentary, he also thought of it, without any sense of contradiction (nor need there have been any), as somehow tied to court patronage, as a work meant to oblige not so much the present king, Henry VII, as the future king, Arthur II. André did not just consider Arthur's birthday an auspicious day to open or close each book. He was also tying the commentary to a political occasion. The correspondence between the books and Arthur's age is crucial: it is astonishing but nonetheless probable that André began commenting with book 11 for no better reason than that Prince Arthur was then in his eleventh year.²⁶

²⁴ André consistently gives 20 September, here and in the *Vita Henrici Septimi* (*Memorials*, p. 41), yet S. B. Chrimes, author of the standard biography of Henry VII, gives 19 September. *Henry VII* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1972), pp. 66-67. On the other authorities see Wilhelm Busch, *England under the Tudors: King Henry VII, 1485-1509* (London: A.D. Innes, 1895), p. 324, n. 10. Sydney Anglo, 'The British History in Early Tudor Propaganda', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 44 (1961), 32-33, n. 2 cites British Museum Add. ms. 6113 f. 76a for the birth of Arthur at 'about one o'clock in the morning of 20 September 1486'.

²⁵ 'Alios deinceps annos, si mihi tam longe maneat pars ultima vite [Verg., *ecl.*, 4, 48], spiritus per totidem huius sacris [*sic pro* 'sacri'] operis volumina consecuturus. Atque ubi secundum et vicesimum annum feliciter attigerit, nos quoque vicesimum et secundum huius operis volumen sub eius felicibus auspiciis absolvemus. Si vatum non irrita currunt auguria [Stat., *silv.*, 5, 2, 172-73], post ubi ad illam aetatem pervenerit, reliquam [*sic pro* 'reliqua'] nobis proseguere non erit opus. Quippe suis ipse virtutum gradibus, quibus inde a puero ad virilem ascendet etatem sine alicuius adminiculo solum paterna virtute subnixus, felicissime transiget' (199v). (My thanks to G. Tournoy for drawing the classical references to my attention.) There is an echo of this notion, that Prince Arthur had a great store of natural virtue, in the *Vita Henrici Septimi*. See *Memorials*, p. 43.

²⁶ This is André's way of referring to the prince's age, in contrast to our 'ten years' old'. The regnal years were figured in the same way (e.g. 22 August 1485-21 August 1486 = 1 Henry VII). In starting from book 11, André took advantage of a natural division between books 10-11 in the *De civitate Dei*. As part of the prologue, André quotes (f. 1v) the entire last paragraph of book 10 ('Quapropter...expediam'), where Augustine summarizes the first ten books, but André never states clearly why he is starting from book 11, although he does mention Prince Arthur's eleventh year beginning. But by the end of

Seen from this angle, the work loses some of its independence as disinterested scholarship, and appears as much a calculated gesture, intended to punctuate the prince's birthdays with new books and occasional verse, and to remind everyone of André's service. This hardly comes as a surprise. André kept politics before him throughout his career as a matter of instinct, and probably survival.²⁷

But this is by no means to suggest that the work is merely a series of courtly offerings strung together with bits of St. Augustine and masquerading as patristic commentary. Most of the text is straightforward commentary, which Burton clearly read as such. If we are to believe André, it was Burton's 'highest desire' that he complete the work over the years of Arthur's life. The death of Burton was a serious blow to all scholars, he says, such that he nearly gave up the commentary in despair. But his friends urged him on, he claims, for hope of reward in heaven and the prayers of the learned for his soul after death. It was this, he says, that finally kept him at the task. His new audience: all those studious in letters.²⁸ Nor did André give up the project after Arthur's death, although he says he nearly did, and he certainly worked at it halfheartedly before finally abandoning it in book 19. He probably continued because he considered it more than just an educational tool for the prince, or some chiseled literary toy to send an admiring humanist circle. According to the original plan, this was to have been a work of twelve year's labor. (It turned into fourteen, but that was not all his fault.) Had André continued to write with the same industry he showed in books 11-16, the final product would have been a work of over twelve hundred folios. As his hopes for the *suffragia precum* of the learned suggest, he seems originally to have thought of the commentary as his magnum opus (his theme not inappropriate for an Augustinian friar), a sort of legacy to humanist scholarship, and he clearly imagined a fairly

book 11, he is drawing the clear parallel between the books and Prince Arthur's age, and he continues to do this until Arthur's death.

²⁷ On this tendency in his career, see Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, pp. 60-81, esp. 78-79.

²⁸ 'Discussis paululum predictae molestiae super amici obitu tenebris, cuius quidem (ut dixi) iactura gravis studiosis omnibus extitit, nam morte sua opus presens desperatum pene reliqueram. Sed salutis anime suae consulens, sciebam enim summum illius desiderium semper fuisse ut hoc opus per annos serenissimi principis Arthuri ut incepti ad finem usque perducerem, amicorum etiam precibus efflagitatus [*leg.* 'efflagitatus'] ut, quamvis nullum tanti laboris premium fuerim ab illo consecutus, tamen in celis mercedem sperarem, et in hac vita ab omnibus litteratis post obitum precum suffragia ut aliqua ex parte mererer, iterum opus istud aggressus sum' (ff. 348v-349r).

wide readership for his work.²⁹ Even incomplete as it stands, none of André's other surviving works comes near it in length. The list of dedicatees (see below), most of them authors with reputations for learning, further betrays his ambitious attempt at a learned audience.

But this purpose evolved over the years, particularly following the death of Prince Arthur. The books grow shorter and the verses stop. Book 18 ends and 19 begins without ceremony, address, date, or a single line of verse. André works on and off, with no sense of conviction, until shortly into the new reign. Sometime probably in the first year (1510), he realizes that he could be spending his time more wisely — that the political winds have changed, and his commentary is no longer the thing it once was — and abandons the final books.³⁰

What seems odd at this point is that he then began commenting upon book 1. The list of his works, probably copied between 1511-1513,³¹ shows him already commenting on books 1-10, with 19-22 still unfinished. Why the change? There is an important piece of external evidence to consider here. David Carlson has drawn attention to a short, anonymous commentary on the eighth book of the *De civitate Dei*, bound in a manuscript with works of André and probably composed in 1517.³² In an introductory poem, the anonymous author makes a direct link between book 8 and the eighth year of Henry VIII's reign. Additional evidence (considered below) establishes André's authorship with fair certainty. It seems likely then that early in the new reign — a precarious time for all humanists in England, perhaps especially so for André³³ — he decided it was time to cultivate the graces of the new king, and that he could best do this not by continuing the present commentary — for what purpose would that serve? — but by starting afresh with the first book, which would correspond to the new king's first regnal year. Just as he originally began the commentary with book 11 to correspond to Arthur's eleventh year, so he returned to book 1 to correspond to the year 1 Henry VIII.³⁴ Here was a new and useful employment for the

²⁹ Further evidence of this comes from poem 5, addressed to the readers, and the explicit to book 14. See below, '5. Inventory of the commentary'.

³⁰ Probably what we have is about all there ever was. The last folio entered in the index is f. 680, and the list of works on f. Tr describes the commentary as 'nec adhuc impletum'.

³¹ See below, '4. Dating the manuscript'.

³² Carlson, 'Writings of André', no. 34, pp. 246-47.

³³ See here especially Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, pp. 64-67.

³⁴ Since André is still working on book 19 in early 1510, this means that if I am correct, and André did move to book 1 to correspond to 1 Henry VIII, he may have written all of

commentary. By the time he reaches book 8, over twenty years after he began with book 11, the commentary, now shriveled (the manuscript has twelve folios³⁵), has become another in his series of courtly offerings to the king. The old dream of a major work of humanist scholarship, and with it his hopes for a large and learned audience, were gone forever.³⁶ The manuscript soon passed to the College of Navarre in Paris, and so out of knowledge altogether except for the handwritten catalogue at the College itself. John Bale, who included an entry on André for his 1559 catalogue of British writers, knew nothing of any commentary, and it was not until the 1885 Arsenal manuscript catalogue — where the manuscript ended up after the Revolution — that it came to the notice of modern scholars.

2. Evidence regarding André's other writings

Lost works

In the preliminary quire at the front of the manuscript is a contemporary list of the works of Bernard André (see below, Appendix 2). The commentary itself provides details about certain of these works that are now lost.

- 1) The *Defensio poetices* (no. 2 on the list) was written before September 1497, probably in 1496 or early 1497; André's commentary on book 11 contains an excerpt of the work (ff. 164v-166r).³⁷ It is a dialogue, consisting of one speech given each to *Theologia* and to *Poesis*,

book 18 and what there is of book 19 (36 folios for both books) early in 1510; this would give him time to complete book 1 before 21 April (since 1 Henry VIII = 22 April 1509 to 21 April 1510). Given the shortness of the later books, and especially of book 18, he was certainly capable of doing this. It is also possible that he did not immediately abandon the later books, but continued working on them even after he began book 1.

³⁵ Carlson, 'Writings of André', 247.

³⁶ I take the poems of Moncettus and Erasmus, written no earlier than June 1515, to suggest that even this late, André may still have harbored hopes for future publication of at least his commentary upon books 11-19.

³⁷ André uses the title *Defensio poetices* on f. 445r. Earlier on f. 154r he calls the work *dialogi nostri cum Lactantio Firmiano* (but on f. 166v simply *dialogi nostri*), and the list on f. Tr (n° 2) calls it *Deffensio poetarum in dyalogo*. According to the list and f. 445r-v, the work is dedicated to Prince Arthur. Since André became Arthur's tutor in 1496, it seems safe to take this as the earliest possible date.

who discuss the nature of poetic language by citing passages from scripture and classical mythology.

- 2) The elegy for Giovanni Gigli (no. 30 on the list) contained seventy-four verses. André gives the incipit, 'Hei mihi quid patior...', and says that he has included it in the volume (f. 349v), but I can find no evidence that the elegy was ever part of the manuscript.³⁸
- 3) André begins discussing his grief over Prince Arthur's death on f. 536v. Disappointingly, the next two folios, the first of a quire, are missing. At the top of f. 539r, André is drawing his account to a close. Happily, there is an entry in the index for f. 537 under the letter *E* (f. Dv): 'epitaphium Arthuri, 537'. The epitaph for Prince Arthur (n° 31 on the list) was probably on f. 537 and perhaps f. 538.
- 4) André says (f. 547r-v) that he went to the house of Giles Daubeney on 26 April 1507 to tutor his son Henry. We may suppose then that André wrote the *Libellus de omnigenis verborum naturis* (n° 37 on the list), addressed to Henry Daubeney, shortly after this date.³⁹

The commentary itself contains references to three lost works not mentioned in the list:

- 1) an epitaph for Edmund, duke of Somerset, third son of Henry VII, who died 18 June 1500;⁴⁰
- 2) an *Enchiridion principum* for Prince Arthur, written sometime before 1500, presumably 1496-99;⁴¹ and

³⁸ Cf. Carlson, 'Writings of André', 233. The elegy is n° 30 on the list (f. Tv).

³⁹ André mentions this in extenuation of his silence for the past six months or so. Cf. Carlson, 'Writings of André', 238.

⁴⁰ F. 460r. Busch gives 12 June for Edmund's death (*Henry VII*, p. 167), while Chrimes gives 19 June (*Henry VII*, p. 67 n. 3).

⁴¹ 'Nos quoque sub tegmine quercus apud Bellum Locum in vigilia Pentecostes, quantum Deus adiuverit cum ipso beato Augustino hoc in capite colloquemur. Sub hac autem felici arbore superioribus annis Poetices defensionem et Principum enchiridion Arthuro Principi nostrae aetatis principum litteratissimo composuimus' (f. 445r-v). In 1501 John Skelton wrote a *Speculum principis* for the future Henry VIII. See F. M. Salter, 'Skelton's *Speculum Principis*', *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 25-37; and Nelson, *John Skelton Laureate*, pp. 74-76. On the humanist taste for works on the governing of princes, see *ibid.*, pp. 15-16. André may also have compiled, for Prince Arthur, London, British Library ms. Royal 16 F II, which contains (ff. 210v-248v) an earlier French work on the government of princes, the so-called *Grace entiere*. See Timothy Hobbs, 'Prosimetrum in *Le Livre dit Grace Entiere sur le fait du gouvernement d'un Prince*, the Governance of a Prince Treatise in British Library MS Royal 16 F ii', in *Littera et Sensus: Essays on Form and Meaning in Medieval French Literature presented to John Fox*, ed. D.A. Trotter (Exeter: Univ. of Exeter, 1989), pp. 49-62, esp. p. 54; and Carlson, 'Writings of André', 245 (with further references). See also on this MS *Charles d'Orléans, Poésies*, ed. J. Fox,

- 3) a *libellus* on the arrival of Princess Catherine into London in 1501, written shortly after the event (so after 12 November 1501; f. 529r-v). André's was one of several contemporary accounts of this event.⁴²

Extant works

The commentary also provides information on one surviving work of André, the *Vita Henrici Septimi*. Writing to Bishop Fox in early 1502, André says that he intends to include in 'the history committed to us' the deeds performed in recent years by Henry VII and by Louis XII, king of France.⁴³ André says this at a time when he is still working on the *Vita*, which he began after 22 August 1500 and set aside sometime after 2 April 1502.⁴⁴ This history must surely be the royal biography. Yet the

Textes Littéraires, 9 (Exeter: Univ. of Exeter, 1973), pp. xvi-xxiii; and Véronique Wakerley, 'Heloys: André or Andreas? A Problem of Authorship in MS Royal 16 F II in the British Museum Library', *Nottingham French Studies*, 35 (1996), 18-26.

⁴² For the others, see Busch, *Henry VII*, pp. 353-54 n. 5; also John Leland, *De rebus britannicis collectanea*, 2nd ed. (London, 1774), V, 356-73.

⁴³ The Latin indicates that André had not yet included this in the history. 'Pretereo consulto igitur que in his proximis annis gesta fuere maxima quum a Franco tum invictissimo nostro Anglie rege, longe lateque per totum terrarum orbem vulgatissima, eadem in hystoria nobis commissa, si non eleganter, veridice tamen omnia *prosequuturi*, annuente Domino Jesu Christo' (f. 529v).

⁴⁴ This date for the beginning of the *Vita Henrici Septimi* requires some explanation. Following André, Gairdner says that André began the *Vita* in 1500, but adds that 'the mention of Michael Dyacon, bishop of St. Asaph, at page 33, proves that part of the work to have been written in 1500, while Dyacon was still alive' (*Memorials*, p. xi). There are two problems with this. In the passage referred to, André is describing those who were present after Henry VII's victory at the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485. Dyacon (or Diacre) was among them, but André does not say that he is still alive, but *felicis recordationis*. Since Dyacon died before 10 March 1500 (*FEA*, vol. 11, *The Welsh Dioceses*, compiled by B. Jones, p. 39), this section must have been written after this date. The other problem with Gairdner's explanation is that André refers to Richard Fox as bishop of Winchester in the very same sentence. But Fox was only translated to Winchester from Durham on 20 August 1501 (*FEA*, vol. 10, *Coventry and Lichfield Diocese*, compiled by B. Jones, p. 47). This pushes the earliest possible date for this passage back to sometime after this date. The passage in question tells us nothing about when André began the work. In fact, Gairdner overlooked an important piece of evidence on the dating. In the *praefatio* to the *Vita*, André says that he began the work in the year 1500, the sixteenth year of Henry VII (*Memorials*, p. 7). The year 16 Henry VII does not begin until 22 August 1500. André began the *Vita*, then, sometime between 22 August and 31 December 1500. A problem here is that André also says he began the work in year 10 of Pope Alexander VI (crowned 26 Aug. 1492), but year 10 of his reign only began on 26 August 1501; I take it then as a mistake for year 9. André would more likely have mistaken the regnal year of the pope than of his own patron, the king of England. On the closing date of the *Vita*, see

Vita ends abruptly with the defeat of Perkin Warbeck in 1497 — an odd point at which to end the narrative — and says nothing of the deeds of Louis XII. Further, it might be thought unusual that André planned to include the deeds of the king of France in his life of Henry VII. But in fact earlier in the commentary, in a short chronicle for the year 1500 (written on 6 June), he mentions the campaign of Louis XII against Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan:

We continued this holy work for a time, when the aforesaid Louis XII of France thundered in war against the Insubrians — that is the Milanese — and took into public custody the Insubrian duke himself, Ludovico Sforza, captured by the Parisians while disguised as a friar.⁴⁵

I suspect that André would have included this episode — which occurred in April 1500 — in the *Vita* had he completed it. If Arthur's death dealt such a blow to André that he dropped the commentary for nearly four years, it seems likely that he abandoned the *Vita* shortly after Arthur's death for the same reason. The gaps and omissions in the manuscript (described by Gairdner) support this interpretation.⁴⁶

Memorials, p. xi. Since André abandons the commentary after Arthur's death for nearly four years, I would put the closing date of the *Vita* very soon after April 1502.

⁴⁵ "Interim opus hoc divinum continuavimus, dum prefatus Ludovicus 12^{us} Franciae in Insubres, id est Mediolanenses, bella fulminat, ipsumque ducem Insubrum Ludovicum Forciam [*sic pro* 'Sforzam'] in habitu fratris captum Parisiis publica detinet custodia" (f. 445v). On the phrase *in habitu fratris* — 'disguised as a friar', a Franciscan according to various sources (but like a Swiss pikeman according to others) — see Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 116 and 273, n. 48. Note that the list of works (n° 18) also mentions *De Karolo Francie in Italiam egloge due*, presumably commemorating Charles VIII's Italian campaign of 1494-95. As to the claim of the king of England to the throne of France, although the king of England was still being styled 'the king of England and of France' at this time (and continued to be called so until the first day of the nineteenth century), this was hardly taken literally anymore by the late fifteenth century. Henry VII had used the claim as a bargaining chip in 1491 for his campaign into France, and turned it into a yearly pension from the king of France. See Kenneth Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government: Henry VII* (Cambridge, England: Univ. of Cambridge Press, 1934), 22-23; on the dropping of the title 'King of France', see *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E.B. Fryde and others, 3rd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), p. 47. Furthermore, relations between England and France were particularly friendly at this period. They had concluded a commercial treaty in May 1497, and in the summer of 1499 Louis had seized John Taylor, an adherent of Perkin Warbeck, and handed him over to Henry. Louis also spent money to purchase friendships at the English court. On these matters, see Busch, *Henry VII*, pp. 128-30; on the campaign of Louis XII against the duke of Milan, p. 169; and Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, pp. 112-18, esp. 116-17. Note finally that Henry had originally received French military and financial help that led to his victory over Richard III in 1485.

⁴⁶ Further consideration of this point would require a careful examination of the manuscript, as well as a comparison to other presentation manuscripts. Cf. Gairdner's description, *Memorials*, pp. xiii-xvi.

Another important passage in the commentary casts light on the *Vita* and on André's career. Writing in the commentary sometime after 20 September 1500, André says that the king and Prince Arthur have decided to suspend the prince's studies due to the approaching arrival of Princess Catherine, but that he has been retained in the king's service. This gives an approximate date of 20 September for his dismissal as tutor.⁴⁷ Further, his reference in the *Vita* to his retirement from court life as a pretext for beginning the work (in words copied directly from Sallust⁴⁸), when considered with this passage suggests two things: (1) that André began the *Vita* at this point, around 20 September 1500 or perhaps slightly later (but certainly after 22 August 1500), after he had been dismissed from his position as Arthur's tutor; and (2) that it was at this time he was appointed royal historiographer in addition to his duties as poet laureate, as indicated by the phrase *hystoria nobis commissa*. André styles himself 'poet laureate' from beginning to end of the commentary, but first uses *regius historicus* only in the colophon to book 16, written in 1508, and I can find no record of this title being used elsewhere before 1500. So the title first appears in the *Vita*.

The timeline of the *Vita*, on the other hand, provides a clue to the composition of the commentary. André was spending less time on the commentary from the time his tutelage of Arthur ended and he was apparently appointed royal historiographer (around 20 September 1500), until Arthur's death on 2 April 1502. He filled only seventy folios (ff. 467r-536r) over this entire period. The likeliest reason is that he was then working on the royal biography, along with other occasional works such as the *libellus* on the arrival of Princess Catherine into London.

⁴⁷ 'Postquam ita sapientissimi regis nostri ac serenissimi eius primogeniti principis, Arthuri Secundi, decreto voluntateque constitutum est in [*Tournoy: sic pro 'ut'?*] hoc xiiii ['xv°' *add. sup. lin.*] etatis sue anno ob propinquum illustrissime coniugis sue adventum litterarum studia intermittantur, meque indignissimum ad suum regia majestas servitium retinuit ne turpi otio reliquum vite transigam inglorius' (f. 467r-v). Princess Catherine's arrival was still thought to be nearly nine months away at this point, and André may have been surprised that his tutelage had been brought to an end (perhaps abruptly). In poem 10, written just after this occurred, André describes his condition (ll. 5-6): 'meum longo concussum...pectus | Principis Arthuri discessu'. On André's career as tutor to Prince Arthur, see Carlson, 'Royal Tutors', 255-59. André received a benefice on 31 December 1500 (*Memorials*, pp. ix-x).

⁴⁸ 'Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis requievit, et reliquam aetatem a curia procul habendam decrevi...statui res gestas Regis Henrici Septimi carptim, ut quaeque memoriae mihi occurrentia, absque ullo instructore, digna mihi videbantur, perscribere' (*Memorials*, pp. 7-8). This is nearly a word-for-word borrowing from *Bellum Catilinae*, iv. Cf. Blackwell, 'Humanism and Politics in English Royal Biography', p. 437.

Poetry composed or modified for the commentary

The commentary includes eighteen poems. André composed most of these (1-16) specifically for the commentary, or else modified them for inclusion. Technically, these should be considered part of the commentary and not separate works. Some of the poems barely mention the commentary. So in poem 2, an epistolary poem sent to Burton, André describes Henry VII's victory over Perkin Warbeck in lines 1-44, and asks Burton to join the poem to book 11 in the final eight lines. It is possible that these lines were omitted in other copies that may have circulated at the time. The poems for Arthur's birthdays likewise say little (poem 3) or nothing (poem 8) about the commentary. But the commentary is integral to the themes of poems 1, 5-6, 9-12, and 14-16. Taken together, they cover a broad range of themes, and of course reflect André's involvement in matters of state interest, particularly his tutelage of Prince Arthur during the first part of the commentary.⁴⁹

Poetry composed for other occasions

André did compose two poems for another occasion, which he then inserted into the commentary; these should be considered separate works⁵⁰: (1) poem 17, written around 17 December 1508, on the arrival of a legation into England for the public betrothal of Princess Mary to Prince Charles, archduke of Austria; and (2) poem 18, an epithalamium for their projected wedding, written around the same time. Pietro Carmeliano likewise wrote an epithalamium for the occasion.⁵¹ And André composed a French poem for this event as well, his *Chançon Faicte en Lhonneur de Madame Marie*, published by Gairdner. The annal for the twenty-third year also reveals his interest in the proposed marriage.⁵²

⁴⁹ For brief descriptions of the poems, see below, '5. Inventory of the commentary'.

⁵⁰ That André composed poem 17 for the occasion and not the commentary is evident from his introduction: 'Composui tamen in eorum adventus gratulationem extemporalia que sequuntur [leg. 'sequuntur'] quantulacumque carmina.' The evidence is less certain, though probable, for poem 18, introduced immediately after poem 17 as 'Eiusdem anpithalamium' [leg. 'epithalamium']. It makes no reference to the commentary.

⁵¹ See the reference in Gilbert and Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Giovanni Gigli and the Renaissance of the Classical Epithalamium in England', in *Myricae. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef IJsewijn*, ed. by Dirk Sacré and Gilbert Tournoy, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia* 16 (Louvain: Leuven Univ. Press, 2000), p. 147, n. 27.

⁵² The poem is printed in *Memorials*, pp. 95-96. Cf. Carlson, 'Writings of André', 240. For the annal, see *Memorials*, pp. 102-103. For an account of this event, see Busch, *Henry VII*, pp. 218-28; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 291-97.

Works of uncertain attribution

Finally, the commentary offers additional proof that a work thought to be by André is in fact his. I mentioned above an anonymous commentary on book 8 of the *De civitate Dei*. The author describes his method at the outset:

Prosequentes igitur quem in superioribus commentariis observavimus ordinem, prius capitis summam post partium distributionem, dein vocabulorum significationes differentiasque.⁵³

Now this is the exact method that André uses in the Arsenal commentary, a method that Burton favored for ease of reading, as he tells John Argentein:

Presens caput hoc in summa breviter ostendit, quod sicut iniqui male utuntur lege que bona est, ita iusti bene utuntur mor<t>e que mala est [Aug. civ. 13,5]. Sex autem partibus, ut planius intelligatur, illud dividemus, quamquam scio tot partium sextionem [*leg.* 'sectionem'] oratoriis institutionibus non respondere; sed ita me voluit ut scis, Argentine philosophorum literatissime, amicus ille noster Burton dum viveret, propter faciliorem legentium intellectum, ut idem aiebat, procedere (f. 354r).

And André uses almost the exact words of the anonymous commentary to describe this method, at the outset of several books in the Arsenal commentary:

... et eo quem in superioribus servavi ordine procedens huius presentis capitis partitionem primitus attingam (f. 392v, book 14).

Ordinem autem quem in superioribus comentariis [*leg.* 'commentariis'] observavi, eundem in hoc quoque volumine Christo duce tenebo. Primum enim totius capitis summa [*sic pro* 'summam'] post eiusdem partes attingens et partium ordinem et summam et difficultum vocabulorum explanacionem, adiuvante Domino Jesu Christo, patefecero (f. 468r, book 15).

Procedendi autem modus qui in superioribus, idem a me hic quoque observabitur. Nam prius capitis summam, deinde divisionem, postea partium ordinem sive constructionem, demum vero per totum caput immo vero et corpus tam vocabulorum quam divinatorum passuum annotamenta, quam brevissime potero, pertractabo (f. 624v, book 17).

⁵³ Carlson, 'Writings of André', 247. Cf. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (London: Warburg Institute, 1989), IV, 37a.

A further point in favor of this attribution is that the anonymous author links book 8 to the eighth year of Henry's reign, just the kind of numerical correspondence that André found so seductive. Absolute identification must await a study of the text itself, but there can now be little doubt that André is the author.

3. The dedicatees

Following classical models,⁵⁴ André dedicates his books to various individuals:

Book(s) (folios)	Years	Dedicatees
11-13 (1-347r, passim)	1496-1498	John Burton, London chaplain and counselor to Prince Arthur
13 (354r)	1498 or 1499	John Argentein, physician to Prince Arthur
14 (392r)	1499	John Arundel, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield
15-16 (465r, 467r, 527v, 529r-v)	1500-1502	Richard Fox, keeper of the Privy Seal and bishop of Durham; from 20 August 1501 bishop of Winchester ⁵⁵
16 (547r-548v, 584r?)	1507	Peter Ferdinand, a Spanish physician
17-18 (624r-v, 643r)	1508-1509	Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London
18 (643r-v)	1510	Richard Fox

The commentary says very little about most of these individuals, but it does provide a clearer picture of André's circle of friends and patrons. He probably knew Burton, Argentein, and Arundel as members of the court of Prince Arthur. John Burton, described as *primarius sacerdos et consiliarius* to Prince Arthur in London (f. 347v), was a close friend of André.⁵⁶ Argentein was physician and dean of the chapel to Prince Arthur, and as such probably often at Windsor between 1486 and 1502.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ See further Tore Jansen, *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964), pp. 106-112 and 141-43.

⁵⁵ *FEA*, vol. 4, *Monastic Cathedrals (Southern Province)*, compiled by B. Jones, p. 47.

⁵⁶ On Burton, see *BRUO*, I, 319; III, xvii. See also above, n. 6.

⁵⁷ Dennis E. Rhodes, 'Provost Argentine of King's and His Books', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 2 (1954-58), 208. More recently on Argentein,

John Arundel likewise served in the prince's court, as chancellor in 1493.⁵⁸ The name of Richard Fox comes as no surprise; as in the *Vita Henrici Septimi*, he is André's beloved Maecenas.⁵⁹ Peter Ferdinand is probably Peter Fernandez (†1533), a Spanish physician who spent much of his life in London.⁶⁰ And André may have known Richard Fitzjames, who held posts as chaplain (by 1489) and almoner (1495) to Henry VII, from court as well, where Fitzjames frequently preached. André also mentions Fitzjames in his annal for the twenty-third year, preaching in October 1507 at St. Paul's Cross, London.⁶¹

André refers to one other individual in his eulogy on Burton. This is John Alcock, bishop of Ely, whom André calls his *praecipuus Maecenas*.⁶² Apparently the word *Maecenas* could mean anyone who had helped sponsor André in some special way. Alcock, author of various spiritual works and renowned for his sanctity, had tutored King Edward V and baptized Prince Arthur.⁶³

It is clear from this list that André knew the right people to establish a reputation for serious scholarship. With the exception of Ferdinand, an

see Damian Riehl Leader, 'John Argentine and Learning in Medieval Cambridge', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 33 (1984), 71-85; also Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 204-205. André mentions Argentine only once, in direct address, just after Burton's death; strictly speaking, he is not a dedicatee but an addressee.

⁵⁸ *BRUO*, I, 51. Arundel was made bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1496, but could easily have maintained his ties to court.

⁵⁹ *Memorials*, p. 33. 'Adde quod hiis maius musarum maximus iste | Cultor et antistes, Mecenat verus in omnes | Dunnelmense decus te numquam deseret' (poem 10, ll. 13-15, f. 467r); rubric to poem 11. André does not mention Fox by name on f. 643r-v, but refers again to his Maecenas: 'Tali igitur tamque fausto, felici, quoque regnante principe, Henrico Octavo, ad quem potissimum nisi ad te, Mescenatem [*leg.* 'Maecenatem'] nostrum benignissimum, annalis taciturnitas redeat nescio, presertim in hoc novelli regis regnandi primordio' (f. 643v). The passage indicates that André is returning to Fox as his corrector after a hiatus.

⁶⁰ See C.H. Talbot - E.A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: A Biographical Register* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1965), p. 247. Elsewhere he is called 'ferdinando Yspano': *Registrum annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1483-1521*, ed. H.E. Salter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 140.

⁶¹ *Memorials*, p. 100. On Fitzjames, see *BRUO*, II, 691-92; III, xxiii. André's dedication of book 17 to Fitzjames casts doubt upon the idea that the bishop was 'unsympathetic to the new learning' (*BRUO*, II, 691).

⁶² '...reverendissimus dominus Johannes Holcot [*sic pro* 'Alcock'] episcopus Heliensis, meus precipuus, immo vero omnium litteratorum, verus Mecenat...' (f. 347v). *FEA*, vol. 4, *Monastic Cathedrals (Southern Province)*, p. 15. The scribes seem to have had particular trouble with unfamiliar proper names, perhaps because they were being dictated. See also the spellings of Fitzjames by a different scribe in the headings to poems 15 and 16 (see below under '5. Inventory of the commentary').

⁶³ Entry by James Bass Mullinger in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I, 236-37.

old friend of André's who acted as his personal physician at various times⁶⁴, all of these individuals showed an interest in learning; and all — except Arundel, renowned for his love of learning⁶⁵ — wrote works themselves or left libraries that indicate an interest in scholarship. It is also no coincidence that all of these individuals (excepting Ferdinand) held positions at court around the same time as André.

4. Dating the manuscript

Poems, dates at beginnings and ends of books, brief chronicles, and short autobiographical passages allow for the precise dating of the commentary over a fifteen-year period. The dating of the items in the preliminary quire at the front of the manuscript calls for special discussion.

Sometime after André abandoned the commentary in 1510, it was bound into three volumes (see Appendix 1), and the index compiled for Prince Arthur back on 17 June 1500⁶⁶ was bound at the front of the first volume. A list of André's works was then copied onto the first blank page following the index, what is the twentieth page of a quire of twenty-two. The list could not have been written before 1510 for several reasons: (1) it was clearly copied at one time — the hand is continuous and shows no signs of interruption; (2) the sixth item speaks of an embassy 'coram regia maiestate Henrici Septimi *et Octavi tunc parvuli*', and so could not have been copied before 22 April 1509, when Henry VIII was crowned; and (3) the last two, probably three items were begun only during the reign of Henry VIII.⁶⁷ The entire list was probably copied during the early reign of Henry VIII, between 1511-1513⁶⁸, but possibly as late as 1515. The letter of Moncettus on ff. Uv-Vr, dated

⁶⁴ '... non potui vero amicissimo et tamquam fratri carissimo hanc, quantulumcumque est, facultatem meam denegare: huic enim omnem operam et industriam hanc denique vitam toties ab eodem preservatam et ab helisua [*leg.* 'elysia'] reductam suo plaga caduceo, et quidquid in vorbe [*leg.* 'orbe'] hoc posideo [*leg.* 'possideo'], jure optimo debeo ad hunc' (ff. 547v-548r).

⁶⁵ Entry by W. P. Courtney in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I, 618.

⁶⁶ See below, '5. Inventory of the commentary'.

⁶⁷ Note also that the second item describes Arthur as 'felicissime recordationis'.

⁶⁸ This allows time for beginning both the commentary on the first ten books of the *De civitate Dei* and the history of Henry VIII (list n°s 44-45), and for completing the *libellus* of epigrams (n° 46). Since the list contains only three works composed during Henry VIII's reign, two of these unfinished, I would put the list closer to 1511 than to 1515.

10 June 1515, has to be a copy (as part of the same quire), and with the two poems of Moncettus — all copied by the same scribe, who copied only these three items — could have been copied anytime from 10 June 1515 onward. Erasmus's poem, which follows the last poem but in a different hand, was the last item copied into the manuscript, probably during one of his visits to England in July-August 1516 or April 1517.⁶⁹ The blank pages following the index appear to be a kind of repository for anything relating to André or the commentary: a list of his writings, a laudatory letter, and poems in his honor. The fact that three different scribes copied these items underlines the ongoing nature of the enterprise.

Starting from the front of the manuscript, we come up with the following dates:

Location (folio(s))	Date
word index (Av-Sv)	17 June 1500 ⁷⁰
completion of word index (Ar-Sv)	1511 to early 1515, but after the list of writings
list of André's writings (Tr-v)	1511 to 1513, perhaps as late as early 1515
letter and poems of Moncettus (Uv-Vv)	after 10 June 1515
poem of Erasmus (Vv)	after the letter and poems of Moncettus, probably 1516-1517

⁶⁹ Cf. *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 86, *Poems*, p. 704, preferring the date of April 1517, while Erasmus was staying at the house of Andrea Ammonio; and Tournoy, 'Two Poems Written by Erasmus for Bernard André', 50. On these visits of Erasmus, see R. J. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe: The Prince of Humanists 1501-1536* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 197, 200; see also Craig R. Thompson, 'Erasmus and Tudor England', in *Actes du Congrès Erasme*, Rotterdam 27-29 octobre 1969 (Amsterdam and London: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1971), p. 31 n. 13. A final word about the index. Suetonius Skern foliated and indexed ff. 1-474. At some point a second hand finished foliating and indexing the commentary up to f. 680. This hand wrote and then crossed out the letter Z and two entries on f. Ur, and then rewrote them at the bottom of f. Sv (perhaps when, after finishing the index, the scribe realized that there was room for them on f. Sv without wasting a whole blank page for only two entries). This seems clear proof that the list on f. Tr-v had already been written at the time, and suggests an earlier rather than a later date for the list (i.e., closer to 1511 than to 1515).

⁷⁰ 'Principis Arthuri impensis hec facta tabella est in Bello Loco anno Domini M CCCC die xvii^o Junii et illustrissimi nostri Henrici VII regni anno xv composita ab eiusdem serenissimi principis preceptore Bernardo Andree [*sic pro* 'Andrea'] et per manum Suetonii Skern conscripta' (f. Av).

beginning of book 11 (1r)	on or just after 20 September 1496 ⁷¹
end of book 11 (189v)	20 September 1497 ⁷²
beginning of book 12 (199r)	on or soon after 20 September 1497 ⁷³
end of book 12 (309r)	20 September 1498 ⁷⁴
poem to Burton before the beginning of book 13 (310v)	30 September 1498 ⁷⁵
death of Burton (347r-349v)	after 21 December 1498, before 1 January 1499 ⁷⁶
end of book 13 cap. 5 (358r)	1 January 1499 or after ⁷⁷
poem for Arthur's thirteenth birthday (391v)	20 September 1499 or after ⁷⁸
book 14 cap. 17 (445r)	6 June 1500 ⁷⁹
end of book 14 cap. 24 (460r-v)	after 18 June 1500 ⁸⁰
end of book 14 (462r-465r)	sometime after 24 July 1500 ⁸¹

⁷¹ Prince Arthur has just begun his eleventh year: 'Ergo ades tu quoque clara generatus in urbe "...inceptumque una decurre laborem, | O decus, O fame merito pars maxima nostra, | Arthure, hoc pelago que volans da vela secundo | Alter ab undecimo sic iam tibi ceperit annus"' (f. 2r). André is here imitating Vergil, *eccl.* 2,39-41. A marginal note (placed by the scribe) reads 'Vergiliana Imitatio'.

⁷² See below, colophon to book 11. The poem at the end of book eleven on the defeat of Perkin Warbeck (ff. 190r-v, 193r), written on smaller paper and sent to John Burton, may have been written just after the start of book 12.

⁷³ '...in quem annorum numerum divi Mathei vigilia anno m° cccc° lxxxx° vij° quandoquidem feliciter ingressus est, nos quoque huius operis duodecimum volumen inchoavimus' (f. 199v).

⁷⁴ See below, colophon to book 12.

⁷⁵ See below, heading to poem 6. The feast of St. Jerome is 30 September.

⁷⁶ 'Sepultus honorifice cum parentibus tuis in ecclesia beate Margarete in vico piscium prope pontem Londinensem anno Domini m° cccc° xviii° [*sic pro* 'lxxxxviii'] xx^a prima Decembris die sancti Thome apostoli, hora post meridiem octava migrasti ad Christum' (f. 348r).

⁷⁷ Date given by the scribe following the chapter: '1499'.

⁷⁸ See below, heading to poem 8.

⁷⁹ See above, n. 41.

⁸⁰ A reference to the death of Prince Edmund: 'Mortuus est autem predictus tercius Henrici filius Edmundus anno gracie M CCCCC et xviii° die Junii.'

⁸¹ In a chronicle for the year 1500, André reports that the arrival of Princess Catherine has been postponed to the following summer. In a letter of Henry VII to Ferdinand and Isabella dated 24 July 1500, Henry says that he is willing to postpone the voyage of Catherine to England to the following year. See *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Longman, 1861), I, 121.

beginning of book 15 (467r-468r)	after 20 September 1500 ⁸²
poems at the end of book 15 (527v-528r)	around 20 September 1501, certainly before 2 October 1501 ⁸³
beginning of book 16 (529r-536r)	1502, before 2 April ⁸⁴
book 16 cap. 2 (536r-v)	late 1505 or early 1506, before 15-16 January ⁸⁵
beginning of book 16 cap. 3 (547r)	after 26 April 1506 ⁸⁶
after the scribal change (584r)	1 March 1508 ⁸⁷
end of book 16 (623v)	14 April 1508 ⁸⁸
beginning of book 17 (624v)	3-16 December 1508 ⁸⁹
end of book 17 (643r)	18-25 December 1508 ⁹⁰
beginning of book 18 (643r)	before 8 April 1509; early 1510 ⁹¹

⁸² See above n. 47.

⁸³ 'Te rogat hoc princeps Arthurus cuius hic annus | Etatis decimusquintus adest celebr.'

⁸⁴ 'Annus hic milesimus [*leg.* 'millesimus'] D ii^{us} reverende pater....' Since Prince Arthur is clearly still alive, the date is before 2 April 1502.

⁸⁵ '...post eiusdem principis obitum immaturamque [*ill.*] -essam quarto iam intercurrente anno....' On f. 547r André says that he quit working for a time because of the shipwreck and arrival of Philip of Castille into England. This occurred 15-16 January 1506 (Busch, *Henry VII*, p. 191; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 289). Sources of this episode are mentioned in Busch, p. 372 n. 14. See also Carlson, 'Writings of André', 248.

⁸⁶ '...in crastinum divi Gorgi [*leg.* 'Georgi'] hoc in anno regis nostri xxi....' The year 21 Henry VII was 22 August 1505-21 August 1506.

⁸⁷ 'In hoc capite scripturi dicturique quantum Dominus Ihesus Christus in hoc sacro cadragesimali [*leg.* 'quadragesimali'] ieiunio anni millesimi quinsentesimi [*leg.* 'quingentesimi'] octavi et prima die Marcii et nobis donaverit post longam huius operis sessionem [*leg.* 'cessationem']....'

⁸⁸ See below, colophon to book 16.

⁸⁹ 'Adveniente Domino nostro Ihesu Christo in carnem quid in ipsius adventu acturi sumus nisi ut apostolo precipit abicere opera tenebrarum et induere arma lucis [Rom. 13.12] sicut in die illa honeste ambulemus non invenio.' The first Sunday of Advent 1508 was 3 December. The public betrothal of Charles and Mary, discussed below, took place 17 December 1508.

⁹⁰ See below, colophon to book 17.

⁹¹ 'Annus hic milesimus [*leg.* 'millesimus'] quingentessimus [*leg.* 'quingentesimus'] nonus in cuius exordia bellorum fragor rerumque tumultus exortus est...in hoc presertim sacro quadragesimalis observancie cursu...ad quem igitur ac [*sic pro* 'hac'] tempestate nisi ad te, presulum optimum doctissimumque, refugiat nostra imbecillitas [*leg.* 'imbecillitas'] non video.' Easter was 8 April 1509. The dedicatee here is still Richard Fitzjames, likewise called 'optime presul' earlier in poem 16. Yet in the sentences immediately following this passage, André gives the year as 1510 ('Atque ut in sua rursus vestigia annus hic millesimus quingentessimus [*leg.* 'quingentesimus'] decimus redeat...'), begins addressing Richard Fox ('Mescenatem [*leg.* 'Maecenatem'] nostrum benignissimum'),

A final word on the distribution of the commentary over time. André's wavering commitment to the project after 1502 is quantifiable in the number of folios produced before and after 1502. He composed most of the commentary, ff. 1-536r, between 20 September 1496 and 2 April 1502 (the death of Prince Arthur). Between 2 April 1502 and the death of Henry VII (21 April 1509), André produced only about one hundred folios (536r-643r). There were only about seven months during this period when he could have been working on the commentary.⁹²

5. Inventory of the commentary

At the front of the manuscript is an index to the commentary, covering nineteen pages, ff. Ar-Sv. A heading says that it was compiled by André and copied by Suetonius Skern for Prince Arthur at Beaulieu on 17 June 1500.⁹³ Next is the list of André's works (f. Tr-v), followed by a letter to André (ff. Uv-Vr) in praise of the commentary from Johannes Benedictus Moncettus of Castiglione Fiorentino (Tuscany). Two short poems by Moncettus to André follow (f. Vr-v), and then the poem by Erasmus (f. Vv).

The commentary proper begins after all of these items, which occupy a single quire. The organization of the books follows a complicated but

and laments the death of Henry VII. Henry VIII has been crowned and has married Catherine, who is now pregnant. Apparently, André stopped working for a time on book eighteen after the first few sentences, when he heard news of the death of Henry VII (21 April 1509). The news came as another blow, and he quit working on the commentary until the beginning of the next year. Physical evidence in the manuscript supports this. Beginning with the sentence in which André gives the year as 1510, the ink is darker, and the hand changes enough to suggest a lapse of time between the writing of the two sentences. Catherine wrote to Ferdinand 27 May 1510, telling him that she had been delivered of a stillborn daughter some days earlier. This puts the date for this passage sometime in 1510 before 27 May. Further, I take the phrase giving the year as 1510 (see above) as suggesting that it is early 1510, probably January. On the significance of this point, see above, n. 34. On Catherine's letter, see *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer, 21 vols (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1920), I (pt. 1), n. 473; and *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers... England and Spain*, vol. 2, *Henry VIII (1509-1525)*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth, 13 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1866), no. 43. The first word of this pregnancy is in a letter from Henry VIII to Ferdinand, dated 1 Nov. 1509. *Letters and Papers... Henry VIII*, I (pt. 1), n. 220.

⁹² These periods are late 1505 to 17 January 1506; 27 April to perhaps late summer 1507; 1 March to 15 April 1508; 3-25 December 1508; late March to early April 1509 (several lines).

standard pattern, with some variation: a heading to the book; poems; the lemma; a prologue directed to the dedicatee; the lemma repeated; and the beginning of the commentary. The later books (18-19) have no poems, and book 19 begins without heading or prologue immediately following the lemma.

Because of the nature of the commentary and its many components, I have thought best to provide an inventory, complete with incipits and explicits of the books and poems to help with future identification. I have abbreviated prologues, but included colophons in their entirety since these provide useful information; silently expanded all abbreviations (excluding numbers); standardized capitalization according to modern forms; and left the orthography of each scribe intact. Punctuation follows the original except when required to make clear the sense. The following forms have been used:

bold print	=	editor's rubrics (not in text)
<i>italics</i>	=	heading, prologue or colophon (false incipit/explicit)
<u>underline</u>	=	lemma
plain text	=	true incipit/explicit
word	=	word deleted in the text
<...>	=	word/letters supplied
[...]	=	word/letters to be omitted
(...)	=	foliation

Book 11 (ff. 1r-189v, 191r-192v⁹⁴): *Bernardi Andrelini*⁹⁵ *Tholosatis poete laureati ad prestantissimum divini eloqui interpretem dominum Johannem Burtonem super xi^m divi Augustini de civitate Dei comentarium* [leg. 'commentarium'] *incipit feliciter*.

Inc.: *Unam petii a Domino hanc requiram...Sed iam de re dicere incipiamus. Civitatem Dei dicimus.* In auctoribus explorandis hec considerata sunt... (f. 2v)

Expl.: ...sic elementorum trutinatores lepide sic per iocum vocando subsanat [leg. subsannat]. *In secunda transitione exornatione rhetorica utens quaeque dixit, que ve dicturus est paucis attingens hunc librum undecimum claudit.*

⁹³ Beaulieu Abbey was located in the New Forest near Southampton. Perkin Warbeck fled here in September 1497.

⁹⁴ A marginal comment on f. 182r directs the reader to ff. 191-192, which should follow at this point in the commentary.

⁹⁵ This form of André's name is employed by two different scribes (1 and 5; see Appendix 1), as well as by a third scribe in London, British Library, Arundel MS 249, f. 81v. Further, the Arsenal MS was clearly copied under André's close supervision, probably dictated by him. The form *Andrelini* is used in the heading to poem 1, an epistolary poem, the very copy sent by André to Burton (see next note). I therefore take it not as an incorrect but as an alternate form. On the Arundel MS, see *A Fifteenth Century School Book*, ed. William Nelson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).

Nos quoque hodierna luce clarissime doctor serenissimi principis nostri natalem felicissimum celebrantes undecimum sue etatis annum terminamus, et duodecimum incipimus. In cuius rei memoriam ubi hec bellorum procella posuerit (adiuvante illo cuius nutu ista perfecimus) carmen gratulatorium accipies. Interea hec tue gravissime censure castiganda relinquentes magnopere te obsecramus ut errata nostra deprehendas, deprehensa corrigas, correctis solito prosequaris more. (f. 189v)

Excerpt from André's *Defensio poetices* (ff. 164v-166r)

Poem 1 (f. 190r): *Divinarum humanarumque rerum interpreti sapientissimo excellentissimoque Johanni Burton*⁹⁶ *Bernardus Andrelinus S<alutem> P<lurimam> D<icit>*.⁹⁷

Inc.: Que tibi pollicitus fueram, clarissime doctorl...

Expl.: ...Eloquii musas dum vacat ipse legas.

Poem 2 (ff. 190r-v, 193r): *Ad eundem pro victoriosissimi regis nostri speciosissimo triumpho*.⁹⁸

Inc.: Letior Eoos, proles Hyperionis ardensl...

Expl.: ...Bernardum solito tu semper amore fovebis.

Book 12 (ff. 199r-309v): *Liber xii^{us} capitulum primum*.

Inc.: Antequam de institutione hominis dicam ubi etc. *Civitatis nove Carthaginis in cuius typo vitam hanc civilem...hoc loco recensere necessarium arbitror. Quoniam dispo<si>tio est, per quam illa que invenimus in ordine redigimus...* (f. 199v). Antequam de institutione hominis dicam etc. *De hac hominis institutione et creatione prima dicturus possum...* (f. 206r)

Expl.: ...numquam ad amorem Dei, ad odium voluptatum precepta superfluent. (f. 309r) *Sed iam duodecimum hunc librum cum duodecimo serenissimi principis anno feliciter terminemus. Rursusque eodem hoc die vigilie divi Mathei cum ipso eodem felicissimo principe tertiumdecimum ordiamur.*

Poem 3 (f. 309r; see below). **Poem 4** (f. 309v; see below). **Poem 5** (f. 309v; see below). *Explicit liber 12^{us}. Incipit 13^{us}.*

Poem 3 (f. 309r): *Ad illustrissimum [leg. 'illustrissimum'] ac faustissimum dominum Arthurum Secundum Wallie principem Bernardi Andrelini pro felici sui natalis auspicio carmen gratulatorium*.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ The words *Johanni Burton* are written above the line in the hand of John Burton. See above, n. 6.

⁹⁷ An eight-line epistolary poem to John Burton.

⁹⁸ A fifty-two-line epistolary poem celebrating the triumph of Henry VII over Perkin Warbeck. André sent poems 1 and 2 separately to Burton and asked him to append them to book 11. In a postscript following poem 2 (f. 193r), he suggests that they meet the next day. This was the actual copy of the letter sent by André: the paper for ff. 190-193 is smaller, and John Burton wrote his own name into the heading for poem 1 (see above, n. 96).

⁹⁹ A twelve-line poem for Prince Arthur's twelfth birthday.

Inc.: Tertius et decimus duodeno proximus actol...

Expl.: ...!Ut regere hunc possis cum seniore senex.

Poem 4 (f. 309v): *Eiusdem ad litteratissimum dominum Joannem Burton doctorem theologum.*¹⁰⁰

Inc.: Tu quoque qui nostra clavum de puppe gubernasl...

Expl.: ...!Te duce posteritas celica regna petet.

Poem 5 (f. 309v): *Eiusdem pro divi Augustini tercii decimi de divina trinitate civitate libri principio ad lectores carmen.*¹⁰¹

Inc.: Urbis amatores locus hic vos admonet omnesl...

Expl.: ...!Presenti, satis est te admonuisse. Vale.

Book 13 (ff. 309v-391v): *Divi Aurelii Augustini de civitate Dei liber tridecimus feliciter incipit, et super eundem Bernardi Andrelini Tholosatis poet<e> laureati ac serenissimi domini Arthuri Wallie principis preceptoris immeriti commentarius* (f. 309v). **F. 311v repeats and then adds:** ...*Ad prestantissimum doctorem theologum dominum Ioannem Burton, gravitate morum, sanctimonia vite et omni denique virtute, probitate, comitate ac litteratura precellentem. Incipit liber xiii^{us}.*

Inc.: Expeditis de nostri seculi exortu, et de initio generis humani difficilimis questionibus. **Poem 6** (f. 310v; see below). **Poems 3-5** (f. 311r-v; see below). Expeditis etc. *Hercules ille fortissimus, egregie doctor...Ad tercium decimum (superna freti gratia) intrepide transeamus. De lapsu primorum hominum...* (f. 312r)

Expl.: ...in sequentem librum dilata tractabitur. **Poem 8** (f. 391v; see below).

Poem 6 (f. 310v): *Ad prestantissimum dominum Ioannem Burton doctorem theologorum litteratissimum, in die beati Hyeronimi pro tercii decimi libri divi Augustini de civitate Dei novo commentario Bernardi Andrelini carmen.*¹⁰²

Inc.: Divus Hyeronimus, doctor celeberrime, nosterl...

Expl.: ...!Spiritus excelsa gaudeat urbe Dei.

Poems 3-5 (f. 311r-v)¹⁰³

Eulogy of John Burton (ff. 347r-348v)

Poem 7 (f. 348r)¹⁰⁴

Inc.: Principis Arthuri primarius ille sacerdosl...

Expl.: ...!Aspicis, heu, discas qui legis ista mori.

¹⁰⁰ A six-line poem to John Burton.

¹⁰¹ A ten-line poem to the readers, giving a foretaste of book 13.

¹⁰² A fourteen-line poem to John Burton.

¹⁰³ Slightly neater copies of these poems appear here again. There is one variant, in poem 5, where the incipit omits the word 'vos'.

¹⁰⁴ An eight-line dirge (*epicedion*) for John Burton.

Chronicle for the year 1498 (f. 349r-v)

Poem 8 (f. 391v): *In natalem serenissimi principis in quo nos quoque cum xiii^o sue aetatis anno in xiii^m divi Augustini de civitate Dei librum commentarium absolvimus. Ενδεκασυνλλαβων.*¹⁰⁵

Inc.: Natalem canimus tacete litesl...

Expl.: ...lPrinceps maxime principumque princeps.

Book 14 (ff. 392r-465r): **Poem 9** (f. 392r; see below)

Inc.: Diximus iam in superioribus libris...in unitatem concordem pacis vinculo colligandum etc. *Permagna res est, reverende pater... Iam igitur explicita particione ad rationem vocabulorum iuxta morem in superioribus observatum nos conferemus. Quadam cognationis necessitudine*, id est vinculo unde necesse sive necessum... (f. 393r)

Expl.: ...Turcus et a Venetis superatus in expugnacione cuiusdam oppidi quindecim hominum milia perdidit. *Hec et huiusmodi hic inserui eo libentius ut lectori novorum cupido interlegendum [leg. 'inter legendum'] hos commentarios aliqua demum voluptas esset. Sed iam ad quintum decimum volumen nos convertamus. Finit liber 14^{us} et incipit 15^{us}.*

Poem 9 (f. 392r): *Ad reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Joannem divina gratia Cestrensis episcopum dominum suum observandissimum Bernardi Andrelini in quartumdecimum beati Augustini de civitate Dei librum commentarius feliciter incipit.*¹⁰⁶

Inc.: Vidisti ternum decimum pater optime libruml...

Expl.: ...lBurton, ut hoc tanto remige navis eat.

Chronicle for the year 1500 (ff. 463r-465r)

Book 15 (ff. 465r-528v)

Inc.: De felicitate paradisi vel de ipso paradiso etc. *Ad reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Dulmonensem episcopum et regii privati sigilli custodem fidelissimum in xv^m de civitate Dei volumen, prefacio.* **Poem 10**

¹⁰⁵ A twenty-five-line poem for Prince Arthur's thirteenth birthday.

¹⁰⁶ An eight-line poem to John Arundel, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Arundel is called bishop of Chester, but this was a title sometimes given to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield owing to a brief elevation of Chester to the head of the diocese in the eleventh century. P. Heath notes that this elevation 'was tenaciously commemorated long after the bishops had ceased to style themselves by that title in the 1140s, and as late as 1522 a royal minister in an official record could write of "the bishop of Chester", meaning Blythe, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield'. 'The Medieval Archdeaconry and Tudor Bishopric of Chester', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 20 (1969), 244. *FEA*, vol. 10, *Coventry and Lichfield Diocese*, p. 3. See also references to the bishop of Chester singing masses at the funeral of Prince Arthur (25 April 1502) in Leland, *De rebus britannicis collectanea*, V, 376, 379. This was probably not Arundel, who had been translated to Exeter on 8 April 1502.

(ff. 465r-467r; see below). *Ad eundem dominum privati sigilli. Postquam ita sapientissimi regis nostri...adiuvante Domino Jesu Christo patefecero. Sed iam ad incepta pergamus. Beati Augustini de civitate Dei liber 15^{us} feliciter incipit. De felicitate etc.* Liber iste xv^{mus} septem et xx capitibus totus constat... (f. 468r)

Expl.: ...Et sic exposita sunt satis, ut opinor, hec duo vocabula (f. 527v). *Superest ut receptui canentes cum beato Augustino librum hunc nos quoque feliciter finiamus. Poem 11* (f. 527v; see below). **Poem 12** (f. 528r-v; see below). *Explicit quintusdecimus. Incipit sextusdecimus.* (f. 528v)

Poem 10 (ff. 465r-467r)¹⁰⁷

Inc.: Cedua silva diu tenuit sub tegmine plectruml...

Expl.: ...!Ducat ad annosam te Nestoris ipsam.

Poem 11 (f. 527v): *Reverendo domino Mecenati suo pro iucundo quintidecimi commentarioli fine Bernardi Andrelini exasticon.*¹⁰⁸

Inc.: Editus est quintusdecimus pater optime tequel...

Expl.: ...!Ocia post virtus et mihi maior erit.

Poem 12 (f. 528r-v): *Idem serenissimo principi Arthuro mittit carmen sapphicum.*¹⁰⁹

Inc.: Dum tibi princeps K<a>terina coniunxl...

Expl.: ...!Spe duce vivit.

Book 16 (ff. 529r-624r)

Inc.: *Post diluv<i>um procurentis sancte vestigia civitatis. Poem 13* (f. 529r; see below). *Annus hic milesimus [leg. 'millesimus'] D ii^{us}, reverende pater...Vale presidium dulce decus meum.*¹¹⁰ *Post diluvium etc.* Triumphantis ecclesie post diluvium progressum... (f. 529v)

Expl.: ...Hec et alia huiusmodi per multa possem hoc loco de his duobis magnis regibus intexere. (f. 623v) *Sed iam pasca vocat et ad Christum eundum est. Huic igitur sexto ac decimo volumini quod quartadecima Aprilis M CCCCC et 8 regis anni nostri Henrici Septimi anno xxiii finis modusque Jesu Christo et virgine ac matre eiusdem gloriosa et sine macula concepta ipso quoque divo Aurelio Augustino patre nostrō quo [Tournoy: sic pro 'quibus?'] adiuvantibus hic adesto. Laudetur Deus. Poem 15* (f. 624r; see below). *Sexti decimi beati Augustini de civitate Dei commentarius feliciter explicit per Bernardum Andrelinum regium hystoricum.*

¹⁰⁷ A twenty-six line poem to the bishop of Durham and keeper of the Privy Seal, Richard Fox, on André's dismissal as tutor to Prince Arthur. There is no f. 466.

¹⁰⁸ A six-line poem to Richard Fox.

¹⁰⁹ An eight-stanza sapphic poem to Prince Arthur, encouraging him as he waits for the arrival of Princess Catherine.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Hor. carm. 1,1,2

Poem 13 (f. 529r): *Ad E<undem> R<everendum> D<ominum>*.¹¹¹

Inc.: Progreditur sextum decimum pater optime sanctel...

Expl.: ...l Non erit Henrico filius inferior.

Lamentation on the death of Prince Arthur (ff. 536v-539r¹¹²)

Explanation of the author's silence;¹¹³ **dedication of book 16 to Peter Ferdinand of Spain** (ff. 547r-548v)

Poem 14 (f. 548r-v): *Ad clarissimum artis medice doctorem dominum Petrum Fardinadum* [leg. 'Ferdinandum'] *hyspanum*.¹¹⁴

Inc.: Petre anime pars magna mee tibi nostra fateturl...

Expl.: ...l hoc Augustini celica dona mei.

Poem 15 (f. 624r): *Ad reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Freamam* [sic pro 'Fitzjames'¹¹⁵] *Londoniesem* [sic pro 'Londoniensem'] *episcopum*.¹¹⁶

Inc.: Sextus habet finem decimus patre optime tequel...

Expl.: ...l Vitaque post cineres celica regna petat.

Book 17 (ff. 624v-643r): *Incipit liber septimus decimus*.

Inc.: Promissiones Dei etc. *Adveniente Domino nostro Ihesu Christo in carnem...non haberet hoc seculum nostrum quod antequam illi patrum observantie invideret et his hactenus.* **Poem 16** (f. 624v; see below). *Huius itaque capitis summa brevis sed utilis...* (f. 625r)

Expl.:ne hunc tam prolixum ulterius oneremus. *Nos quoque dicamus, Deo gratias agentes in hoc suo sacratissimo adventu quo opus hoc sua gratia ad umbilicum perduximus, 'Gloria tibi Domine'.*

Poem 16 (f. 624v): *Ad eundem reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Figamum* [sic pro 'Fitzjames'] *Londoniensem episcopum Bernardi Andree regii historici epigramma*.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ An eight-line poem to Richard Fox, wishing long years to Prince Arthur after his marriage.

¹¹² But ff. 537-538, the first two pages of a quire, are now missing.

¹¹³ André explains that the arrival of Philip of Castille into England, the 'royal history', and his tutelage of Gilles Daubeney's son have prevented him from writing.

¹¹⁴ An eight-line poem to the Spanish physician Peter Ferdinand, offering him the present book (16).

¹¹⁵ The name *Fitzjames* took many spellings, but never such bizarre forms as here and below in the heading to poem 16. The scribe appears to be attempting (unsuccessfully) to reproduce an unfamiliar name from dictation.

¹¹⁶ An eighteen-line poem to Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London, offering him the sixteenth book for correction.

¹¹⁷ An eight-line epigram to Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London, offering him book 17.

Inc.: Septimus et decimus pater o celeberrime codexl...

Expl.: ...!Deffendas supplex te rogat atque rogat.

Account of the arrival of a legation into England for the public betrothal of Princess Mary to Prince Charles, archduke of Austria (ff. 640v-641v)

Poem 17 (f. 641r-v): *Composui tamen in eorum adventus gratulationem extemporalia que sequuntur* [leg. 'sequuntur'] *quantulacumque carmina*.¹¹⁸

Inc.: O felix et fausta dies legatio multuml...

Expl.: ...!Annuat exopto quam bonus ipse Deus.

Poem 18 (f. 641v): *Eiusdem anpitalamium* [leg. 'epithalamium']¹¹⁹

Inc.: Cesareus Maria Carlus desponsat avita [?].l...

Expl.: ...!Nec tarde iuveni det tibi nomen avi.

Book 18 (ff. 643r-671v): *Incipit liber decimus octavus. Capitulum primum.*

Inc.: De civitatum duarum etc. *Annus hic milesimus* [leg. 'millesimus'] *quingentissimus* [leg. 'quingentesimus'] *nonus...quatripertitum* [leg. 'quadripertitum'] *presens notabimus capitulum.* In prima huius exortum et procursum duarum civitatum... (f. 643v)

Expl.: ...Et postquam de duarum civitatum excursu presenti libro iam diximus, de earundem finibus deinceps dicendum est. *Explicitus est liber xviii.*

Book 19 (ff. 671v-680v): *Incipit liber xix.*

Inc.: Omni de civitate. Quod in questione quam de finibus bonorum et malorum...

f. 680v: ...recte autem vivere ex nobis non est nisi nos adiuvet ille... Orant-
['Orant' *sub lin.*]

APPENDIX 1: CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

Shelfmark: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 360

Date: ca. 20 September 1496-1510 (commentary); 1511-1515/1517 (additions)

Material

702 paper folios (xxii + 680¹²⁰): 310 x 220 mm, except for ff. 190-193, 286 x 200 mm; ff. 539-552, 294 x 200 mm; and ff. 553-583, 280 x 200 mm.

¹¹⁸ A thirty-line poem for the arrival of the legation.

¹¹⁹ A twenty-line epithalamium for the projected wedding of Princess Mary to Prince Charles, archduke of Austria.

¹²⁰ In reality because of missing folios and mistakes in foliation, there are only 676 ff. to the commentary.

Watermarks: Hand watermarks visible on ff. E, H, J, K, N, 21, 186, 663, and 664; not found in Briquet or Piccard (vol. 17, *Wasserzeichen Hand und Handschuh*). Unicorn watermark visible on f. 193v, closest to Briquet 10.429.¹²¹

Quiring

Most of the first 50 quires are senions (ff. 1-474), octonions (ff. 475-583), or quinions (ff. 591-680), but with considerable variation and many foliation errors. Quiremarks and catchwords up to quire 49, ending on f. 583v. Quiremarks: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, x, y, z, ?, 9, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, ?, X, Y, Z, ?, 10 unsigned quires. Double folios: f. 114 (quire 11), f. 210 (quires 20-21), f. 476 (quire 43), f. 496 (quire 44), f. 576 (quire 49), f. 585 (quire 50). Loss of text between quires 38-39, 49-50, and from missing ff. 22 and 537-538. 1²², 2¹², 3¹⁰ (f. 22 wanting), 4-6¹², 7¹² (ff. 67-70 wanting), 8¹², 9¹⁰, 10-16¹², 17¹⁰, 18¹² (2 wanting), 19⁴ (f. 198 + 1 wanting), 20-28¹², 29⁴, 30¹⁶, 31¹², 32¹⁶, 33-42¹² (f. 466 wanting), 43-46¹⁶, 47¹⁶ (ff. 537-538 wanting), 48-49¹⁶, 50⁸, 51-59¹⁰.

Mise-en-page

Written in single, unruled columns, with variable number of lines per page.¹²² The scribes provide the marginalia from keywords in the text; marginalia are usually in the external side margin, but sometimes in the internal margin. Book and chapter number indications at the top right corner of each recto side up to f. 305; after this, occasional book indications. Quiremarks up to f. 583 on bottom right recto.

Text

— *Scribes*: Six scribes copied the text of the commentary. Suetonius Skern (scribe 2), scribe 5, and three other hands copied the prefatory materials. The writing is often careless and the spelling inconsistent among scribes. Corrections are made by crossing out words and writing the correction above the line, or, at the beginning of a chapter, by crossing out entire lines of text and restarting the chapter (ff. 188v-189r). The lemma is usually slightly larger than other text; some citations are underlined. The hands correspond to the following foliation (beginning with the commentary: most of the prefatory materials were added after the commentary):

¹²¹ W.A. Churchill notes that from the fourteenth century 'much of the paper used in England came from France, common watermarks being pot, hand and crown'. *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1935), pp. 58-59.

¹²² Scribe 1, 20-34 lines; scribe 2, 16-25; scribe 3, 21-28; scribe 4, 18-22; scribe 5, 12-18; scribe 6, 26-31.

Scribes	Folios
1	1r-425v ¹²³
2	426r-474v
1	475r-536r
3	536r-544r
4	544v-545r (#1)
3	545v (#1)
4	545v (#1)-545r (#2)
3	545r (#2)-551v
4	551v-555v
3	556r-583v
5	584r-596v
6	596v-597r
5	597v-680v
2 and 5	Av-Sv ¹²⁴
7	Tr-v
8	Uv-Vv
9	Vv

— *Contents:*

1. Ff. Av-Sv, index of the commentary
2. Ff. Tr-v, list of works of Bernard André
3. Ff. Uv-Vv, letter and two poems of Johannes Benedictus Moncettus, in praise of the commentary
4. F. Vv, poem of Erasmus in praise of the commentary
5. Ff. 1r-680v, text of Bernard André's commentary on the *De civitate Dei* of Augustine, books 11-19 (incomplete), with marginal comments in the hand of John Burton (ending on f. 313v)
6. Ff. 164v-166r, excerpt from André's *Defensio poetices*
7. F. 196r, unidentified excerpt, chronology of the kings of Israel¹²⁵

¹²³ This does not include ff. 196-197, texts added to the commentary after book 11 by John Burton. Two different external scribes copied these.

¹²⁴ Suetonius Skern compiled the word index up to f. 472 and foliated ff. 1-474. Hand 5 finished compiling the word index and foliated ff. 475-680.

¹²⁵ Inc.: 'David regnavit primo in Ebro super Iudam vii annis ac sex mensibus...' Expl.: '...id est ultimo apta solet existere regno gubernando.' Burton refers to this page on ff. 126v and 127v. At the top of f. 196r, before the text of the excerpt, Burton has written: 'Nota summam anglicanam impressam, viz. Thome Ashenden, distinctionis prime 2^o et 3^o capitulis; ac tractatum Petri dealiaco [*leg.* 'de Aliaco'] super concordia scripture cum astronomia, etc.; ac superius super xi^o libro Augustinus de civitate capitulo 6^o et magis ibi in 7^o capitulo ac in xii libro et in 15^o, 16, 17, et 18 libris de civitate in [*illeg.*] et libro meo magno cooperto albo.' It is not clear what the excerpt actually is, and Thomas Ashenden remains unidentified. He is perhaps one of the two individuals under the name of Thomas Asshenden listed in A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, Eng.: Univ. of Cambridge Press, 1963),

8. F. 197r, unidentified excerpt, definitions of *peccatum* and its various synonyms¹²⁶
9. Ff. 537 and perhaps 538 (both now lost), epitaph for Prince Arthur
10. F. 641r-v, poem for the arrival of a legation into England for Princess Mary's projected wedding
11. F. 641v, epithalamium for Princess Mary and Prince Charles

Decoration and Binding

Flourishes on opening initials and occasionally at the end of chapters, in the same ink as the text. Binding early to mid-nineteenth century.

Additions

John Burton commented upon and occasionally corrected the text of the commentary up to f. 313. On the top of f. Ar in a 16th-century hand, 'a monsieur mo-'; again further down, 'a mo'. Possession phrase of the College of Navarre on f. 1r and on f. 680v: 'Pro libraria Regalis collegii Campaniae alias Navarrae Par-cisiensis> fundati.'¹²⁷ Two unfoliated paper leaves (1 + flyleaf) at front and back of volume. On verso of flyleaf at front, top left corner is old shelfmark, 'TL 418' (suppressed in 1876).

Provenance

Written in England. The manuscript was still in England in 1515, perhaps in London, when Moncettus wrote a letter to André, dated 10 June 1515 from the Augustinian convent in London (f. Vr), in praise of the commentary. The next record of the manuscript's existence shows it in the library of the College of Navarre in 1722. During its early history, the manuscript was in three volumes: the list of works on f. Tr describes the commentary as 'tribus magnis nec adhuc impletum voluminibus', and the 1741 catalogue of Masson lists André's

p. 20, but neither is known to have written anything. As for the *Super concordia scripture cum astronomia* of Pierre d'Ailly, there is no known work of his with this title. I was unable to find this excerpt in two other works of D'Ailly with similar titles, the *Vigintiloquium de concordia astronomicae veritatis cum theologia*, and the *Concordantia astronomiae cum historica narratione*.

¹²⁶ Inc.: 'Peccatum proprie est cum fuerit non fienda...' Expl.: '...unde et a quibusdam interpretatur quasi dignum cedi flagello.' Burton refers to this excerpt on f. 178r, glossing the word *peccatum*: 'Dilatetur hic passus cum differentia inter peccatum, facinus, culpam, crimen, flagicium, impium, iniquum et huius ut post finem huius et in principio primi libri ex commento [illeg.] et aliorum.' I take this to mean that the definitions have been compiled from various works.

¹²⁷ According to A. Franklin, this phrase is found at the beginning and end of 'les manuscrits très-anciens'. *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1867), I, 403.

commentary twice, the first time with a single shelfmark, but the second time with three shelfmarks.¹²⁸ Apparently, the commentary was rebound in a single volume sometime before 1741, but somehow the manuscript was left with two call numbers, which were both copied into the catalogue. At the Revolution, the library was dispersed, and some of the volumes ended up in the Arsenal.

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF ANDRÉ'S WORKS (F. TR-V)

William Nelson first edited the list of André's works on f. Tr-v.¹²⁹ Francis Roth re-edited the list with corrections, but in so doing introduced new errors into the text, and often corrected Nelson when Nelson's readings were actually correct.¹³⁰ To help avoid further confusion, I present here a new edition of the list. For convenience, I have supplied variants from Nelson (N) and Roth (R). I have left the orthography and capitalization of the scribe intact, but have supplied punctuation when necessary for the sense of the passage.¹³¹ I have used the same forms as above, 'Inventory of the manuscript'.

PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms 360, f. Tr-v

Bernardi Andree Tholozatis Poete laureati ac Regii hystorici Opera partim completa partim incompleta sunt hec:

<1> Commentaria in Augustini de civitate Dei opus ab undecimo tribus magnis nec adhuc impletum voluminibus, in quibus tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum indices sorte litterali seu mavis¹³² vocabularia brev¹³³ia repperies

<2> Item deffensio poetarum in dyalogo ad serenissimum felicissime recordationis Arthorum principem

<3> Ad eundem de dicendi¹³⁴ et scribendi modo <et> elegantia; quod quidem¹³⁵ opusculum Delius orator et poeta egregius commentatus est

¹²⁸ E. Châtelain, 'Les manuscrits du collège de Navarre en 1741', *Revue des bibliothèques*, 11 (1901), 389, 396. I verified this by consulting the manuscript catalogue, Paris, BN lat. 9371, ff. 24r and 30r. The descriptions of the ms. are as follows: f. 24r, 'Bernardi Andrelini Tholosatis poeta [*leg.* 'poetae'] commentaria in libros de civitate dei'; f. 30r, 'Bernardi Andrea Tolosatis Poeta [*leg.* 'Andreae...Poetae'] commentaria in librum de civitate dei'.

¹²⁹ *John Skelton, Laureate*, pp. 239-41. See his discussion of and attempt to identify certain items, pp. 19-24, particularly n° 7 and n° 20.

¹³⁰ 'A History of the English Austin Friars', 457-60. Roth also has notes on a few items.

¹³¹ I have left capitalization as in the MS to avoid making assumptions about the correct titles of the works.

¹³² mavis] maius N

¹³³ brev¹³³ia] buria? R

¹³⁴ dicendi] discendi MS dicendi ['MS discendi'] N discendi R

¹³⁵ quidem] quidam N

- <4> Ad eundem grammatices¹³⁶ examen
 <5> Ad eundem de Carthagine capta¹³⁷ dyalogus coram Regia maiestate Henrici septimi recitatus
 <6> Ad eundem Atheniensium et Lacedaemoniorum legatio etiam coram Regia maiestate Henrici septimi et octavi tunc parvuli recitata
 <7> Ad eundem Rationis et sensualitatis Dyalogus et coram Regiis maiestatibus recitatus
 <8> Ad eundem de Natali suo
 <9> Ad eundem de Creatione sua
 <10> Ad eundem de ipsius brevi coniugio¹³⁸
 <11> Ad eundem breves sed utiles ex Cicerone de omni re epistole
 <12> Ad eundem Observationum latine lingue libellus¹³⁹
 <13> Ad eundem de modo scribendi et dicendi
 <14> Ad eundem Praeceptiones¹⁴⁰ rhetorice
 <15> Ad eundem de Orthographia
 <16> Ad eundem Ars epistolandi
 <17> Item in Aulum Gellium annotamenta
 <18> Item de Karolo Francie in Italiam egloge due¹⁴¹
 <19> Item in fictos mecenates satyra
 <20> Item de vera voluptate dyalogus
 <21> In Thebaidem papinii commentarius incompletus
 <22> Silvarum tam latine quam galice libri quinque
 <23> De sillabarum quantitate
 <24> Item pannagerici¹⁴² non pauci
 <25> Item de generibus nominum
 <26> Artis memorande epithoma¹⁴³
 <27> Item ad principem Arthorum vocabularium barbarum et latinum
 <28> Item Henrici septimi Annales
 <29> Philippi Regis Castelle¹⁴⁴ in Angliam adventus¹⁴⁵
 <30> De morte domini Johannis de Gilis, episcopi olim Wigorniensis, elegia
 <31> Item Arthuri principis epytaphium
 <32> Item Rosarium Beate Marie
 <33> Officium immaculate conceptionis Marie, Christi parentis, carminibus¹⁴⁶ ad vesperi¹⁴⁷ horas, missam et processionem comitandum¹⁴⁸ ad serenissimam regiam matrem

¹³⁶ grammatices] grammaticorum ['MS grammaticos'] N

¹³⁷ capta] rapta N capta ['rapta?'] R

¹³⁸ coniugio] coniugio? MS -gio N coniugio? R

¹³⁹ libellus] libellos MS libellus ['MS libellos'] N libellus R

¹⁴⁰ Praeceptiones] Praeceptiones ['praescriptiones?'] R

¹⁴¹ due] duo R

¹⁴² pannagerici] panuagerici N

¹⁴³ epithoma] epithome R

¹⁴⁴ Castelle] Castelle R

¹⁴⁵ adventus] aductus ['adventus?'] R

¹⁴⁶ carminibus] nobilis R

¹⁴⁷ vesperi] varias? R

- <34> Item ad eandem de festo nivali¹⁴⁹ et presentatione beate Marie officium
 <35> Item meditatio in carmine heroico¹⁵⁰ devotissima super illud 'Stabat
 autem¹⁵¹ iuxta crucem', etc.¹⁵²
 <36> Item super Andriam et Enochum¹⁵³ familiaris expositio
 <37> Item libellus de omnigenis verborum naturis¹⁵⁴ ad d<ominum> Henricum
 Daubeny
 <38> Item familiarium epistolarum liber unus
 <39> Item Epigrammaton libri duo
 <40> Item super Eglogas Virgilii secundum¹⁵⁵ quattuor sensus expositio
 admirabilis.
 <41> Item hymnorum cristianorum per totum anni circulum libellus unus
 <42> Item annotamenta¹⁵⁶ in¹⁵⁷ Plynium
 <43> Item super Eneidem Virgilii in sensu tropologico expositio non contem-
 nenda
 <44> Item super decem priores libros beati¹⁵⁸ Augustini de civitate dei nuper
 inchoata expositio
 <45> Item Serenissimi Regis Henrici octavi auspicata hystoria
 <46> Item ad eundem epigrammaton libellus

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¹⁴⁸ comitandum] editum N recitandum R

¹⁴⁹ nivali] virginali N

¹⁵⁰ in carmine heroico] in <forma> carminis heroici R

¹⁵¹ autem] mater N

¹⁵² etc.] *om.* R

¹⁵³ Enochum] Eunuchum R

¹⁵⁴ omnigenis verborum naturis] origine verborum <et> naturis R

¹⁵⁵ secundum] super R

¹⁵⁶ annotamenta] annotamentum *sed del. et add.* annotamenta MS

¹⁵⁷ in] ad R

¹⁵⁸ beati] *om.* R

Nicholas SMITH

THE GENRE AND CRITICAL RECEPTION OF JACOPO
SANNAZARO'S *ECLOGAE PISCATORIAE* (NAPLES, 1526)*

The *Eclogae Piscatoriae* (1526) of the Neapolitan humanist poet Jacopo Sannazaro have generally been overlooked in studies of pastoral in favour of his vernacular *Arcadia* (1504). The importance of the *Arcadia* to the development of European pastoral is undeniable, even if Sannazaro himself was suspicious of the work's popularity in later life, regarding it as an idle product of his youth, a judgment quite the obverse of the boast made in the 'Epilogue: To his Sampogna': 'it can be no small excuse that you have been the first in this age to reawaken the slumbering woods, and to show the shepherds how to sing the songs that they had forgotten'.¹ This pastoral romance was imitated widely across the continent and its influence endured well into the eighteenth century.² In his *Memoirs of... Actius Sincerus Sannazarius*, William Parr Greswell noted that 'Of all his vernacular productions none contributed more to perpetuate his fame than the "ARCADIA," which even after the lapse of several centuries, continued to be read with undiminished admiration'.³ However, the task of cultural recovery with regard to the *Eclogae Piscatoriae* is of value for a number of reasons: they were highly respected

* I am grateful to the members of the editorial board for their constructive suggestions and corrections.

¹ *Jacopo Sannazaro: Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, transl. Ralph Nash (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1966), p. 153. New editions of *Arcadia* were published with remarkable frequency in the sixteenth century. William Kennedy counts 83 editions before 1650. See William J. Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of Pastoral* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1983), p. 107.

² See Luigi Monga, *Le genre pastoral au XVI^e siècle. Sannazar et Belleau* (Paris: Éditions universitaires, 1974), pp. 14-15.

³ William Parr Greswell, *Memoirs of ... Actius Sincerus Sannazarius*. Second edn., greatly augmented (Manchester, 1805), p. 393. Greswell's copy of *Actij Synceri Sannazarij de Partu Virginis. Lamentatio de morte Christi. Piscatoria* (Rome, 1526) is in the collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Mason CC 81). According to Greswell's manuscript testimony on the folio preceding the title page, this edition was 'unknown and unheard of by me at the time when I composed and published both a first & second time my "Memoirs" of Sannazarius'.

by Sannazaro's contemporaries and were imitated soon after their publication in 1526 — in the eighteenth century, John Rooke considered that 'In his PISCATORY ECLOGUES, the Author's Genius is most remarkable, and shines out with the greatest Lustre' and Greswell observed that 'The PISCATORY ECLOGUES of Sannazarius [...] contributed more to the establishment of his reputation than any other of his poetical productions';⁴ as a new and radical variation of pastoral they later became embroiled in the cultural and generic polemics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; their neglected critical heritage reflects shifting attitudes towards definitions of 'pastoral' and the status of generic mixture. It is the objective of this article to appraise the *Eclogae Piscatoriae* within the cultural context of their composition, to consider the importance of their contribution to the development of Sannazaro's 'poetical career' (which he patterned after that of Virgil as presented in the ancient Virgilian *Vitae*), and to assess the validity of his claim to be the 'inventor' of this subgenre of pastoral. This opposition between imitation and innovation amounts to an inherent tension in the *Eclogae Piscatoriae* where Sannazaro reveals simultaneously his reverence for his classical forebears and a keen desire to fashion an original poetic voice.⁵

Jacopo Sannazaro died in Naples on 6 August 1530.⁶ His body was interred behind the altar in the chapel 'Santa Maria del Parto a Mergellina' which Sannazaro himself founded on the estate given to him by King Frederick in 1499.⁷ In his *Life of Sannazarius*, John Rooke relates

⁴ John Rooke, 'The *Life of Sannazarius*', in *Select Translations from the Works of Sannazarius* (London, 1726), p. xxv. Rooke admits that he was 'indebted for this Account to the late Editor of his Works at Padua' (p. xxxi). His 'Life' is essentially a direct translation of the *Vita Sannazarii a Joanne Antonio Vulpio conscripta* reproduced, for example, in *Jacobi, Sive Actii Synceri Sannazarii... Poemata* (Padua, 1719), pp. vii-xxxv; Greswell, *Memoirs of... Sannazarius*, p. 390. For an extensive survey of the various imitations see *The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro*, ed. W.P. Mustard (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1914), pp. 26-53. Grant notes that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Sannazaro's eclogues were read as widely as Virgil's own; see W.L. Grant, 'New Forms of Neo-Latin Pastoral', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 4 (1957), 71-100 (p. 72).

⁵ For a discussion of Sannazaro's methods of *imitatio* see Ralph Nash, *The Major Latin Poems of Jacopo Sannazaro* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1996), pp. 9-21.

⁶ This was not always the accepted date. See Nash, *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, p. 11.

⁷ *Icones quinquaginta virorum illustrium, doctrina & eruditione praestantium ad vivum effictae, cum eorum vitis descriptis a Ian. Iac. Boissardo* (Frankfurt, 1597-99), Pt. I, p. 212. For a history of the church and tomb see Marc Deramaix and Birgit Laschke, 'Maroni musa proximus ut tumulo: L'église et le tombeau de Jacques Sannazar', *Revue*

that Sannazaro was at first displeased with the gift 'thinking that his Loyalty and Faithful Services to him, had equall'd, if not excell'd all those who were preferr'd before him [...] But being afterwards charm'd with the Situation of the Place, he tun'd his Harp to the Praises of *Mergillene*, and extoll'd his Prince's Liberality'.⁸ The Horatian imitations in praise of Mergellina (*Epigrams* I, 2; II, 42) certainly indicate Sannazaro's satisfaction with his gift, as do his two references to Mergellina in his short epic poem *De Partu Virginis* (I, 25-27; III, 509-13)⁹, and it seems more likely that *Epigram* I, 1, the literary 'evidence' of Sannazaro's displeasure, is mocking King Frederick in a playful rather than a resentful way: 'Ecce suburbanum rus, & nova prædia donas: | Fecisti vatem, nunc facis agricolam'.¹⁰ The rustic, bucolic implications of 'rus' and 'agricolam' would soon be transformed into the idyllic as Mergellina became both the inspiration and setting for much of Sannazaro's poetry. In his *Historia Neapolitana* (1713) Nicolaus Giannettasius remarks that Sannazaro assumed a life of pastoral retirement upon his return from exile: 'Jacobus Sannazarius, Friderico e vivis sublato, Neapolim rediit, & ad Mergellinae otium, ubi egregiam villam aedificavit, vacuus curarum secessit'.¹¹ The pastoral resonance of the word 'otium' aptly reflects the private, leisured world of Sannazaro's estate. After drawing together passages from Sannazaro's Latin poetry which describe this *locus amoenus*, James Harris concludes: "TWOULD be difficult to translate these elegant Morsels — 'Tis sufficient to express what they mean, *collectively* — "that the Villa of MERGILLINA had solitary WOODS; had GROVES of Laurel and

de l'Art, 95 (1992), 25-40. Mustard writes that Sannazaro did not possess Villa Mergellina until 1497, p. 13. Nash, however, notes that the estate was deeded to Sannazaro on June 12, 1499; *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, p. 9.

⁸ Rooke, 'Life of Sannazarius', p. xix.

⁹ The chapel derived its name from this poem. In *Remarks on Italy* (1705), Joseph Addison writes that in Naples 'I here saw the temple that Sannazarius mentions in his invocation of the blessed virgin, at the beginning of his *De partu Virginis*, which was all raised at his own expense'. *The Works of the Honourable Joseph Addison*, ed. Richard Hurd, 6 vols (London, 1889-93), I, 426.

¹⁰ Jacopo Sannazaro, *Actii Synceri Sannazarii...Opera, Latine Scripta*. Ex 2is curis, J. Broukhusii (Amsterdam, 1728), p. 179. This edition is cited henceforth as 1728.

¹¹ Nicolaus Parthenius Giannettasius, *Historia Neapolitana in tres tomos divisa*, 3 vols (Naples, 1713), III, 121. Sannazaro's life of *otium* was brought to an abrupt end when a plague broke out in Naples in 1527 and the villa itself was destroyed by the General of the imperial army under Charles V. See Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro*, pp. 26-27; Jean Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque; ou, Description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, 5 vols (Paris, 1781-86), I, 149.

Citron; had GROTTOS in the Rock, with RIVULETS and SPRINGS; and that from ITS LOFTY SITUATION it lookt down upon the Sea, and commanded an extensive prospect".¹² An idyllic setting, and one that was not lost on eighteenth-century gentlemen on the Grand Tour.

In his *Memoirs of ... Sannazarius*, Greswell observed that 'The tomb of Sannazarius continues to be an interesting object of curiosity even to travellers of modern times'.¹³ William Beckford, who visited Naples in November 1780, was one such traveller:

The woody, variegated shore of Posilipo next drew my attention. It was on those very rocks, under those tall pines, Sannazaro was wont to sit by moonlight, or at peep of dawn, holding converse with the Nereids. 'Tis there he still sleeps; and I wished to have gone immediately and strewed coral over his tomb, but I was obliged to check my impatience and hurry to the palace in form and gala.¹⁴

In spite of his enthusiasm, Beckford makes no further mention of Sannazaro in his diary. For an actual description of the tomb we must look earlier in the century to Joseph Addison who left an account of his stay in Naples in *Remarks on Italy*:

Two of their finest modern statues are those of Apollo and Minerva, placed on each side of Sannazarius's tomb. On the face of this monument, which is all of marble, and very neatly wrought, is represented, in bas-relief, Neptune among the Satyrs, to show that this poet was the inventor of piscatory eclogues. I remember Hugo Grotius describes himself in one of his poems, as the first that brought the muses to the sea-side, but he must be understood only of the poets of his own country.¹⁵

¹² James Harris, *Philological Inquiries in Three Parts*, 2 vols (London, 1781), II, 501.

¹³ Greswell, *Memoirs of ... Sannazarius*, p. 394. For other eighteenth-century travellers' descriptions of Sannazaro's tomb see John Northall, *Travels through Italy* (London, 1766), p. 208; Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (London, 1778), III, 403-04; Thomas Martyn, *The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through Italy*, 9th edn, (London, 1787), p. 267; John Smith, *Select Views in Italy with Topographical and Historical Descriptions, in English and French 1792-6* (London, 1816). For a picture of the tomb see 1728, facing p. 526.

¹⁴ William Beckford, *The Travel-Diaries of William Beckford of Fonthill*, ed. Guy Chapman, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), I, 200.

¹⁵ Addison, *Works*, I, 426. Northall is perhaps more subtle in his reading of the bas-relief than Addison: 'In the middle of this monument is an admirable basso-relievo, where Neptune is represented with two satyrs, and two nymphs; which allude to his piscatory eclogues, his satirical epigrams, and his Arcadia', *Travels*, p. 208. See also Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque*: 'Entre ces statues est un bas-relief fort bien exécuté en marbre, où sont représentées des Bacchantes & des Muses, Neptune & le Dieu Pan, pour faire allusion aux différens genres de poésie dans lesquels Sannazar s'est distingué [...]', I, 87.

Addison is alive to the emblematic significance of the tomb which exhibits through lapidary allegorical figures the significant poetic genres which Sannazaro attempted during his lifetime; however, his implied generic categorization of Grotius' *Myrtilus* as a piscatory eclogue betrays a misreading of genre which would feature frequently in critical discussions of Sannazaro's *Eclogae Piscatoriae* in the eighteenth century.¹⁶ Grotius himself considered his poem an 'Idyllium Nauticum', and his invocation emphasizes this innovation:

No more of *Woods*, of *Mountains*, or of *Streams*,
Of *Dryads*, or of *Fauns*, delightful Themes:
The *Belgick* Lyre, with better Grace, explores
The stormy Surges, and the sandy Shores.
Now, nor can Fields, nor flow'ry Lawns invite,
Nor *Haga's* rare encircling Groves delight,
Nor aught a Tribute from the Muses command,
Like Grotts, and Caverns, and a desert Strand,
Themes yet unsung.¹⁷

Gilles Ménage was aware of the potential for generic confusion. In his 'Osservationi sopra L'Aminta' he makes the following comment on Grotius' opening programmatic statement:

Il S. Hugone Grotio [...] vantasi nel suo Idillio Nautico d'hauer' il primo corso l'arringo di questa sorte d'Idillij: *Non audita cano*, &c. Nè sò il perche, nessuno potendo dubitare, ch' inanzi à lui Giacomo Sannazaro n'hauesse composti. E per quelli vien celebrato dall' Ariosto nel Canto vltimo del Furioso [...] si come dal Marini nel primo Sonetto delle sue Rime Maritime [...]¹⁸

An interesting recent discussion of the iconography may be found in Deramaix and Laschke, 'L'église et le tombeau', p. 35.

¹⁶ Addison was not alone in considering Grotius' *Myrtilus* a piscatory eclogue. Greswell writes that 'Sannazarius boasts of being the first to attempt this species of eclogue, in which he has since been followed by Grotius and others', *Memoirs of... Sannazarius*, p. 390.

¹⁷ Hugo Grotius, *Myrtilus*, trans. John Rooke, in *Select Translations*, p. 1 (The translations of Grotius follow a separate title page dated 1725 and are paginated separately). For the Latin see *The Poetry of Hugo Grotius: Original Poetry 1602-03*, ed. Arthur Eyffinger (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), p. 303. Grotius, in spite of his claim, was not the first Dutchman to write a nautical eclogue. In 1573 Jacob de Sluyper (Sluperius, Bailleul 1532 – Arras 1602) composed an *ecloga nautica*, *Damastor*. See W. L. Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), pp. 220-27.

¹⁸ Torquato Tasso, *Aminta, favola boscareccia di Torquato Tasso*, ed. Gilles Ménage (Parigi, 1655), p. 99.

It seems that Ménage recognizes that some readers and critics have conceived of the kind of 'nautical poem' that Grotius wrote as virtually the same (because it concerns the sea) as the piscatory eclogues of Sannazaro, which were themselves praised as 'sea poems' by Ariosto and Marini. This suggests that Ménage sees Grotius as establishing his claim of primacy in writing a nautical idyll precisely because Grotius was aware that people might think (erroneously) of Sannazaro in the context of nautical eclogues and vice versa. No such mistake is made by the editor of the 1689 Amsterdam edition of Sannazaro's Latin poems who suggests that it was Sannazaro's originality in composing piscatory eclogues that prompted Grotius to try an innovation of his own: 'Hinc sibi exemplum sumsit divinus Grotius in nobilissimo illo nautico Idyllio, cui Myrtilo nomen'.¹⁹

Rooke's translation of Grotius' invocation, although generally faithful to the Latin original, is slightly misleading on two occasions. Grotius' pioneering spirit, revealing itself from the outset in the opening word 'PRIMA' (in emphatic upper case), is softened to 'No more', while the phrase 'sandy Shores' is an interpolation not present in the Latin original. 'Prima' is the opening word of Virgil's sixth *Eclogue* and is used emphatically to announce that he is the first writer in Latin to follow Theocritus, the first to transport the Sicilian Muse to a new locale: consequently, the precedent lends weight to Grotius' own claim as the creator of nautical eclogues.²⁰ Grotius' innovation becomes fully apparent when the reader realizes that Myrtilus is not a fisherman but a seaman. John Leech recognized the distinction between 'piscatoria' and 'nautica'. In the dedicatory 'Epistola' to his collection of twenty '*Idyllia, sive Eclogae*' — which he arranged in four pentads, 'bucolicae', 'piscatoriae', 'nauticae', and 'ampelicae' — Leech asks: '*quis oro praeter Sanazarium Piscatorias Eclogas: quis praeter Hugonem Grotium*

¹⁹ *Actii Synceri Sannazarii...Opera Latina omnia, & Integra* (Amsterdam, 1689), p. 161. This edition is cited henceforth as 1689. At least I think this is the implication: the alternative is that 'piscatoria' is again being confused with 'nautica'.

²⁰ For a summary and discussion of the two possible interpretations of the opening lines of Virgil's eclogue see Richard Jenkyns, *Virgil's Experience. Nature and History: Times, Names and Places* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 192. John Dryden's translation of the opening lines reveals that he evidently favoured the interpretation that I follow: 'I First transferr'd to Rome Sicilian Strains: I Nor blush'd the Dorick Muse to dwell on Mantuan Plains'. *The Works of John Dryden*, eds. E.N. Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg, 20 vols (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1956-87), V: *The Works of Virgil in English*, ed. William Frost and V.A. Dearing (1987), p. 107.

Nauticas *tentavit?*'²¹ Addison's confusion, however, is perhaps understandable since the setting for the complaint is the sea-shore, the resort of Sannazaro's fishermen, and at one point Myrtilus says that if his lover Cochlis' fancy is pleased most by 'Tunnies', 'Soales' or 'Dories' he will 'search with all Speed fair *Olpia*'s fishy Store', and proceeds to describe his fishing tackle:

There, Osier-Twigs, and chequer'd Nets arise,
Long Spears, and Casting-Nets salute your Eyes,
Whose buoyant Bark above the Surface lies;
Here, Floats, destructive to the Scaly Race;
There Lines, and Hooks, and tempting Baits I place. (p. 10)

It is ironic that the description of his fishing implements is as detailed as any to be found in the *Eclogae Piscatoriae*; however, this is but one episode in an eclogue which repeatedly asserts its nautical credentials, extending its prospect far beyond the confines of the sea-shore.

Sannazaro's *Eclogae Piscatoriae* were published in 1526²², and although only five complete eclogues and a fragment of a sixth are

²¹ John Leech, *Musae Priores, sive Poetarum Pars Prior* (London, 1620), A2^v. Leech claims credit for the creation of the vine-grower's eclogue — 'In Ampelius nullus (quod sciam)' — a claim that is disputed by Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature*, p. 237.

²² The Houghton Library, Harvard University, possesses a copy that appears to pre-date the traditional *editio princeps: Aeclogae piscatoriae. Salicis metamorphosis. Elegiae tres: ac varia epigrammata* [Venice, 1520]. I have been unable to find reference to this edition in any bibliography of neo-Latin literature, and (thus far) have been unable to construct a bibliographical history. The Harvard catalogue assigns no place or date to its edition, but the book's binding (which is not coterminous with the paper) identifies the place of publication as Venice, and the date of publication as 1520. The book dealer's catalogue entry (Tammaro de Marinis, *Manuscripts et Livres Rares Mis en Vente à La Librairie Ancienne* (Florence, 1908), p. 80) is pasted between the early folios and is more tentative: 'Venezia, ou Ancona? vers 1520'. It is described as a very rare edition, almost unknown. I have traced one other edition to the John Rylands Library, Manchester: *Aeclogae Piscatoriae* ([Rome], 1520). See Gordon Duff, *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 3 vols (Manchester: J.E. Cornish, 1899), III, 1610. The item came to the library as part of the Spencer Collection, purchased in 1892 from the 5th Earl Spencer, and it may be that Duff was repeating information previously attributed by the Spencers or prior owners. Mario Cosenza makes reference to this edition in his *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, 2nd edn, rev. and enl., 6 vols (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1962), IV, 3178. Given that the *Arcadia*, *Lamentatio* and *De Partu Virginis* were originally issued as pirate editions (Venice, 1502, Paris, 1513, and Venice, 1520-23 respectively) it is possible that this edition too was printed without Sannazaro's sanction. The fact that it lacks the *De Partu Virginis* suggests that the 1520 date may be plausible, since the unauthorized edition of Sannazaro's epic only printed 356 lines from Book 1. Vulpus relates that Sannazaro was angered by the clandestine

extant, there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that he wrote ten (probably following the example of Virgil).²³ In the 'Praefatio' to the 1535 edition of Sannazaro's *Poemata*, Paulus Manutius records that Sannazaro left Naples for France with ten eclogues, but some were stolen or mislaid on the return journey: '[...] *quas tamen decem scripserat; sed, è Gallia reversus, has tantum, quas emisimus & fragmentum illud [...] invenit, reliquis aut furto surreptis, aut per incuriam suorum, quibus eas discedens crediderat, amissis*'.²⁴ John Rooke was unable to vouch for the veracity of this story, and modern critics have demurred.²⁵ The extant eclogues, however, reveal Sannazaro's claim of primacy for his poetical endeavour. In *Eclogue* four he writes:

[...] nunc litoream ne despice Musam
 Quam tibi post silvas, post horrida lustra Lycae
 (Si quid id est) salsas deduxi primus ad undas
 Ausus inexperta tentare pericula cymba.²⁶

He repeats this claim in *Ecl.*, 2, 45 and the autobiographical *Elegia*, 3, 2, 57.²⁷ Furthermore, the phrase 'velis maioribus' (*Ecl.*, 4, 1) — alluding to

publication of his works: 'Neque ulli, dum vixit, iratior fuit, quam cuidam, qui scripta ejus nondum satis emendata furtim abstulerat, eaque Venetiis edere constituerat', 1728, pp. 516-17. I propose to conduct further research into this 1520 edition.

²³ The eclogues were printed together with *De Partu Virginis*, *Lamentatio de Morte Christi*, and *Salices*. In the early editions, *Salices* is included under the title 'Piscatoria' and follows the piscatory eclogues. The fact that the subscription 'FINIS' follows the *Salices* and not the piscatory eclogues suggests that 'Piscatoria' is an inclusive term that is capable of embracing not just eclogue but epyllion. Interestingly, in the Venice edition of 1533, *Salices* (pp. 42^v-44^r) is printed after the first four piscatory eclogues (pp. 35^r-42^r), and the fifth eclogue (pp. 44^v-46^v), which now follows *Salices*, is re-numbered 'Ecloga Sexta'. The fragment first appeared in the Venice edition of 1535, although as E.K. Rand notes, it 'must have been circulated before 1533, since [...] it is imitated in an eclogue of Bernardino Rota'. See *American Journal of Philology*, 36 (1915), 203-07 (p. 203).

²⁴ I quote from the 'Praefatio' reproduced in 1728, pp. 575-76. However, the corresponding passage in the Bodleian copy of the 1535 edition does not include the clause speculating as to the reasons for the disappearance of the other eclogues ('*reliquis...amissis*'). See *Iacobi Sannazarii Opera Omnia Latine Scripta, Nuper Edit* (Venice, 1535), a ii^v. Janus Anysius celebrated Sannazaro's return to Naples in his *Egloga Aepolus*. See *Iani Anysii varia poemata et satyrae* (n.pl., n.d), pp. 45^r-46^v.

²⁵ Rooke, 'Life of Sannazarius', p. xxv. See Mustard, *Piscatory Eclogues*, p. 15; E. Kegel-Brinkgreve, *The Echoing Woods: Bucolic and Pastoral from Theocritus to Wordsworth* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1990), p. 310 n. 259.

²⁶ Sannazaro, *Ecl.*, 4, 17-20. I quote from Nash, *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, p. 178.

²⁷ *Ecl.*, 2, 45: 'Quandoquidem nostra cecinisti primus in acta'; *Elegia*, 3, 2, 57: '[...] salas descendi ego primus ad undas'.

the 'maiora' of Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* — coupled with its proximity to 'primum' functions as another metaphorical assertion of primacy. There is little evidence to suggest that Sannazaro shifted the traditional *mise en scène* of pastoral from the countryside to the seashore, substituting fishermen for shepherds in the process, as a response to the literary tyranny of the ancients. Sannazaro's eclogues embrace and modify Virgilian themes and motifs, and his repeated declarations of daring ('ausus') imply that he was confident in his radical modification of pastoral.

It is arguable that Sannazaro's claim to originality deliberately ignores the right of Theocritus' twenty-first *Idyll*, a dialogue between two fishermen, (and to a lesser extent the two Polyphemus idylls VI and XI), to such an honour. Sannazaro could certainly argue for his originality in writing a sequence of such eclogues, but he chose instead to claim the role of pioneer: to deny poetic authority to Theocritus as 'creator'. Sannazaro's reference to his primacy ('primus...Ausus') is couched in terms that seem to allude specifically to Horace's reference to Lucilius in *Satires* 2, 1, 62-3: 'quid? cum est Lucilius ausus | primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem'. Lucilius was the inventor of a new, uniquely Roman, literary genre — satire: 'Graecis intacti carminis auctor' (*Sat.*, 1, 10, 66).²⁸ Sannazaro's allusion functions as an elaborate suppression of the Theocritean model: the implication is that he too, like Lucilius, is writing in a genre untouched ('intacti') by a Greek (Theocritus). The justification, however, for Sannazaro's claim rests on the extent to which his *Eclogae* avoid revealing an indebtedness to Theocritus *Idyll* XXI. Kennedy remarks that Sannazaro would have had 'only an imperfect knowledge of Theocritus' since in Italy in the 1480s the *Idylls* were only just beginning to appear in Latin, and no complete Greek edition was published until 1495.²⁹ Kennedy is rightly more cautious concerning the depth of Sannazaro's acquaintance with Theocritus than Mustard, who confidently states that Theocritus was 'an author whom Sannazaro knew very well'.³⁰ Mustard's commentary on the *Eclogae Piscatoriae* reveals that Sannazaro was familiar with the *Idylls*:

²⁸ Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 10, 1, 93: 'satira quidem tota nostra est'.

²⁹ Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro*, pp. 7-8. A Greek edition *Θεοκρίτου... εἰδύλλιον* was published together with Hesiod's *Works and Days* in Milan by B. Accursius c.1480/81; however, it contained only *Idylls* 1-XVIII.

³⁰ Mustard, *Piscatory Eclogues*, p. 14. Also, David Halperin, *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 2.

he borrowed names from the *Idylls* (Praxinoë and Polybotas in *Eclogue* II), and echoes certain lines in his own verses, although the frequency of these echoes varies significantly between eclogues (*Eclogue* 1, for instance, contains no identifiable allusions to Theocritus). However, there *are* no allusions to Theocritus' piscatory idyll. Sannazaro could make his claim to originality because his *Eclogae* are so very different in style to Theocritus' strangely fabular twenty-first *Idyll*, and because at the time of writing the *Eclogae* relatively few people would have been familiar with the *Idylls*. The proliferation of new editions of Theocritus between 1495 and 1526 would have made the *Idylls* available to a wider (Greek-reading) public, thereby increasing the possibility of a connection being made between Theocritus' piscatory idyll and Sannazaro's own collection of piscatorials; however, Sannazaro's contemporaries seem to have been content to support and reiterate his declaration of originality, and these are often collected together and reproduced as *testimonia* in continental seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions of Sannazaro's Latin poetry. So in the section 'Illustrium Poetarum Carmina ad Sannazarium, et de Sannazario', an elegy on Sannazaro's death written by L. Gregorius Gyraldus is reproduced which recalls his piscatory innovation in diction closely echoing Sannazaro's own: 'Et SYNCERUS abest, cecinit qui primus in *acta* | Non prius auditum carmen'.³¹ In his 'Osservationi', Gilles Ménage added a qualification to Gyraldus' endorsement of Sannazaro's claim:

Anzi da Lilio Giraldo nel suo Poema *de Incommodis Vrbanæ Direptionis*, è tenuto per il primo autore di que' Idillij Pescatorij [...] in che s'inganna parimente Lilio Giraldo, se forse non intende de' Poeti Latini, sendo manifesto, che Teocrito n'habbia composto vn'Idillio Pescatorio.³²

Ménage, however, will grant Sannazaro the originality of composing a sequence of such eclogues: 'Mà non hauendone composto altro che vno, e quell' istesso anche molto breue, si può dir pure, che'l Sannazaro, che ne hà fatto molti, e lunghissimi, ne sia stato il primo compositore'.³³ In England, Michael Drayton isolated the Classical pastoral tradition from the more recent Neapolitan variant, thereby stressing Sannazaro's originality:

³¹ Quoted in *Jacobi, Sive Actii Synceri Sannazarii...Poemata* (Patavii, 1719), p. xxxviii. Cp. Horace *Carm.*, 3, 1, 2-3: 'carmina non prius | audita'.

³² Ménage, *Aminta*, pp. 99-100.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

*This, as all other formes of Poesie (excepting perhaps the admirable Latine Piscatories of that Noble Neapolitan, SANAZARA) hath beene received from the Greekes, and as at the second hand, from the Romanes.*³⁴

Through the enumeration of these various examples it becomes apparent that irrespective of the existence of a piscatory idyll by Theocritus, Sannazaro's collection of piscatory eclogues was considered radical and distinctive enough by his contemporaries not to be derived from it. It is in the second half of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century that Theocritus *Idyll XXI* is recognised as a potential model for the *Eclogae Piscatoriae*, but the association is only sporadically made, and even then only in passing.³⁵

In the *Vita Di M. Jacopo Sannazaro Descritta da Giovambatista Crispo da Gallipoli*, Crispo (c.1550-c.1596), one of Sannazaro's early biographers, comments on his claim to innovation, observing that his boast was justified because 'perchè, che che de' Poeti Latini molti, e de' Greci avessero versificato di *Halieutica*; niun di esso però avea scritte Egloghe, ed Amori di Pescatori'.³⁶ This corresponds with Vulpus' relation that Sannazaro's Latin name 'Actius Syncerus', which was bestowed upon him by Giovanni Pontano when he was admitted to the Academy in the early 1480s, derived from the fact that he first composed piscatory eclogues of an amatory kind: 'to SANNAZARIUS, being already received into his strictest Friendship, he gave the Name of ACTIUS SYNCERUS; because He, of all the *Latins*, had first introduced *Fishermen* discoursing concerning their Loves'.³⁷ Crispo's observation is itself glossed by the eighteenth-century editor, who notes that Theocritus introduces two fishermen talking together in his twenty-first *Idyll*. However, after considering the argument of the *Idyll* — 'l'uno de' quali racconta all' altro un suo sogno' — he concludes:

³⁴ Michael Drayton, 'To the Reader of his Pastorals', in *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Herbel, 5 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), II, 517.

³⁵ The exception is J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (Lyons, 1561), p. 150 (Book III, Ch. xcix); *Poetices libri septem: Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst*, ed. Luc Dietz, Manfred Fuhrmann, Gregor Vogt-Spira, 5 vols (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1994-), III, 60.

³⁶ *Le Opere Volgari di M. Jacopo Sannazaro* (Padova, 1723), p. xi.

³⁷ Rooke, 'Life of Sannazarius', p. xiv. Pontano's Academy was 'a sure Temple dedicated to Wisdom and the Muses' which attracted a highly exclusive coterie of Neapolitan youth and nobility. For a list of the Academy's members, see Robertus de Sarno, *Joannis Joviani Pontani Vita* (Naples, 1761), pp. 20-1.

Ma forse il Sanazzaro si darà guistamente il vanto d'essere stato il primo a trattare in verso gli amori de' Pescatori, giacchè appresso Theocrito in detto luogo non si tratta di materie amorose.³⁸

The footnote to *Eclogue* II verse 44 in the 1689 Amsterdam edition of Sannazaro's Latin poems comments also upon his claim to innovation:

ante nostrum poëtam nemo unquam Musam illam humilem rusticamque, (ut Fabius loquitur) extra silvas eduxerat [...] extat apud Theocritum Idyllion, in quo duo piscatores de nocturno somnio colloquuntur: sed id diversi prorsus est characteris. adeo ut non vane inventi gloriam sibi vindicet noster.³⁹

Although it is acknowledged that Theocritus wrote a poem in which fishermen featured as the protagonists, the difference in style, it is argued, is a significant enough reason for allowing Sannazaro the credit for creating a new subgenre of pastoral.

The association between the Sicilian poet and Sannazaro did not go unnoticed in England in the eighteenth century. Nathan Drake speculated that the 'pleasing little poem, *The Fishermen* of Theocritus, probably first suggested to Sannazarius the idea of writing *piscatory* eclogues, who has been followed with much success by Phineas Fletcher and Brown'.⁴⁰ In Thomas Warton's edition of Theocritus' *Idylls* (1770), the critical position is slightly different to that adopted in the 1689 Amsterdam edition. Warton notes tentatively ('forte') the connection between the Sicilian poet and Sannazaro, but he also questions the authorship of the idyll:

Mendosum valde est hoc Carmen, et duriusculum; nec multum salis ac leporis habere videtur absconditum. Ex eodem forte Sannazarius Eclogae PISCATORIAE rationem desumpsit. Ne primus hoc genus invenisse videretur et intulisse. Non tamen puto hoc Idyllium a Theocrito profectum fuisse.⁴¹

Warton advances both textual and stylistic reasons for the inauthenticity of Theocritus *Idyll* XXI; however, this was not necessarily an opinion that was commonly held. John Jones, for example, remarked that 'every

³⁸ *Le Opere Volgari*, p. xi.

³⁹ 1689, p. 160.

⁴⁰ Nathan Drake, *Literary Hours; or, Sketches Critical and Narrative* (Sudbury, 1798), p. 231.

⁴¹ *Theocriti Syracusii quae supersunt*, ed. Thomas Warton, 2 vols (Oxford, 1770), II, 235. Warton's edition received notice in *Critical Review*, 29 (1770), 277. For a discussion of the authorship of the idyll, see *Theocritus*, edited with a translation and commentary by A.S.F. Gow, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), II, 369-70.

one knows that *Theocritus*, who is the Standard of *Bucolick* Writing, has given us a *Piscatory Idyllium*'.⁴² That said, Richard Polwhele, in the notes accompanying his 1786 translation of the Greek bucolic poets, comes to a similar conclusion to Warton with respect to the textual and stylistic deficiencies of the idyll (although this does not lead him to question its authorship); however, he is slightly more confident than Warton on the matter of the influence of *Idyll XXI* on Sannazaro's eclogues:

"THE FISHERMEN" is a singular Performance. Critics are agreed in allowing the Piscatory Eclogues of SANNAZARIUS a considerable Degree of Merit, as original Pieces. The Hint was not improbably suggested to the *Italian* Author by this beautiful little Poem, which no one could possibly peruse without a high Degree of Satisfaction, were not its Mutilations or at least its numerous corrupted Passages too offensive to admit of an uninterrupted Attention to the Characters, or the general Tenor of the Piece.⁴³

One critic who could peruse Theocritus *Idyll XXI* 'without a high Degree of Satisfaction' was the Frenchman Bernard le Bouvier de Fontenelle who set out his critical position in his *Discours sur la nature d'églogue* (1688). After criticising Sannazaro's eclogues, he directs his polemics against Theocritus, who he admits provides an ancient (but still inexcusable) precedent for Sannazaro's adoption of the fisherman as a pastoral character, but has failed to write a poem of any quality worth reproducing:

'Tis true that *Theocritus* hath an *Idyllium* of two Fishermen; but it doth not seem to me so beautiful as to have deserv'd to tempt any Man to write one of that kind. The subject of it is this; Two old Fishermen had but sparingly supp'd together in a wretched little Thatcht-house, by the Sea-side: One of them wakes his Bedfellow to tell him, he had just dreamt that he was catching a Golden Fish; and the other answers him, that he might starve though he had really caught such a one. Was this worth writing an Eclogue!⁴⁴

⁴² John Jones, *Oppian's Halieuticks of the Nature of Fishes and Fishing of the Ancients* (Oxford, 1722) p. 10. The first two books of the *Halieuticks* were in fact translated by William Diaper, author of a collection of fourteen sea-eclogues published under the title *Nereides* in 1712. Upon Diaper's death, Jones translated the remaining three books and edited the complete work for publication. Francesco Petrarca refers to Oppian in *Bucolicum Carmen* 10.199-201. For connections between Oppian and Sannazaro, see Ralph Nash, 'Oppian and Sannazaro', *Classical Philology*, 60 (1965), 116-18.

⁴³ Richard Polwhele, *The Idyllia, Epigram and Fragments of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus with the Elegies of Tytraeus* (Exeter, 1786), p. 316.

⁴⁴ *Monsieur Bossu's Treatise of the epick poem. Done into English, with a preface by W. J. to which are added, An essay upon satyr, by Monsieur D'Acier; and A treatise upon pastorals, by monsieur Fontanelle (English'd by mr. Motteux)* (London, 1695), p. 284.

Fontenelle judges the poem nugatory and scarcely worthy of imitation. Beaupré Bell was of the same opinion. In the 'Preface' to his translation of Sannazaro's 'The Osiers' (1724), which is indebted to the critical pronouncements on the piscatory eclogue made by Fontenelle and Thomas Tickell, Bell remarks:

One can scarce believe that it was in imitation of *Theocritus*, who has given Us one of that sort. That *Sannazarius* made all his Latin Eclogues *Piscatory*; tho' in his Beauties he has frequently copied him. I am apt to think *Sannazarius* a Man of too polite a Taste, not to distinguish this of *Theocritus* to be none of those, in which *Venus*, *Cupid*, and the *Graces* are said to have assisted him.⁴⁵

In his own day, Sannazaro's eclogues were held in high repute. As a writer of pastoral, Julius Caesar Scaliger extolled him as the poetic heir of Virgil, and Paulus Jovius remarked that the *Eclogae Piscatoriae* were the most popular of his poems.⁴⁶ Vulpius, in his *Vita Sannazarii*, related: 'In primis vero ECLOGÆ PISCATORIÆ omnium admirationem promeritæ sunt'.⁴⁷ John Rooke, relying closely on the written testimonies of Sannazaro's contemporaries (of Vulpius in particular), wrote that 'above all the rest of his Works, his *Piscatory Eclogues* have gain'd the greatest, and most general Applause'.⁴⁸ The future popularity of Sannazaro's Latin poetry, however, would be bound up with the fate of neo-Latin poetry in general. Kennedy writes that 'Historically the movement to develop a Neo-Latin literature in Italy and throughout Europe reached an abrupt end within a generation after Sannazaro's death, as much for political and ecclesiastical reasons as for philological ones'.⁴⁹ Yet the *Eclogae Piscatoriae* were not forgotten completely.

⁴⁵ Beaupré Bell, *The Osiers, a pastoral translated from the Latin of Sannazarius, with some Account of Sannazarius, and his Piscatory Eclogues* (Cambridge, 1724) p. 3. Bell's indebtedness to Thomas Tickell is evidenced in his quotation (unattributed) of an extract from Tickell's censure of Sannazaro in *Guardian* 28 (13 April 1713): 'Woods and Launs, to the barren Beach and boundless Ocean', p. 2. Cf. *The Guardian*, ed. John Calhoun Stephens (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1982), p. 123. Bell's translation was reviewed in *New Memoirs of Literature*, ed. M. de la Roche, 6 vols (London, 1725-27), I, 188-93.

⁴⁶ Scaliger, *Poetices*, p. 315 (Book VI): 'In carmine quoque pastorali solus legi dignus omnium qui post Virgilium scripsere'. He considered *Eclogue* 2 the best by far: 'Ecloga verò Galatea longè optima est'; Bell agreed, describing it as 'the best Eclogue He, or perhaps any modern Poet ever wrote', *Osiers*, p. 3.

⁴⁷ 1728, p. 527.

⁴⁸ Rooke, 'Life of Sannazarius', p. xxx.

⁴⁹ Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro*, p. 223.

An anthology of pastoral poetry published in Frankfurt in 1539 indicates that the piscatorials were quickly admitted into the canon of pastoral literature:

Insunt in hoc libello ad instruendum primae aetatis sermonem ac linguam: recens collectae, atq[ue] in unum coniunctae, rerum bucolicarum P. Virgilii Maronis Eclogae X, T. Calphurnii Siculii Eclogae VII, Aurelii Nemesiani Olympii Eclogae IIII, Rei Piscatoriae Actii Synceri Sanazarrii Eclogae V.

Furthermore, they spawned numerous imitations across Europe⁵⁰, and English travellers and writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would refer to him in their works: Fynes Moryson visited Mergellina in 1594, and referred to Sannazaro in his *Itinerary* as 'a famous Poet almost of our age', and Phineas Fletcher, the author of a collection of *Piscatorie Eclogues* (written 1610-16, published 1633), praised 'th' *Italian* fisher-swain' in his roll-call of classic poets in Book One of *The Purple Island*.⁵¹ In the eighteenth century, James Harris observed of his fourth eclogue 'Proteus', written in imitation of Virgil's sixth eclogue, that it 'may justly be valued as a master-piece', and Bell expressed surprise that 'so few of *Sannazarius's* Works have yet appear'd' in translation.⁵²

⁵⁰ Joachim Du Bellay would recommend Sannazaro's *Eclogae* as the model for French poets considering writing piscatory pastoral: 'Chant moy [...] ces plaisantes Eclogues [...] Marines a l'exemple de Sennazar gentil-homme Neapolitain'. See *La Défense et illustration de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1561), p. 24.

⁵¹ Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, 4 vols (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1907), I, 241; Giles and Phineas Fletcher: *Poetical Works*, ed. Frederick S. Boas, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908-9), II, 15; also, Edward Phillips, *Theatrum poetarum, or a compleat collection of the poets* (London, 1675), pp. 3-4.

⁵² Harris, *Philological Inquiries*, p. 473; Bell, *Osiers*, p. 4. In England in the seventeenth century, Naham Tate translated the first three of Sannazaro's eclogues, and W. Bowls the fourth, and they were published under the title *The Piscatory Eclogues of Sanazarius in Poems by Several Hands, and on Several Occasions, Collected by N. Tate* (London, 1685), pp. 347-72. In the eighteenth century, Sannazaro's piscatory eclogues were published as part of an anthology of Italian neo-Latin poetry. Alexander Pope saw the work through the presses: *Selecta poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt. Cura cujusdam anonymi [F. Atterbury?] anno 1684 congesta, iterum in lucem data, una cum aliorum Italorum operibus, accurante A. Pope*, 2 vols (London, 1740). For Pope's interest in the Italian neo-Latin poets see Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men*, ed. James M. Osborn, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), I, 232-34. According to a manuscript annotation on the title page of the Houghton Library copy of Edward Walpole's translation of Sannazaro's *On the Birth of Our Saviour* (London, 1736), the work was 'perused & corrected by Alex Pope Esqr.' (Houghton Library *EC75 W1653 736s). Pope's own *Pastorals* were translated into Latin by Stephen Barrett in 1746.

While Sannazaro employed the conventional *topos* of disclaiming poetic ambition in *Elegia* I, 1, 27-28 — ‘Non mihi Maeoniden, Luci, non cura Maronem | Vincere: si fiam notus amore, sat est’ — it is evident elsewhere that he was acutely aware (and desirous) of following in the literary footsteps of Virgil; and Vulpus records that such was Sannazaro’s admiration of the Roman poet that every year he celebrated his birthday with his friends with a solemn feast: ‘nusquam a Virgilii magnitudine deiciebat oculos, quem adeo admirabatur, ut ejus natalem diem quotannis solemniter convivio cum familiaribus celebraret’.⁵³ There can be little doubt then that Sannazaro would have been surprised by the popularity of his *Eclogae*. The twenty years spent composing and refining *De Partu Virginis*, quasi-Virgilian in terms of the temporal proximity of its genesis, is a testament to the seriousness with which Sannazaro regarded his short epic.⁵⁴ Paulus Jovius records that ‘from his majestic sacred poem, *On the Virgin Birth*, which he filed and polished for twenty years, he seems not to have got the supreme glory that he expected, while the *Piscatory Eclogues*, which were the casual compositions of his youth, were received with universal applause and overshadowed the fame of his other works, so that he was forced to swallow his complaints about the faulty taste of the public with evident embarrassment but not, nevertheless, without secret delight’.⁵⁵ Of the popularity of *Arcadia*, Giambattista Crispo reports him saying that ‘fame is ill-secured that has no other foundation than the judgment of the multitude’.⁵⁶ Rooke, in his ‘*Life of Sannazarius*’, remarks also on Sannazaro’s growing dissatisfaction with *Arcadia*: ‘His *Arcadia*, a Work stor’d with youthful Fire, now, he was

⁵³ 1728, p. 88; p. 515.

⁵⁴ Nash, *Major Latin Poems*, notes that Sannazaro, in a letter to Antonio Seripando in 1521, remarked that ‘he might have done better to go fishing, rather than spend so much of the past three years revising the same passage over and over’, p. 26. For an account of Sannazaro’s Virgilian method of composition and revision, see 1728, p. 516. See also, *Jacopo Sannazaro: De Partu Virginis*, ed. Charles Fantazzi and Alessandro Perosa (Firenze, 1988); and two articles on this subject by Charles Fantazzi, ‘The Making of the *De partu virginis*’, in *Actus Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, St Andrews 24 August to 1 September 1982*, ed., I.D. McFarlane (Bringhamton, 1986), pp. 127-34; ‘Poetry and Religion in Sannazaro’s *De partu virginis*’, in *Ut Granum Sinapis: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef IJsewijn*, ed. Gilbert Tournoy and Dirk Sacré (Leuven, 1997), pp. 231-48.

⁵⁵ *Elogia doctorum Virorum ab avorum memoria publicatis ingenii monumentis illustrum* (Basel, 1561) p. 186; *An Italian Portrait Gallery*, trans. Florence Gragg (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, 1935), p. 116.

⁵⁶ Quoted in Nash, *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, p. 11.

come to Age, he intirely disapprov'd; and he took it amiss, that any should pretend to extol it with immoderate Zeal'.⁵⁷

It is evident from the *Arcadia* that Sannazaro understood the concept of the *rota Virgilii* ('wheel of Virgil'), whereby the aspiring poet writes his way up the hierarchy of genres, trying his hand first at pastoral, then georgic, before finally assaulting epic in his maturity (Rooke's references to 'youthful Fire' and 'come to Age' imply a developing poetic maturity). It was the late classical commentators who devised the concept of the *rota Virgilii*, observing that four preliminary lines were deleted in antiquity which set the *Aeneid* in the context of, and as the climax to, the poet's *oeuvre*:

ILLE ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi
ut quamvis avido parent arva colono,
gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis (*Aen.*, 1, 1a-d)⁵⁸

Prompted by the cancelled opening of the *Aeneid* recorded by both Donatus and Servius, Renaissance grammarians perpetuated the formula that made the works of Virgil paradigmatic for the stages of a poetical rite of passage for an aspiring poet, and of three oratorical registers.⁵⁹ The generic patterning of Virgil's works also had broader social connotations as the 'biographical sequence' was not only superimposed upon literary genre, but also upon social rank. Elena Theodorakopoulos writes that in the Middle Ages, 'the triadic career is pictured in the form

⁵⁷ Rooke, 'Life of Sannazarius', p. xxvi.

⁵⁸ For arguments over the authenticity of these lines see the opposing points of view in R. B. Austin, 'Ille Ego Qui Quondam ...', *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 18 (1968), 107-15 and P. A. Hansen, 'Ille Ego Qui Quondam...Once Again', *Classical Quarterly*, 22.1 (1972), 139-49. The reliability of the ancient *Vitae* is discussed by Nicholas Horsfall in 'Virgil: His Life and Times', in Nicholas Horsfall (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of Virgil. Mnemosyne Supplement 151* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 1-25.

⁵⁹ Servius: 'tres enim sunt characteres, humilis, medius, grandiloquus: quos omnes in hoc invenimus poeta. nam in Aeneide grandiloquum habet, in georgicis medium, in bucolicis humilem [...]', *Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Comentarii*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen, 3 vols (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), III, 1-2. Henceforth cited as Thilo. Interesting accounts of the *rota Virgilii* may be found in the following works: E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard Trask (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), pp. 201n, 232; Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), Ch. 2; Fred J. Nichols, 'The Development of Neo-Latin Theory of the Pastoral in the Sixteenth Century', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 18 (1969), 95-114; Elena Theodorakopoulos, 'Closure: the Book of Virgil', in Charles Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 155-65.

of concentric circles, a quasi-cosmic image, in which the texts of Virgil come to stand for all possible forms of human life and expression'.⁶⁰ Servius, following Donatus, considered that Virgil was conforming to the 'naturalis ordo':

et dicit Donatus [...] in scribendis carminibus naturalem ordinem secutum esse Vergilium: primo enim pastoralis fuit in montibus vita, post agriculturae amor, inde bellorum cura successit.⁶¹

Since the pastoral life was of primitive origin — 'a priscis temporibus' (Donatus' phrase) — it was only natural that Virgil should begin his poetic career with pastoral poetry, and Nichols observes that 'By the time of the Renaissance, the idea that there is a natural order of progress in poetic development becomes a rigid literary precept'.⁶² The *rota* may be regarded as a structure that emphasizes inclusivity: both literary and social. Virgil's poems are arranged in an ascending teleological sequence that nevertheless stresses their relationship as an organic entity, and the *rota* itself is configured as a closed system in which self-referentiality is part of its essence. Furthermore, the related division of society is a manifestation of the *rota*'s attempt to map itself on to all areas of human life. Virgil's 'epigraph', quoted by Donatus, contributed also towards the establishment of this canonical model as the final phrase referred to his three principal works: 'cecini pascua rura duces'.⁶³ Sannazaro himself apparently wrote an epigram on the *rota* which Richard Lovelace translated as 'Sanazar's Hexastick' in 1659: 'A Swain, Hind, Knight; I fed, till'd, did command | Goats, Fields, my Foes; with leaves, a spade, my hand'.⁶⁴ Here, all the triple subdivisions implied by the *rota* are in play: social rank, locale, and human activity.

In *Arcadia* prose seven, Carino entrusts Sincero with a pipe of elderwood and expresses his hopes for Sincero's poetic career:

⁶⁰ Theodorakopoulos, p. 155. It was John of Garland in the thirteenth century who conceived of this diagrammatical representation of the poetic career.

⁶¹ Thilo, III, 3-4.

⁶² Nichols, 'Development of Neo-Latin Theory', p. 99.

⁶³ Suetonius, *Opera*, with an English translation by J.C. Rolfe, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1930), II, 476-77; *Vitae Vergilianae Antiquae*, ed. Colin Hardie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 14. The biographical material in Donatus' 'Life of Virgil' is mostly derived from Suetonius, although Donatus made various interpolations.

⁶⁴ Cited by A. Low in *The Georgic Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 13. I have been unable to find the Latin original of this epigram in any of the editions of Sannazaro that I have consulted.

With this I trust that you, if it be not denied you by the fates, in the future will sing in loftier vein the loves of the Fauns and the Nymphs. And even as up to this point you have fruitlessly spent the beginnings of your adolescence among the simple and rustic songs of shepherds, so hereafter you will pass your fortunate young manhood among the sounding trumpets of the most famous poets of your century, not without hope of eternal fame.⁶⁵

Here Sannazaro follows the model of the triadic career as established by the Virgilian *Vitae* through their imposition of a serial teleological development upon the works of Virgil.⁶⁶ The references to 'adolescence' and 'manhood' suggest a developing poetic maturity, while 'fruitlessly spent' reveals that this maturity is expressed through genre: certain genres become associated with certain levels of ability. Pastoral is preparatory ('beginnings'). The pastoral indiscretions of youth will be left behind (although not forgotten) when the poet tries a 'loftier vein'.⁶⁷ Indeed, within *Arcadia* itself we may observe Sannazaro developing an 'epic' register: the funeral games marking the first anniversary of the death of Masillia are indebted to the games in *Iliad* 23, *Aeneid* 5 and *Thebaid* 6.⁶⁸ It was this keen humanist engagement with the Classics that encouraged Sannazaro's contemporaries to draw comparisons between him and Virgil, a task expedited by a several coincidences.

⁶⁵ Nash, *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, pp. 74-75. Prose 10 features a brief genealogy of pastoral. The sampogna passes from Pan to Theocritus to 'Mantuan Tityrus' (Virgil) who 'having abandoned his goats [he] set himself up to instruct the rustic tillers of the soil, perhaps with a hope of later singing with more sonorous trumpet the arms of Trojan Aeneas', pp. 104-05.

⁶⁶ Cf. also Calpurnius Siculus, *Eclogues*, 4, 160-63, and Petrarch, *Bucolicum Carmen*, 10, 46-48. Alexander Pope was also conscious of following the Virgilian career. See Spence, *Observations*, I, 21.

⁶⁷ Nash, *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, is probably right to conjecture that 'loftier vein' refers to Sannazaro's Ovidian imitation *Salices*, p. 74.

⁶⁸ There are several occasions in the *Eclogues* when Virgil intimates a desire to move beyond pastoral: *Ecl.*, 4, 53-57; 6, 3-5; 8, 6-10. The reference to 'sepulchrum...Bianoris' in *Ecl.*, 9, 59-60 introduces an epic inference: see Frederick Brenk, 'War and the Shepherd: The Tomb of Bianor in Vergil's Ninth Eclogue', *American Journal of Philology*, 102 (1981), 427-30, and S.V. Tracy, 'Sepulchrum Bianoris: Virgil *Eclogues* 9. 59-61', *Classical Philology*, 77 (1982), 328-30. At the close of *Eclogue* 10, the injunction 'surgamus', contrasting with 'recubans' with which the *Eclogues* open, functions as an emphatic indication that a change of genre is imminent, while the references to 'sat' (70) and 'saturae' (77) contribute to the closural allusions through their suggestion of generic plenitude. John Martyn considered as much in his note to 'saturae' (10, 77): 'By the goats being sufficiently fed, the Poet seems to have a mind to express, that he had spent time enough, in that humble employment of writing Pastorals'. See *The Bucolics of Virgil, with an English Translation and notes by John Martyn* (London, 1749), p. 280.

In an elegy about his own studies and the writings of Joannes Jovianus Pontanus, Sannazaro expressed his hope of poetic immortality: 'Meque inter claros attollat fama poëtas' (I, 9, 15). However, he was conscious that his tomb should not detract from Virgil's greatness:

Et nostro celebrata superbiat umbra sepulchro,
Spernat & e Pariis marmora caesa jugis:
Non tamen ut magni tumulum tentare Maronis
Audeat, aut tantum speret habere decus.⁶⁹

Of Virgil's interment, Donatus records: 'Ossa eius Neapolim translata sunt tumuloque condita qui est via Puteolana intra lapidem secundum'.⁷⁰ The distych on Sannazaro's tomb, composed by Cardinal Bembo, exploits the geographical proximity of the tombs of both poets:

Da sacro cineri flores; hic ille Maroni
Sincerus musa, proximus ut tumulo.⁷¹

The turn on the superlative 'proximus' reveals that it is not only Sannazaro's tomb that is closest to Virgil, but also his poetic talent. Others were of a similar opinion: Thomas Pope Blount, for example, cites Borrichius who, in his *Dissertationes Academicæ de Poëtis*, notes that 'Sannazarius lies buried at *Pausilypum* (about three Miles from *Naples*) close by *Virgil*; it being but reasonable, that as they were Men of equal Skill, and who affected the very same sort of Learning, so even in their *Graves* they should not be at any great distance, *one* from the *other*'.⁷² M. Antonius Flaminus, in an elegant chiasmic verse (*Carmina* II, xx), also compliments Sannazaro by proclaiming his poetic talent nearest to that of Virgil through a juxtaposition of the shepherd and piscatory pastoral:

⁶⁹ 1728, pp. 106-07. Thomas Nugent, an eighteenth-century traveller, observed that Sannazaro's tomb was 'all of white marble', *Grand Tour*, III, 403. See also Deramaix and Laschke, 'L'église et le tombeau', pp. 27-29.

⁷⁰ Suetonius, *Opera*, II, 476; Hardie, *Vitæ*, p. 14.

⁷¹ Northall, *Travels*, p. 208. Bembo's distych was evidently well known. As late as 1687, Jean Mabillon claimed that the distych was 'omnibus noti'. See *Museum Italicum, seu Collectio Veterum Scriptorum ex Bibliothecis Italicis, eruta a d. Johanne Mabillon, & d. Michæle Germain*, 2 vols (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1687), I, 112.

⁷² Thomas Pope Blount, *De Re Poetica* (London, 1694), pp. 192-93. Saint-Non concludes that it was the proximity of the tombs which inspired the distych: 'La position de ce Tombeau à fort peu de distance du Monument antique, auquel on a donné le nom du Tombeau de Virgile, a inspiré au Cardinal [Bembo] l'idée de ces vers, où il compare on le voit, ces deux Poètes l'un à l'autre', *Voyage Pittoresque*, I, 87.

Quantum Virgilio debebit silva Maroni,
 Et pastor, donec Musa Maronis erit;
 Tantum paene tibi debent piscator, & acta,
 ACTI, divino proxime Virgilio.⁷³

An even more elaborate eulogy by Benedetto Menzini is quoted and translated by Greswell in his *Memoirs of Sannazarius*:

Lo! there the net extended on the sand:
 Apart the light bark stems the foamy spray:
 Thick waves in tuneful guise yon reedy strand.
 NYMPHS of the WOODS — and ye of OCEAN, say
 Like him, of Greece or Latium's pastoral band
 Who bore in song your mutual palm away?⁷⁴

Sannazaro is awarded the palm for pastoral. While such a judgement is extravagant, it is at least demonstrative of the high regard in which Sannazaro was held. His *Eclogae Piscatoriae*, radical in their day, were justly appreciated for this radicalism. Sannazaro was hailed for opening a new avenue of pastoral, and others were quick to follow. By the eighteenth century, however, this radicalism had hardened into something quite different: notoriety. Sannazaro's piscatorials became victims of the increasing revisionist tendency in pastoral criticism that excluded poems from 'pastoral' on the basis of whether their characters, subjects, style or morality conformed to the ascetic rules that had been devised. The unconventionality of the piscatorials, some critics asserted, even if influenced indirectly by Theocritus, made them unsuitable for imitation, and they were regarded in some quarters as a regrettable anomaly in the literary history of pastoral.

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⁷³ Marcantonio Flaminio, *Carmina*, ed. Massimo Scorsone (San Mauro Torinese: Edizioni RES, 1993), p. 91.

⁷⁴ Greswell, *Memoirs of...Sannazarius*, p. 395.

L'ODE LATINE COMME GENRE 'TEMPÉRÉ':
LE LYRISME FAMILIAL DE MACRIN DANS LES *HYMNES* DE
1537

1. L'ode latine à la Renaissance: un genre ambigu

1.1. *L'ode vue par la Pléiade*

Lorsque l'on évoque le genre littéraire de l'ode à la Renaissance, l'on songe immédiatement, en général, à la définition ou, du moins, à la réputation que lui ont constituées, au milieu du siècle, Du Bellay, dans la *Défense et illustration de la langue française* (1549), ou Ronsard, dans le tonitruant avertissement au lecteur qui ouvrait *Les quatre premiers livres des odes* de 1550.¹ Le genre y est conçu comme une imitation d'Horace et surtout de Pindare², encore mal connu du grand public à cette date³ et arboré par la jeune Pléiade comme un prestigieux emblème de son érudition. Du Bellay en propose cette recette:

Chante moy ces odes incongues encor' de la Muse Francoyse, d'un
luc, bien accordé au son de la lyre Greque & Romaine: & qu'il n'y
ait vers, ou n'aparoisse quelque vestige de rare & antique erudition.

¹ Voir Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. Jean Céard, Daniel Ménager et Michel Simo-
nin, 2 vol. (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), I, 994-998. Ronsard se vante d'être le 'premier
auteur Lirique François' (p. 994), de suivre sur un 'chemin inconnu' Horace et Pindare
(p. 995), de prendre modèle sur la variété de nature (p. 996) et indique comme sujet cen-
tral du genre la louange (et même une louange hyperbolique) des grands (pp. 996-997).

² Cf. Jacques Peletier du Mans, *Art poétique*, V, *De l'Ode*, in *Traité de poétique et de
rhétorique de la Renaissance*, éd. Francis Goyet (Paris: Le Livre de Poche classique,
1990), p. 297. L'influence du recueil d'Anacréon (1ère éd. 1554, chez Henri Estienne),
qui ramène l'ode du côté de la mignardise mélancolique, est un peu plus tardive encore.

³ Sur Pindare, voir la thèse de Jean-Eudes Girot (actuellement sous presse à Genève,
chez Droz), 'Pindare en France avant Ronsard: de l'émergence des études grecques à la
publication des «Quatre premiers livres des Odes» (1550)', 2 vols (thèse dactylographiée,
Université de Tours, 1997), sur Macrin: tome II, 299-312.

Et quand à ce, te fourniront de matiere les louanges des Dieux & des hommes vertueux, le discours fatal des choses mondaines, la solitude des jeunes hommes, comme l'amour, les vins libres, & toute bonne chere. Sur toutes choses, prens garde que ce genre de poëme soit éloigné du vulgaire, enrichy & illustré de motz propres & epithetes non oysifz, orné de graves sentences, & varié de toutes manieres de couleurs & ornements poëtiques...⁴

La liste des thèmes assignés ici à l'ode, louanges des dieux et des héros, réflexion épicurienne sur la vanité des choses humaines, poésie érotico-symposiastique, provient essentiellement de l'*Epître aux Pisons* d'Horace (83-85)⁵, qui constitue, depuis les débuts de l'ode néo-latine au Quattrocento, le texte de référence; Du Bellay cependant met surtout l'accent sur le caractère érudit, orné (donc apparenté au 'grand' style épideictique⁶) et surtout 'éloigné du vulgaire', du genre. C'est précisément ce que lui reprochera, dans le *Quintil Horacien*, Barthélemy Aneau, défenseur, comme on sait, de la première poétique du XVI^e siècle et de la génération Marot, qui estime au contraire, alléguant un précepte d'Horace⁷, que le poème doit reposer sur 'choses & paroles prinse au mylieu de la communauté des hommes' et de point être 'estrang[é]' ni réservé 'aux doctes'.⁸ De fait, l'image que la Pléiade allait imposer de l'ode se démarque assez nettement de celle qu'en avaient d'abord donnée les néo-latins, lors des premières résurgences du genre à l'époque humaniste, dont on trouve encore trace même chez Dorat, quand il suit en latin les pas de son élève Ronsard.⁹

⁴ Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse*, éd. Henri Chamard, introduction de Jean Vignes (Paris: S.T.F.M., 1997; 1ère éd. 1948), pp. 113-114.

⁵ Cf. Horace, *carm.*, 4, 2.

⁶ Sur la traditionnelle division tripartite (haut, moyen, bas) des styles dans la rhétorique antique, et le lien établi, notamment par Cicéron, entre style sublime et ornement, voir Cicéron, *Orator*, 97 et Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990³), §1079 3).

⁷ Horace, *ars*, 240-243 (cf. éd. Chamard de la *Deffence*, p. 114, n.1).

⁸ Barthélemy Aneau, *Le Quintil Horacien*, in *Traité de poétique*, pp. 211-212.

⁹ Voir l'introduction de Geneviève Demerson à Jean Dorat, *Les Odes latines*, texte présenté, établi, traduit, annoté par G.D., Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand II, n.s., fasc. 5 (Clermont-Ferrand, 1979).

1.2. *Théoriciens et praticiens de l'ode néo-latine avant la Pléiade*

Il n'est évidemment pas question de procéder ici à un historique de l'ode néo-latine depuis ses débuts, travail capital qui reste à faire.¹⁰ Je me bornerai à quelques remarques d'ensemble.

1.2.1. *L'ode néo-latine au Quattrocento*

Quelques sondages épars chez les auteurs d'odes du Quattrocento, appuyés par le panorama utile, quoique superficiel, qu'en donne C. Maddison, montrent que, dès François Philelphe (1398-1481), bon helléniste, pourtant, dont les odes posthumes de 1497 présentent des traces de pindarisme, le genre n'est pas uniquement consacré à chanter la louange des grands personnages, mais se rattache d'emblée à une poésie de circonstance d'inspiration plus familière et personnelle.¹¹ Il en va de même chez Landino, Pontano, Marulle, Politien ou Navagero. L'ode est en effet souvent récupérée au service de la poésie de circonstances, si extraordinairement répandue à la Renaissance et dont Paul van Tieghem a jadis esquissé une typologie, indiquant que les formes métriques les plus

¹⁰ Sur l'ode latine à la Renaissance, voir, entre autres, Carol Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine. A History of the Ode* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960) [vaste panorama très utile, en particulier sur l'ode humaniste, mais assorti de jugements de valeur contestables]; François Rouget, *L'Apothéose d'Orphée. L'esthétique de l'ode en France au XVI^e siècle de Sébillot à Scaliger (1548-1561)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 287, (Genève: Droz, 1994) [étudie surtout un corpus français]; Id., 'Modèles séculaires et tradition biblique: les *Septem psalmi* (1538) de Salmon Macrin', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Abulensis*, ed. Rhoda Schnur et alii (Tempe (Arizona): Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), pp. 563-573; Thomas Schmitz, 'L'ode latine pendant la Renaissance française: un catalogue des odes publiées au seizième siècle', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 43 (1994), 173-217; l'introduction de G. Demerson à Jean Dorat, *Les Odes latines*; Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Le thrène de Politien pour la mort du Magnifique (Ode 11 *In Laurentium Medicem*)', in *Protrepticon, in onore di G. Secchi-Tarugi*, a cura di Sesto Prete (Milano, 1989); Id., 'L'ode 8 de Politien: un hymne à la beauté?', in *Homo sapiens, Homo humanus*, 2 vols (Firenze: Olschki, 1990), II: *Letteratura, arte e scienza nella seconda metà del Quattrocento (XXIX convegno int. di Montepulciano, 1987)*, 41-53; Id., 'L'hymne de Politien à la Vierge *O Virgo prudentissima*', *Rassegna europea di letteratura italiana* (1994-4), 133-142; Jean Lecoite, *L'Idéal et la différence. La perception de la personnalité littéraire à la Renaissance*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 275 (Genève: Droz, 1993), pp. 354-365, sur Pindare et la fureur platonicienne; Perrine Galand-Hallyn, 'Le "jour en trop" de Jean Salmon Macrin (l'ode liminaire des *Naeniae* de 1550: grandeur et plasticité)', à paraître dans les *Mélanges offerts à Nicole Cazauran*, éd. Catherine Magnien-Simonin, Isabelle Pantin et alii (Paris: Champion).

¹¹ Voir à propos de Philelphe, C. Maddison, *Apollo*, p. 40.

courantes en sont le distique élégiaque, utilisé dans les élégies et les épigrammes, l'hendécasyllabe phalécien à la manière de Catulle et enfin les strophes lyriques horatiennes, l'ode, qu'il juge 'un peu solennelle ou enflammée pour cette Muse familière et volontiers pédestre'.¹²

1.2.2. *Les liens entre l'ode et la silve*

On ne saurait attribuer au seul modèle horatien cette adaptation du grand genre pindarique à un lyrisme familier et souvent auto-biographique. Si Horace prend fréquemment comme point de départ de ses odes un événement précis, tiré de l'histoire ou de sa vie personnelle, il se borne à le styliser, à en dégager une généralisation morale, sans épancher ses sentiments. Le modèle prégnant des recueils de circonstances humanistes est surtout, comme j'ai essayé à plusieurs reprises de le montrer ailleurs¹³, le Stace des *Silves*, qui s'était construit un *ethos* infiniment plus personnel et affectif.¹⁴ Or, Stace avait intégré au livre IV de son recueil deux odes horatiennes (IV, 5, en strophes alcaïques, et IV, 7, en strophes sapphiques), qui encadrent une pièce à la fonction nettement programmatique, l'*ekphrasis* d'une statue d'Hercule en miniature; le poète latin y fait l'apologie d'un sublime de la petitesse, d'une sagesse du quotidien, qui sont à la base même de la poétique du recueil, et ses deux odes peuvent être lues de manière analogue, comme une réécriture d'Horace dans le sens d'une expression plus individuelle, plus intimiste.¹⁵ L'exemple de Pétrarque, par ailleurs, dont le *Canzoniere*, agencé en fiction narrative, décrivait un itinéraire spirituel, jouait aussi son rôle dans la constitution de cette littérature du *moi*.¹⁶ W. Adam, étudiant la

¹² Paul van Tieghem, *La Littérature latine de la Renaissance. Etude d'histoire littéraire européenne* (Paris, 1944; Genève: Slatkine, 1966) chap. IV (p. 86).

¹³ Voir, par exemple, Perrine Galand-Hallyn, 'Marot, Macrin, Bourbon: "Muse naïve" et "tendre stile"', in *La Génération Marot. Poètes français et néo-latins (1515-1550)*, Actes du colloque international de Baltimore, 5-7 décembre 1996, réunis et présentés par Gérard Defaux (Paris: Champion, 1997), pp. 211-240; Ead., 'Quelques coïncidences (paradoxales?) entre l' «Épître aux Pisons» d'Horace et la poétique de la *silve* (au début du XVI^e siècle en France)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 60 (1998-3), 609-639 et 'Les "essais" latins d'Etienne de La Boétie («Poemata», 1571)', à paraître dans les Actes du congrès international sur *Etienne de La Boétie*, Duke University, mars 1999, sous la direction de Marcel Tetel.

¹⁴ Van Tieghem évoque également l'influence de Catulle et, parfois, d'Ovide (*Ibid.*, p. 87).

¹⁵ Voir l'analyse dans Galand-Hallyn, 'Le "jour en trop" de J. Salmon Macrin'.

¹⁶ Sur l'émergence de l'individualité littéraire à la Renaissance, voir Lecointe, *L'Idéal et la différence*.

survie du genre de la *silve* en Allemagne¹⁷, a montré qu'au XVII^e siècle, les *Odes* d'Horace et les *Silves* de Stace apparaissent toujours comme les deux modèles majeurs du lyrisme de circonstances, et remarque que, tandis que l'on imite le premier (en raison de sa métrique virtuose et de sa perspective morale) pour traiter de sujets plus graves, l'imitation du second est réservée à des thèmes plus légers.

1.2.3. *L'ode néo-latine en France*

Dans la France humaniste du début du XVI^e siècle, au contraire, un tel clivage n'apparaîtra guère. Les premières odes publiées sont essentiellement, dans la droite ligne d'Horace, de Prudence et de Boèce, les grands modèles imités au Moyen Âge, d'inspiration morale et religieuse, ou bien encomiastique. Robert Gaguin, Pierre Burry et Hugues d'Ambert, tous deux édités et commentés à des fins pédagogiques par Josse Bade¹⁸, Nicolas Hory, Guillaume de La Mare, Quinziano Stoa (qui influencera considérablement le jeune Macrin¹⁹) rattachent l'ode à la célébration de la foi catholique et à l'éloge des grands. Dans ces recueils, les odes, regroupées en livres ou éparses, sont d'ordinaire associées à d'autres formes (hexamètres, élégies, épigrammes), autour d'une thématique commune. Parfois, cependant, ces pièces édifiantes ou épидictiques rejoignent déjà la poésie de circonstance, par le biais d'allusions personnelles ou politiques²⁰, et plusieurs d'entre elles figurent du reste dans des

¹⁷ Wolfgang Adam, *Poetische und Kritische Wälder. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Formen des Schreibens «bei Gelegenheit»* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, 1988).

¹⁸ Robert Gaguin, *Ars versificatoria et carmina diversa* (Paris: Jean Stoll et Pierre Cesaris, s.d. [1495?], rééd. Paris: J. Marchant et J. Petit, 1505 et Th. Anselme, 1505); Pierre Burry (ou de Bur), *Moralium Carminum libri IX*, éd. et comm. J. Bade (Paris: Bade, frères de Marnef, 1503); Hugues d'Ambert, *Paeanes quinque festorum diuae Virginis Mariae et quidam alii eiusdem hymni*, éd. et comm. J. Bade (Paris: J. Bade, s.d. [c. 1505: Moreau]) et *Siluae* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1516); Nicolas Hory, *Poemata noua* (Lyon, 1507); Guillaume de La Mare, *Sylvarum libri quatuor* (Paris: Josse Bade, 1513); Quinziano Stoa, *In praecocissimam Galliarum reginae ... Annae mortem Threnos* (Paris: J. Bade, J. Petit, s.d. [c. 1514: Moreau]). Voir aussi les textes de Stoa signalés par C. Maddison, *Apollo*, pp. 109-111.

¹⁹ Voir l'introduction de Georges Soubeille à Jean Salmon Macrin, *Epithalames & Odes*, édition critique avec introduction, traduction et notes par G. S. (Paris: Champion, 1998), pp. 17-20. (= version augmentée et légèrement modifiée de l'édition antérieure: *Le livre des Epithalames (1528-1531), Les odes de 1530 (livres I & II)*, édition critique, avec introduction, traduction et notes par G. S., Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, Série A- Tome 37 (Toulouse, 1978).

²⁰ C'est le cas notamment dans l'intéressant recueil de Pierre Burry, largement inspiré par Boèce, dont les quatre premiers livres, réservés aux odes, comportent aussi bien des

ouvrages intitulés 'silves'.²¹ Petit à petit, en effet, l'influence des néo-latins italiens et par leur biais, celle de Stace, se fait sentir.

1.2.4. *Les Poematum libri II de Pietro Del Riccio Baldi, dit Crinito*

En 1508, moins d'un an, probablement, après l'édition *princeps* italienne, l'éditeur parisien Josse Bade Ascensius, toujours à l'affût de modèles intéressants, publia les odes de l'humaniste florentin Pietro Crinito (1474-1507), ancien disciple et éditeur, en 1494, des *Opera* (posthumes) d'Ange Politien.²² Crinito est généralement connu pour son *De poetis latinis* (une cinquantaine d'articles biographiques et critiques consacrés aux poètes latins antiques), et pour le *De Honesta disciplina* (collection d'études philologiques variées, à la manière des *Nuits Attiques* d'Aulu-Gelle et des *Miscellanea* de Politien). Il est aussi l'auteur des *Poematum libri II*, intéressant recueil de 'silves' lyriques qui atteste à merveille l'orientation familière conférée à l'ode par Stace et les Italiens.²³ Publiés à Florence, chez Giunta, peu après la mort de Crinito (c. 1507), les poèmes, exclusivement composés en mètres lyriques souvent combinés de manière originale, dessinent les mille et une facettes de la vie quotidienne du poète. Les accents empruntés à Horace s'y mêlent à d'autres intertextes (Anacréon, l'*Anthologie*, Stace, des modèles tardifs et médiévaux variés) pour exprimer les inquiétudes politiques et existentielles de Crinito, qui a vécu dans la souffrance la fin de l'âge d'or médicéen, la mort des grands (Laurent de Médicis, Politien, Marulle, Pic de La Mirandole), les guerres avec la France. Au cœur des deux livres alternent en effet l'évocation d'événements d'ordre politique ou privé, de très fréquentes méditations empreintes d'un épicurisme chrétien, des réflexions métapoétiques, et une belle description des jardins de la villa Rucellai (la nouvelle Académie néo-platonicienne).²⁴ Mais, bien que la

réflexions d'ordre général sur les différents types de vices, que des adresses au Pape ou à Robert Gaguin et à d'autres amis.

²¹ Voir les œuvres citées plus haut de Guillaume de La Mare et d'Hugues d'Ambert.

²² Pietro Crinito, *De Honesta Disciplina lib. XXV, De poetis latinis lib. v, et Poematum lib. II* (Paris: J. Bade et J. Petit, 1508). Sur Pietro Del Riccio Baldi, dit Crinitus, voir le *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1990. Voir à *Del Riccio Baldi*) et l'introduction de C. Angeleri à Pietro Crinito, *De Honesta disciplina*, a cura di C. A. (Roma: Fratelli Bocca editori, 1955).

²³ Maddison (*Apollo*, pp. 85-96) a été sensible à l'originalité de cet ouvrage, dont Mme Anna Mastrogiani donnera prochainement une édition avec traduction allemande et commentaire dans les *Hamburger Beiträge zur Neulateinischen Philologie* (LIT Verlag Publishers).

²⁴ Crinito, *Poematum lib. II*, fol. ii v^o.

variété des formes, des thèmes et des tons (de l'invective à la déploration en passant par la fable mythologique plaisante et la louange des grands) préside pour une bonne part à l'agencement du recueil, Crinito (ou son éditeur) a pris soin de poser les jalons d'une évolution linéaire, qui suggère un itinéraire biographique et spirituel²⁵ : l'ouvrage commence par une réflexion du poète sur sa vocation poétique²⁶ et s'achève par une mise en scène, poignante mais résignée, de sa propre mort imminente. L'œuvre frappe par le naturel avec lequel s'enchaînent les thèmes, pourtant disparates, associés par Horace à l'ode (épidictique, érotisme, philosophie — à laquelle s'ajoute ici la profession de foi chrétienne de Crinito) : c'est que chacun de ces motifs s'articulent autour de la *persona* de l'auteur, dont le lecteur voit se dessiner au fur et à mesure l'autoportrait. Les poèmes de Crinito bénéficièrent sans doute de la notoriété de ses autres œuvres, plus utilitaires. De nombreuses rééditions des *Opera* du Florentin jusqu'en 1525²⁷ témoignent de son succès auprès des premiers humanistes. À partir de cette date, c'est un Français, Jean Salmon dit Macrin, le 'Maigre' (1490-1557), originaire de Loudun, nommé, en même temps que Marot, valet de chambre de François I^{er}, qui devient le maître de l'ode familière en latin.

1.2.5. *Le point de vue des théoriciens*

Avant d'aborder Salmon Macrin, arrêtons-nous un moment encore sur le point de vue des théoriciens humanistes de l'ode. Je me limiterai à un bref corpus de textes courants, qui couvrent la première moitié du XVI^e siècle : le traité, maintes fois réédité, de Niccolò Perotti sur la métrique d'Horace et de Boèce (1471) ; le *De poetis latinis* de Pietro Crinito (c. 1507), très souvent réédité également ; le commentaire de Mancinelli aux *Odes* d'Horace, republié notamment dans la grande édition commentée des œuvres horatiennes de 1519 ; le commentaire 'familier'²⁸ aux *Odes* d'Horace par Josse Bade (c. 1503) et deux arts poétiques, le *De poetica* de Vadianus (Joachim von Watt : 1518) et la *Poétique* de Jules-César Scaliger (1561).²⁹

²⁵ Le cas est fréquent dans les recueils de 'silves'.

²⁶ 'Quod Musis dicatus sit reiecta populi inscitia'.

²⁷ En 1510 ; 1513 ; 1518 ; 1520 ; 1525.

²⁸ C'est-à-dire destiné aux élèves peu avancés.

²⁹ N. Perotti, *Libellus... de metris Odarum Horatianarum* (1^{ère} éd. 1471, rééd. à la suite des *Odes* d'Horace, Paris : Simon de Colines, 1528 ; rééd. 1531 ; 1533 ; 1539 ; 1540 ; 1543) ; P. Crinito, *De poetis latinis* : v. à *Horatius* (1^{ère} éd. Florence : Giunta, 1505, rééd.

— *L'originalité métrique*. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, la plupart des théoriciens soulignent d'abord l'originalité métrique de l'ode, qui la distingue des autres genres. Perotti, dans son épître-dédicace à son jeune frère, dit sa satisfaction de le voir 'non contentum ... Heroicis atque Elegiacis versibus ut caeteri... adolescentes', ce qui témoigne, selon lui, à la fois de ses dons et de son zèle.³⁰ A cette originalité s'ajoute bien sûr le caractère intrinsèquement musical du genre, dont témoigne la signification première des termes *odè*, qui veut dire 'chant' en grec, et *lyricus*, qui désigne celui qui s'accompagne de la lyre. Mancinelli³¹ s'appuie sur Strabon (1, 2, 6) pour rappeler que le chant est à l'origine le premier des langages humains.

— *La variété*. A cette originalité est associée la variété du genre, sur tous les plans, métrique, thématique et stylistique, que relèvent aussi tous les traités (Ronsard la soulignera encore dans son avertissement de 1550) et qui semble caractériser l'ode, bien plus qu'une affinité prédéterminée avec le sublime. L'idée avait déjà été lancée par Quintilien, qui, dans ses jugements respectifs sur Pindare (10, 1, 61) et Horace (10, 1, 96), créditait l'un de la sublimité du génie (*magnificentia*), tout en admettant que l'autre s'élevait, mais seulement par moments (*aliquando*); il reconnaissait cependant à tous deux une grande diversité de sujets et de formes: *rerum uerborumque copia*, chez Pindare, *uaria figura* chez Horace. Perotti dénombre et décrit tous les mètres qu'on trouve chez Horace et Boèce. Mancinelli, en pédagogue, se montre sensible à la variété à la fois plaisante et érudite des vers et des thèmes: *carminum varietate, eruditione copiosa et varia, varia rerum doctrina*; Crinito cite une épître où Sidoine Apollinaire (*Ep.*, 9, 13, 2) compare la variété métrique et lexicale d'Horace à un printemps fleuri:

Paris: Bade, 1508); commentaires de Mancinelli et de Josse Bade aux *Carmina* d'Horace, dans les rééditions successives des *Opera* (Paris: Bade, 1503; 1505; 1506; 1511; 1516), puis, avec les commentaires d'Acron et de Porphyryon (1519; 1528; 1529); J. Bade, commentaire familial à l'*Epître aux Pisons* d'Horace (Paris, c. 1503); Vadianus, *De Poetica* (Vienne, 1518), VIII; Jules César Scaliger, *Poétique* (1561), III, 123. Sur les questions de métrique à la Renaissance, et notamment sur Perotti et Mancinelli, voir J. Leonhardt, *Dimensio Syllabarum. Studien zur lateinischen Prosodie- und Verslehre von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Renaissance. Mit einem ausführlichen Quellenverzeichnis bis zum Jahr 1600* (Göttingen, 1989); Id., 'Classical Metrics in Medieval and Renaissance Poetry: Some Practical Considerations', *Classica et Medievalia*, 47 (1996), 305-323.

³⁰ Perotti, *Libellus*, p. 95 r^o.

³¹ Mancinelli, Commentaire aux *Carmina* d'Horace, dédicace à Pomponio Leto, suivie d'une définition: *Ode quid sit per Antonium Mancinellum* (non pag.).

Vernans per varii carminis eclogas (*sic*)
Verborum violis multicoloribus.

Beaucoup plus tard, Scaliger élargira considérablement la liste des thèmes propres à l'ode qu'Horace avait délimitée d'après les Alexandrins.³² Mais c'est surtout Josse Bade qui développe, sur la base de la notion d'*aptum*, de la convenance de la forme au sujet, l'analyse de la variété, envisagée comme une qualité spécifique de l'ode. A ses yeux, les nombreux mètres dont dispose le genre se prêtent à traiter des thèmes divers, et il faut veiller, dit-il, comme l'a fait Horace, à ce qu'il y ait adéquation entre les uns et les autres :

Laborandum ut genus carminis pro qualitate rerum assumatur, nam cum varia sint lyricorum carminum genera, aliud alii materiae congruit quod probe observabit qui Horatium ad unguem inspiciet.

Il faut s'efforcer de choisir le type de mètre en fonction de la nature du sujet; en effet, alors que les sortes de mètres lyriques sont variées, chacune d'elle convient à un thème différent, ce qu'observera parfaitement tout lecteur minutieux d'Horace.³³

Remarquons à ce propos que la critique moderne a justement bien du mal à relier, dans les *Odes* d'Horace, le choix des mètres à celui de sujets traités.³⁴ Il est dommage que Bade ne donne pas ici d'exemple précis. L'humaniste, cependant, insiste plus encore sur la nécessité d'user, particulièrement lorsque l'on compose une ode, de l'harmonie imitative que peut produire l'assemblage des mots, la *compositio verborum* :

Pro huius carminis decoro primum servandum est ut pro dicendorum qualitate carmen ipsum varium sit; nam in rebus laetis debet quodammodo fluere, in tristibus languere, in arduis³⁵ et difficilibus tarditatem habere, quam pariunt literarum collisiones et monosyllabarum dictionum

³² J. C. Scaliger, *Poétique*, III, 123 (éd. Luc Deitz, tome 3, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1995): 'Lyricorum materiam plane demonstravit Horatius. Mihi ita videtur: quaecumque in breve poema cadere possunt, ea lyricis numeris colligere ius esse: laudes, amores, iurgia, insectationes, comessatoria, obiurgatoria, vota, ad indulgendum genio exhortationes; contra sobrietatis commendationes; gestorum summarias explicationes, desideria, conquestiones, locorum, temporum explicationes, nova consilia, deliberationes, negotiorum susceptiones, susceptorum repudiationes, invitationes, repulsiones, dehorationes, detestationes et alia si qua sunt'.

³³ J. Bade, *Commentaire aux Carmina d'Horace*, f. xiiii r^o.

³⁴ Voir par exemple les incertitudes de L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and his Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge U. P., 1951: 1ère éd. 1945), p. 143.

³⁵ *Rebus in arduis*, cf. Horace, *carm.*, 2, 3, 1.

concursum.³⁶ Itaque Horatius in lyrico carmine 'fere (ut Quintilianus inquit³⁷) solus' apud Romanos 'legi dignus' ('nam et insurgit aliquando et plenus iucunditatis et gratiae et variis figuris et verbis foelicissime audax'). Statim in principio ad Mœcenatis dignitatem respiciens laeto et fluido utitur carmine, mox ad sese revertens et quantum illi esset obnoxius considerans impedito, dicens 'Mœcenas atavis edite regibus O et praesidium et dulce decus meum'.³⁸ In rebus etiam terribilibus, r litteram quae terrorem inducit et quam Persius caninam vocat,³⁹ frequenter usurpat, sicut in sibilantibus ut in nivis casu s litteram dicens 'iam satis terris nivis atque dirae Grandinis misit Pater et rubenti Dexterâ sacras iaculatus arces Terruit urbem'.⁴⁰

Pour respecter ce qui convient à ce type de poème, il faut d'abord veiller à ce que le mètre lui-même varie en fonction de la nature des sujets à traiter; en effet, quand on traite de thèmes joyeux, il doit en quelque sorte être coulant, de thèmes tristes, être languissant, dans les moments ardu et difficiles, il doit avoir cette lenteur qu'engendrent les collisions de lettres et la rencontre de monosyllabes. C'est pourquoi Horace, dans le genre lyrique, 'est presque le seul' (comme dit Quintilien) chez les Romains 'qui soit digne d'être lu' ('car il s'élève parfois, et il est plein d'agrément et de grâce, et audacieux avec bonheur par ses figures et ses termes variés'). Dès le début [de son recueil], songeant à la noblesse de Mécène, il use d'un vers joyeux et fluide, mais bientôt, revenant à lui-même et considérant combien il était redevable à ce grand personnage, il use d'un vers entravé, disant: 'Mécène, né d'ancêtres royaux, Ô et mon soutien et ma douce gloire'. Et puis, quand il s'agit de sujets terribles, il utilise fréquemment la lettre r qui provoque la terreur et que Perse appelle la lettre 'canine', de même quand il s'agit de rendre un sifflement, comme lors d'une chute de neige, il utilise la lettre s, disant: 'Assez longtemps sur terre le Père a lancé la neige et la sinistre grêle et de sa droite rougissante frappant les saintes collines, a terrifié la Ville'.

³⁶ Cf. Quintilien, *inst.*, 9, 4, 42: 'Monosyllaba si plura sunt male continuabuntur' et, plus généralement, le chapitre IX de l'*Institution oratoire*, consacré à l'arrangement des mots et à leur influence sur la psychologie de l'auditoire (en particulier 9, 4, 10; 11; 12; 126: 'adeoque rebus accommodanda compositio ut asperis asperos etiam numeros adhiberi oporteat et cum dicente aequo audientem inhorrescere'; 130-131 (les syllabes longues conviennent mieux aux propos graves, sublimes, ornés; la douceur exige des voyelles longues, etc.).

³⁷ Quintilien, *inst.*, 9, 1, 96.

³⁸ Bade cite ici les deux premiers asclépiades de l'ode 1, 1 d'Horace. Alors que le premier vers en l'honneur de Mécène s'écoule en effet de manière fluide, avec des allitérations en s, le second, qui marque un retour sur soi plein d'émotion du poète reconnaissant, est au contraire hâché par un hiatus sans abrégement, frappant, dans la base de l'asclépiade, et par une élision dans la deuxième longue du groupe choriambique.

³⁹ Perse, 1, 109. La lettre 'canine' gronde du nez: 'sonat hic de nare canina Litera' (à propos de la satire qui dit en grondant une vérité peu agréable à entendre).

Cette très fine analyse, qui fait de l'ode le genre par excellence (*pro huius carminis decoro*) où s'exprime une variété nuancée, est assez remarquable. Elle se situe en effet dans une tradition, représentée par Denys d'Halicarnasse, Hermogène⁴¹, Macrobe⁴², Politien, et, dans une certaine mesure, Pontano dans l'*Actius*⁴³ et d'autres, qui voient dans l'art du dosage des différents styles, dans leur adaptation aux circonstances et aux divers degrés d'affectivité du sujet traité, la marque d'une écriture totale, seule capable d'exprimer, dans ses moindres nuances, le *moi* intime de l'écrivain. Cette écriture du détail sensible et de l'expressivité individuelle est rattachée par les théoriciens évoqués à la notion théophrastienne de *mesotès*, de juste milieu, et reliée au style — et donc aux genres — intermédiaires, qui combinent les qualités des styles ou des genres extrêmes.⁴⁴ Cette tradition apologétique de la variété a contribué, pour une part, comme on sait, à déclencher la querelle du cicéronianisme, même si certains partisans de l'imitation d'un modèle unique (Cicéron pour la prose, Virgile pour la poésie), se sont appuyés sur la notion même de variété englobante pour défendre leur écrivain idéal; c'est ce qu'ont fait par exemple Pontano, Vida ou Scaliger avec Virgile.⁴⁵ Mais le plus souvent, les tenants de la variété stylistique ont prôné la contamination des modèles et, du même coup, la transgression générique, le mélange des genres, au détriment de l'hégémonie jusque là exercée par l'épopée. Un peu plus loin, justement, Bade situe l'ode au carrefour des autres genres, auxquels elle ne peut emprunter qu'en les tempérant leurs spécificités:

⁴⁰ Horace, *carm.*, 1, 2, 1-4.

⁴¹ Les œuvres de Denys et d'Hermogène avaient été transmises en latin, vers 1472, par Georges de Trébizonde dans sa *Rhétorique*.

⁴² Macrobe, *sat.*, 5, 1, 7 et 13, à propos de Virgile.

⁴³ Sur l'harmonie imitative chez Denys d'Halicarnasse, Pontano et Scaliger, voir P. Laurens, 'La performance stylistique dans le chapitre *De numeris*', in *La Statue et l'empreinte. La poétique de Scaliger*, éd. C. Balavoine et P. Laurens (Paris: Vrin, 1986), pp. 131-150.

⁴⁴ Sur toute cette question, voir P. Galand-Hallyn, J. Lecoite et L. Deitz, 'Le style au Quattrocento et au XVI^e siècle', in *Poétiques de la Renaissance. Le modèle italien, le monde franco-bourguignon et leur héritage en France au XVI^e siècle*, sous la dir. de P. Galand-Hallyn et F. Hallyn, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance (Genève: Droz, 2001), chap. VI, et mon article 'Médiocrité éthico-stylistique et individualité littéraire', in *Médiocrité. Actes du séminaire "Polysémie" 1999-2000, E.N.S. Ulm*, à paraître sous la direction d'Anne-Pascale Pouey-Mounou et Emmanuel Naya (Paris: Presses de l'E.N.S. de la rue d'Ulm, 2001).

⁴⁵ Ronsard, lui-même, sans doute sous l'influence de Scaliger, dans sa préface de la *Franciade* 'au lecteur apprentif' de 1572, in *Œuvres complètes*, vol. I, 1163 et 1173,

Cavendum est ne maiestas illa quae in heroico carmine aut magnifica tristitia quae in tragico aut querimonia sufflebilis quae in elegiaco aut nimia mordacitas quae iambico aut satyrico primum exigitur in hoc carmine redundet.

Il faut éviter que la majesté que l'on exige du poème héroïque, la grandiose tristesse de la tragédie, la lamentation un peu pleurarde de l'élegie ou le mordant emporté de l'iambe ou de la satire ne débordent à l'excès dans ce genre-ci.⁴⁶

Bade définit donc par la négative les qualités de l'ode, qui apparaît par excellence le lieu du *temperamentum* des genres, au double sens du terme, c'est-à-dire le lieu de leur mélange et de l'atténuation de leurs excès.

— *L'ode parmi les autres genres*. Ainsi, aux yeux des premiers humanistes, l'ode ne se trouve nullement, comme on aurait pu s'y attendre, du côté des genres élevés. Horace déjà, dans son ode programmatique 4, 2, s'était courtoisement, mais ostensiblement démarqué de l'enflure pindarique, au cours d'une *recusatio* de tonalité alexandrine. Ici, certains théoriciens indiquent nettement ce qui sépare l'ode de l'épopée. Bade lui assigne une longueur maximale: 'accurandum est ne quam oportet prolixior sit et ne ultra centesimum versiculum progrediatur' (*ibid.*). Vadianus est plus explicite encore:

Nanque ab armorum impetu et heroum gestis bellicis abstinet, nec rem quampiam gravem, quo modo quove ordine gesta sit, prosequitur, sed ut gestam miratur potius et laudat amorum curis et levioribus mortaliū studiis addicta.

Or l'ode s'abstient de traiter de l'élan des armes et des exploits guerriers des héros, et quand il s'agit d'un événement grave, ne décrit ni la manière ni la chronologie selon lesquelles il est advenu, mais le traite une fois advenu, sur le ton de l'émerveillement, et fait l'éloge de sujets touchant aux soucis amoureux et aux passions plus légères des mortels.⁴⁷

Pour Vadianus, le rôle de l'ode n'est donc pas d'entrer dans les détails d'une succession narrative, ce que fait l'épopée, mais de s'attacher ponctuellement à ce que les événements accomplis peuvent avoir d'admirable. Le poéticien distingue cependant les odes proprement dites des hymnes, consacrées aux louanges divines et mues *maiori quodam spiritu*. Scaliger

engage aussi le futur auteur d'épopée à 'enrich[ir] [s]on Poème par varietez prises de la Nature' et à user de l'harmonie imitative.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Vadianus, *De poetica*, *ibid.*

enfin, au livre III de sa *Poétique*, traite d'abord des 'grands' genres (§§95-98: épopée, théâtre, satire, bucolique) puis des genres mineurs (§§99-122: les sous-espèces que l'on trouve dans les *Silves* de Stace et chez les rhéteurs grecs tardifs); le genre lyrique se trouve compris, avec l'élégie et l'épigramme, dans une troisième catégorie, apparemment intermédiaire, en raison de sa souplesse probablement; en effet Scaliger attribue à l'ode la même 'liberté d'esprit', *animi libertatem*, que la satire ou l'épigramme; en outre, comme on l'a dit⁴⁸, il énumère un nombre considérable de thèmes ou de sous-genres — dont l'identification n'est pas toujours évidente — liés à l'ode, en résumant ainsi le véritable affranchissement qu'a connu le genre depuis ses débuts:

Lyricorum materiam plane demonstravit Horatius. Mihi ita videtur: quaecumque in breve poema cadere possunt, ea lyricis numeris colligere ius esse.

Horace a clairement indiqué ce qui est la matière du genre lyrique. Mais il me semble à moi que tout ce qui peut convenir à un *poème court* peut être légitimement rassemblé dans les rythmes lyriques.⁴⁹

Or, évoquant le genre court par excellence, l'épigramme⁵⁰, Scaliger affirme: *epigrammatum genera tot sunt quot rerum...*

De ce bref tour de piste, il ressort que théoriciens et praticiens ont de l'ode néo-latine, dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle, une vision assez analogue. Le modèle pindarique, encore peu accessible, demeure en arrière-plan, tandis que, sous l'influence conjuguée d'Horace et de Stace, ainsi que des théoriciens de la 'docte variété', l'ode, tout en bénéficiant du prestige que lui confère sa métrique originale et sophistiquée, s'intègre pleinement à la poésie de circonstance et récupère la souplesse nuancée et la perspective totalisante des 'petits' genres intimistes tels que l'élégie et l'épigramme.

2. Jean Salmon Macrin: le lyrisme familial des *Hymnes* de 1537

Revenons à la figure dominante, en cette période, du lyrisme français d'expression latine, Jean Salmon Macrin.⁵¹ Après des débuts prometteurs

⁴⁸ Voir ci-dessus, le passage cité en note 32.

⁴⁹ Scaliger, *ibid.* C'est moi qui souligne.

⁵⁰ Scaliger, *ibid.*, III, 125.

⁵¹ Sur Macrin, les deux études fondamentales sont celles de Ian McFarlane, 'Jean Salmon Macrin (1490-1557)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 21 (1959),

dans une poésie religieuse encore assez médiévale d'esprit (c.1513-1515), suivis d'une interruption de treize ans, Macrin avait fait une rentrée fracassante sur la scène littéraire. Deux recueils de vers lyriques, le *Carminum libellus* de 1528, republié en 1531, à la suite des *Lyriconum libri duo*, sous le titre d'*Epithalamiorum liber unus*, et les *Carminum libri quatuor* de 1530, lui valurent, par leur facture élégante, le surnom d'Horace français⁵²; leur thématique très ardente⁵³, cependant, à la fois variée et unifiée par la célébration récurrente de son amour tout neuf pour sa jeune femme, Guillonne, surnommée Gélonis, la 'rieuse', rappelle plutôt les poètes de l'amour conjugal et du quotidien, le Stace des *Silves* et Pontano. Mais, dès 1531⁵⁴, se dessine un retour à la poésie religieuse, que le recueil de 1534 (*Elegiarum, Epigrammatum et Odarum libri tres*)⁵⁵ confirme, et dont l'affaire des Placards, en octobre 34, et la crainte d'être compromis, accentueront certainement le caractère orthodoxe.⁵⁶ Les *Hymnes* de 1537, que complètent les *Odes* parues la même année⁵⁷, offrent un exemple intéressant de la manière dont l'ode a pu

55-84 et 311-349, et 22 (1960), 73-79, et de G. Soubeille, introduction à l'édition citée plus haut en note 19. Voir aussi Philip Ford, 'The «Basia» of Joannes Secundus', in *Intellectual Life in Renaissance Lyon: Proceedings of the Cambridge Lyon Colloquium, 14-16 April 1991*, ed. Ph. Ford et G. Jondorf, Cambridge French Colloquia (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 113-133; Id., 'Jean Salmon Macrin's «Epithalamiorum liber» and the Joys of Conjugal Love', in *Eros et Priapus*, études réunies et présentées par Ingrid De Smet et Philip Ford, Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 51 (Genève: Droz, 1997), pp. 65-84; P. Galand-Hallyn, 'Marot, Macrin, Bourbon: «Muse naïve» et «tendre style»' [voir note 13]; Ead., 'Jean Salmon Macrin et la liberté de l'éloge', in *Cultura e potere nel Rinascimento, Atti del IX Convegno internazionale (Chianciano-Pienza 21-24 luglio 1997)*, a cura di Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Milano: Franco Cesati editore, 1999), pp. 515-529; Ead., 'Le "jour en trop" de Jean Salmon Macrin (l'ode liminaire des *Naeniae* de 1550: grandeur et plasticité)', G. Soubeille, 'Le thème de la source chez Horace et chez Salmon Macrin', *Pallas*, 20 (1973); Id., 'Deux épigrammes manuscrites de Salmon Macrin', *Pallas*, 22 (1975); Id., 'Salmon Macrin et le pétrarquisme', *Vita Latina*, 59 (1975); Id., 'Un épisode du pacte des Muses, l'amitié de Thomas More et de Salmon Macrin', *Moranea*, 54 (1977); Id., 'Amitiés de Salmon Macrin parmi les poètes de la langue vernaculaire', in *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Renaissance France*, ed. by G. Castor and T. Cave (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 98-112; Id., 'De Salmon Macrin à Sainte-Marthe', *Albineana*, 6 (Paris, 1995) et l'article de F. Rouget cité en note 10.

⁵² Voir l'introduction de G. Soubeille, *Epithalames*, p. 68 et n. 5.

⁵³ Voir Ph. Ford, 'Jean Salmon Macrin's «Epithalamiorum liber» and the Joys of Conjugal Love'.

⁵⁴ *Lyriconum libri duo*, Paris.

⁵⁵ Paris, Augereau.

⁵⁶ Cf. McFarlane, 'J. Salmon Macrin', pp. 313-330; Soubeille, *Epithalames*, p. 103.

⁵⁷ Les *Hymnes* parurent au début de l'année (Paris: Robert Etienne), les *Odes*, à la fin (Lyon: Gryphe); voir McFarlane, 'J. Salmon Macrin', pp. 323-324. Les deux recueils

servir de support adéquat à cette poétique familière de l'éthique et du pathétique définie précédemment.

2.1. *L'usure de l'inspiration: mise en scène et remèdes*

J'ai déjà eu l'occasion de montrer ailleurs, à propos des recueils des années 28-30, que Macrin, comme bien des poètes de sa génération, concevait et décrivait l'inspiration poétique moins comme le *furor*, tout passif, des néo-platoniciens, que comme le *calor rhetoricus* défini par Quintilien et Stace, cet élan créateur qui provient à la fois d'une innutrition savante et d'une exploitation plus ou moins consciente de l'imagination et des affects du poète.⁵⁸ Les recueils de 1537 offrent une mise en scène de l'inspiration qui va dans le même sens, même si elle est modulée un peu différemment.

Un thème nouveau surgit en effet, qui va motiver un déplacement vers d'autres centres des forces affectives qui mouvaient le poète: Macrin déplore l'affaiblissement de sa puissance créatrice et doit chercher de nouveaux *stimuli*. Le thème apparaissait déjà dans les *Silves* de Stace, où cet affaiblissement était attribué à l'éloignement de la patrie napolitaine, au vieillissement, à l'excès de travail; seules les émotions liées à l'amitié, à l'empathie ou à l'admiration venaient à bout de cette torpeur. Joachim Du Bellay, à qui Stace n'est pas étranger, fera lui aussi, comme on sait, du motif un des éléments majeurs de la poétique de ses recueils romains français et latins, où la langueur causée par l'exil ne s'estompe que dans la joie du retour et de la proximité de ses nobles bienfaiteurs retrouvés.⁵⁹ Chez Macrin, la dépression poétique est imputée à la fois à l'instabilité des temps (le scandale des Placards et l'impitoyable répression qui perdura jusqu'à l'édit de Fontainebleau de 1540; la guerre de Provence contre Charles Quint (1536); la mort du Dauphin en 1536) et aux soucis privés: en 1537, en effet, deux des six enfants du poète étaient déjà

sont très proches sur le plan de la thématique et de la poétique, mais mon analyse sera surtout centrée ici sur les *Hymnes*.

⁵⁸ Voir mes articles cités 'Marot, Macrin, Bourbon...' et 'Une coïncidence...'.
⁵⁹ Sur le thème de l'inspiration perdue comme élément structurel de l'œuvre chez Stace et Du Bellay, voir P. Galand-Hallyn, *Le «génie» latin de Joachim Du Bellay* (La Rochelle: Rumeur des Âges, 1995) et aussi 'Jeux intertextuels de Du Bellay dans les poèmes romains: de l'emphase des «Antiquitez» à l'ekphrase des «Elegiae»', in *Du Bellay. Antiquité et nouveaux mondes dans les recueils romains, Actes du colloque de Nice (17-18 février 1995)*, éd. J. Rieu (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Nice, 1995), pp. 73-98.

morts (*Hymnes*, pp. 163; 220), la maladie, fréquemment, menaçait les autres (pp. 29; 88; 121; 142). Macrin se sentait lui-même vieilli et mal portant (pp. 5 et s.; 16; 73; 183; 196), mais toujours astreint à un service de cour à la fois épuisant et indispensable à l'entretien de sa nombreuse famille (p. 162).⁶⁰ Sa vision globale de l'existence semble désormais empreinte d'un pessimisme inhabituel, souvent illustré par l'allégorie du navire de la vie ballotté par la tempête (p. 48; 69; 102; 121; 137; 190), pessimisme qui atteint son point culminant dans la traduction latine de la méditation pythagoricienne de Posidippe 'Quel chemin suivre dans la vie?', rendue célèbre par l'idylle d'Ausone.⁶¹ Les nombreuses *recusationes* ou prétéritons qui parsèment le recueil, et disent l'incapacité du poète à traiter avec l'ardeur voulue les sujets élevés, religieux ou épидictiques, qu'il se propose, ne semblent plus seulement des artifices rhétoriques (p. 54; 59; 62; 66; 90; 192).

2.2. *Pour une épидictique affective*

Contre cette usure de l'élan poétique, le poète mobilise trois sources d'inspiration, qu'il prend soin de faire alterner dans le recueil, selon le principe alexandrin de *varietas*, déjà adopté dans ses œuvres précédentes. C'est de ce dosage thématique et stylistique que va naître la coloration mélancolique propre aux *Hymnes* de 1537.

La première source coïncide avec l'admiration exprimée pour son noble protecteur: le cardinal Jean du Bellay auquel sont dédiés la totalité du recueil, chacun des six livres, et quelques pièces éparses (pp. 23; 81; 94; 97; 188; 210; 223) et pour le roi lui-même (pp. 31; 66; 86; 192; 196; 233) ou sa famille: Marguerite de Navarre (p. 150), Marguerite de Valois (p. 217), ou encore pour quelques personnages influents et cultivés comme René (p. 5 et s.) et Guillaume du Bellay (pp. 106; 174; 180), les frères de Jean, ou Anne de Créqui, femme de Guillaume (p. 139)⁶²;

⁶⁰ Sur cette période, voir les passages cités de McFarlane et de Soubeille à la n. 56, et aussi Soubeille, p. 110, et n. 2.

⁶¹ Posidippe, Ποίην τίς βιόθοιο τάμοι τρίβον; Cf. Ausone, *Idylle XV: Quod vitae sectabor iter?*...; Ronsard traduira également ce texte dans les *Gayetez*, X, in *Œuvres complètes*, éd. J. Céard, D. Ménéger, M. Simonin (Paris, Gallimard, 1993), I, 548-549.

⁶² Sur ces nobles d'une nouvelle génération, qui avaient reçu une éducation humaniste soignée, comme les frères Du Bellay, Lazare de Baïf, les trois fils Coligny, issus de Louise de Montmorency (sœur du connétable) et du maréchal de Châtillon, les Guise, voir G. Gadoffre, *La révolution culturelle dans la France des humanistes*, Titre courant, 8 (Genève: Droz, 1997), pp. 125-142.

le connétable Anne de Montmorency (pp. 8; 206),⁶³ Lazare de Baïf (p. 83)⁶⁴, Guillaume Budé, maître des requêtes depuis 1523 (p. 89), Guillaume Du Maine, précepteur des enfants royaux (pp. 99; 141; 210)⁶⁵, l'évêque Philippe de Cossé (pp. 104; 209), le cardinal Odet de Châtillon, neveu du connétable de Montmorency et élève de Nicolas Bérauld (p. 111), Louis de Téligny, proche des Coligny (pp. 146; 176; 194), le cardinal de Lorraine (p. 218), le mécène Jacques Colin, abbé de Saint-Ambroise, aumônier du roi, ami des Du Bellay (p. 160)⁶⁶, le cardinal Agostino Trivulzio, légat pontifical (p. 170)⁶⁷, Claude Chappuys, bibliothécaire du roi (pp. 110; 124)⁶⁸, Charles Brachet, conseiller du roi (p. 175), et quelques autres encore. Dans ces pièces, le ton s'élève parfois, mais, comme je l'ai montré ailleurs à propos des recueils des années 28-30⁶⁹, Macrin, à la manière de Stace et de ses contemporains, cherche surtout à adopter une rhétorique du *pectus*, qui fait coïncider l'obligation épидictique avec une expression librement consentie du respect, et même de l'affection. La démarche est facilitée par la réelle communauté de goûts intellectuels et spirituels qui lie le poète à ses protecteurs, et Macrin peut ainsi proclamer sans ambage à Guillaume Du Bellay-Langey: 'non dives esse cupio, sed esse liber' (p. 174). Du reste, l'inspiration proprement épидictique n'est pas plus dominante ici que dans les œuvres antérieures. L'adresse déférente et amicale aux puissants sert de trame de soutien à l'ensemble, donne aux *Hymnes* une autorité indispensable,

⁶³ Vainqueur de la guerre de Provence.

⁶⁴ Rentré en 1534 avec son fils âgé de deux ans, né d'une Vénitienne, le futur poète Jean-Antoine, il venait d'être nommé conseiller clerk au Parlement de Paris.

⁶⁵ Originaire de Loudun, comme Macrin, mort vers 1560, Guillaume Du Maine (Mainius) fut abbé de Beaulieu, lecteur de Marguerite de Valois, et précepteur des enfants royaux, puis des enfants de Budé. Bon helléniste, il réédita le lexique de Craston. Il écrivit aussi plusieurs poèmes en français (*Le Laurier*, dédié à Madame, sœur d'Henri II, et *l'Heureux partage*, louanges d'Henri II) publiés en 1556 à Paris chez Vascosan. Il fut l'ami de Macrin et de Nicolas Bourbon (v. le *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises*, éd. Mgr. Georges Grente et alii (Paris: Fayard, 1951), pp. 268-269).

⁶⁶ *Dictionnaire...*, p. 185.

⁶⁷ Sur les rapports entre ce prélat humaniste, généreux mécène, venu en France en 1530, Macrin et leur ami Germain de Brie, voir Marie Madeleine de La Garanderie, *Christianisme et lettres profanes. Essai sur l'Humanisme français (1515-1535) et sur la pensée de Guillaume Budé* (1^{ère} éd. Paris, 1976; 2^e éd. revue et augmentée Paris: Champion, 1995), pp. 139-140.

⁶⁸ Claude Chappuys (c. 1500-1575) fut au service de Jean et Guillaume Du Bellay. En 1533, il devint, comme Macrin, valet de chambre et bibliothécaire du roi. Il était aussi doyen de la cathédrale de Rouen. Poète français en faveur lui-même, il fut l'ami de Macrin, de Marot, d'Héroët et de Saint-Gelais.

⁶⁹ Galand-Hallyn, 'J. Salmon Macrin et la liberté de l'éloge'.

tout en confortant l'*èthos* respectable du poète. Mais le recueil trouve ailleurs son second souffle, dans un lyrisme plus intime, centré non plus sur l'amour-passion pour Gélonis, mais sur l'expérience, à la fois délicate et torturante, de la paternité, de la construction du noyau familial sur fond des amitiés loudunaises, et plus encore sur la révélation d'une analogie possible entre ce lyrisme bourgeois et certains aspects de l'amour divin qui le reflètent et le transcendent.

2.3. *La poétique du cocon familial: stimulations et limites*

2.3.1. *Souvenirs érotiques et mariage chrétien*

L'amant fougueux — et il faut bien l'avouer, phallocrate! — dont Ph. Ford a étudié la mise en scène dans le livre des *Epithalames*⁷⁰, sans disparaître tout à fait, s'est estompé. Les poèmes consacrés à Gélonis seule sont rares.⁷¹ En vérité, l'érotisme, à la Catulle ou à la Pontano, qu'avait connu le couple à ses débuts, a pris une allure presque onirique. On trouve encore, au livre III, une pièce en hendécasyllabes sémillants (p. 127: *Ad Gelonidem*), ponctuée de diminutifs et de comparaisons animalières (*Verna floridior Geloni caltha, Molli mollior anseris medulla*) qui signalent une émulation, autour de réminiscences de Catulle, avec des pièces célèbres de Pontano, Marulle et Politien.⁷² Sous forme de prétérition, Macrin y dépeint à sa femme une rencontre secrète imaginaire, détaillant en un crescendo enflammé les privautés successives qu'il aimerait à prendre avec elle:

Cur non ô mea nunc susurro tecum	Et pourquoi, ma chérie, ne suis-je pas en ce [moment en train de chuchoter avec toi]
Secreto laris angulo paterni,	Dans un recoin caché de la maison de ton père,
Cur non turgidulae insero mamillae	Pourquoi ne suis-je pas en train de glisser [contre ton téton tout gonflé]
Furtivamque manum, deoscolorque	Une main furtive, et de couvrir de baisers
Tinctas Sidonio rubore malas,	Tes joues que colore la pourpre de Sidon,
Rixoso & tua dente colla signo?	Et de marquer ton cou d'une dent batailleuse?
Cur non quod Cypris, occupo suadet?	Pourquoi ne puis-je m'emparer de ce à quoi [m'invite Cypris?

⁷⁰ Ford, 'Jean Salmon «Epithalamiorum Liber» and the Joys of Conjugal Love'.

⁷¹ Au total une dizaine de pièces seulement, pp. 21; 41; 72; 84; 85; 114; 127; 142; 203; 215.

⁷² Voir P. Galand-Hallyn, 'La poétique latine d'Ange Politien: de la *mimesis* à la métatextualité', *Latomus*, 47 (1988), 146-155.

La vision s'efface bien vite et Macrin nous apprend que ce bonheur lui est refusé car il se trouve en voyage, loin de sa Gélonis. Le thème de l'éloignement du mari, éternellement retenu par ses obligations, était déjà récurrent dans les recueils précédents. Or, l'allusion à un rendez-vous furtif dans la maison paternelle de la jeune femme laisse penser que ce poème date de la période des fiançailles de Macrin et de sa bien-aimée. L'érotisme, réduit à l'état de fantasme, se trouve donc ici doublement refoulé, dans l'éloignement spatial d'abord, mais aussi dans le passé. Les autres poèmes, dans les *Hymnes*, où le poète peint un amour conjugal brûlant ne concernent plus Macrin et Gélonis, mais d'autres couples: Louis de Téligny et sa jeune épouse Aréthuse (pp. 44; 147; 176), Isabelle Portia et son mari tout neuf (p. 25). Salmon semble désormais enclin à mettre son expérience et ses *topoi* érotiques au service des autres. Les joies sensuelles du passé paraissent même entachées d'une certaine culpabilité, puisque, lors des fêtes de la nativité de la Vierge, Macrin invite Gélonis à demander pardon au Christ et à Dieu, pour les offenses commises ensemble la nuit et le jour (p. 42).

La *persona* même de Gélonis a changé; la *puella* des débuts a perdu un peu de sa grâce lénifiante et montre parfois de l'humeur: si elle pleure les absences répétées de son époux (p. 203), si elle se révèle jalouse (p. 84), elle ne veut pas non plus quitter Loudun et lui préfère, la 'sotte' (*inepta*), sa mère, son frère et sa soeur (p. 22). Lors de sa sixième grossesse, la peur de mourir qui l'étreint la rend presque folle, et son mari doit l'admonester sévèrement (p. 142). Aussi, lorsque Macrin lui adresse une ode alcaïque *De concordia coniugali*, opposant les épouses modèles de la mythologie à l'enfer conjugal représenté par Médée ou d'autres héroïnes inquiétantes, le lecteur se demande, quoique que le poète se hâte de préciser qu'il ne vise pas sa femme, si l'usure de la vie quotidienne n'a pas fissuré quelque peu l'éclatant bonheur de jadis. De fait, dans la pièce déjà mentionnée, consacrée aux fêtes mariales (p. 42), Macrin conseille à Gélonis de prier le Christ aussi pour qu'il 'consente /A ce que tous deux jouissent d'une union plus sereine/ Et qu'il éloigne les tristes querelles'.⁷³ Les amours passionnées semblent presque mortes. C'est ce que symbolise, en un sens, les hendécasyllabes plaisants où Salmon, pour honorer le roi, fait dire à la Laure de Pétrarque qu'elle doit

⁷³ 'Postremo pete uti quietiori [*sic*] / Ambos coniugio velit fruisi, / Et tristes abigat procul querelas'.

plus à François I^{er} qui a embelli son tombeau retrouvé,⁷⁴ qu'à l'autre François qui a immortalisé en vers son amour (p. 46).

Si le temps n'est plus à la sensualité, si la sérénité est parfois difficile, une autre tendresse conjugale, construite au fil des années, cimentée par la naissance des enfants, par les épreuves communes, envahit pourtant le devant de la scène. A la *Gélonis-puella* succède une *Gélonis in Christo soror* (p. 41), œuvrant autant que son mari au bonheur du foyer. On retrouve ici la conception érasmienne du mariage chrétien, où l'épouse, quoique soumise à son mari, ne lui est pas inférieure, où les joies d'une affection partagée rendent les deux époux meilleurs et plus proches de Dieu:⁷⁵

Vinclis amoris connubialibus	Par les liens de l'amour conjugal,
Vxor marito iuncta fideliter,	Une épouse à l'époux fidèlement unie,
Cui rebus in cunctis voluntas	Qui, en toutes choses a même volonté
Vsque eadem est, animusque concors ...	Toujours, un cœur accordé au sien ...
Quot praebebat ipsi gaudia compari?	Que de joies elle apporte à son compagnon!
Quanta hinc voluptas nascitur & quies?	Quel immense plaisir, quel repos elle fait
	[naître!
Quam molle curarum levamen	Quel doux apaisement des soucis,
Siqua minus cecidere laeta?	Si quelque événement moins heureux
	[survient!
	(p. 72)

Une telle conception ne va pas de soi, puisque Macrin doit plaider sa cause auprès de son ami Mellin de Saint-Gelais, qui lui reproche d'être par trop 'inféodé à sa cité, Sous les commandements de Gélonis'.⁷⁶ Le poète se défend en disant sa femme dotée de la vertu de Lucrèce et de la beauté d'Hélène, et en insistant à nouveau sur le caractère délassant et consolateur de son foyer, havre de douceur consacré par l'habitude: 'inque dulci Consuetudine cuius acquiescam' (p. 85). Et c'est bien ce monde clos et protecteur, opposé aux tempêtes de la cour, de la politique ou des guerres, et non plus la seule Gélonis, que les *Hymnes* (et les *Odes* de 1537) vont s'attacher à peindre surtout.

⁷⁴ En 1533, Maurice Scève avait cru redécouvrir le tombeau de Laure à Avignon. François I^{er} avait fait reconstruire le tombeau en marbre et composé lui-même une épithaphe (Soubeille, *Epithalames*, p. 99).

⁷⁵ Sur les conceptions matrimoniales d'Erasmus, voir l'analyse de J. Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme* 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981), II, 893-899: Erasmus, prenant le contrepied de la tradition, admet même l'utilité du plaisir charnel entre époux et défend certains droits de la femme.

⁷⁶ P. 85: 'Addictum velut oppidoque servum His sub imperiis Gelonidaeis'.

2.3.2. *Le paradis sur terre*

Le paradis où s'enferme Macrin pour retrouver santé et puissance créatrice, est constitué, sur fond de *locus amoenus*, de joies menues et variées. Salmon avait déjà superposé, dans ses poèmes antérieurs, l'idéal horatien du petit domaine épicurien à l'image de son foyer loudunais.⁷⁷ Le thème acquiert cependant plus d'ampleur ici, et les images du *locus amoenus conclusus*, disséminées dans le recueil témoignent moins d'un penchant à la volupté que d'un nécessaire repli sur soi. Le poète s'adonne à maintes variations sur le *topos*; tantôt, après Pline, Stace et Politien, il décrit villas et jardins⁷⁸; tantôt il met l'accent sur la sagesse épicurienne, le refus des voyages, du luxe, de l'ambition.⁷⁹ Parfois il rêve des délices de la vie monacale (p. 162). Enfin, le retour au foyer peut même apparaître comme le seul remède vraiment efficace aux maux qui tourmentent son corps (p. 196). A son ami Guillaume Du Maine il résume en ces termes le secret du bonheur (p. 99):

Hoc statu terra in patria Maine	C'est ainsi, Maine, qu'en ma terre [paternelle]
Vivo, contentus nihil invidenda	Je vis, content d'un sort qui ne suscite
Sorte, natorum numero et placenti	Nulle envie, de mes enfants nombreux, [et bienheureux]
Coniuge fœlix.	D'avoir une épouse à mon goût.

2.3.3. *La tour d'ivoire*

Autre facette du paradis familial: la tour d'ivoire, où l'humaniste s'enferme pour étudier et retrouver l'inspiration. A Guillaume Du Bellay qui s'enquiert de ses occupations loin de la cour, Macrin peint ainsi son *otium* triomphant (pp. 106-107):

⁷⁷ Cf. Soubeille, *Epithalames*, pp. 48-49; 77-78.

⁷⁸ Voir p. 23 (la villa de Saint-Cloud que lui a offerte le cardinal Du Bellay); p. 79 (le jardin où il compose des vers pour Lascaris); p. 89 (la vie de rêve que mène Budé, dans sa villa, en compagnie de ses enfants et de son *uxorcula pudica*).

⁷⁹ Voir pp. 74 (à son neveu trop ambitieux), 99 (Macrin content de sa famille), 105 (Macrin resté au pays), 164 (Macrin et un ami poète), 190 (tentation du luxe et choix de l'*otium*).

Contractusque domi, libros revolve, in	Replié chez moi, je feuillette mes livres, je me
Gratiam & redeo novem sororum,	Réconcilie avec les neuf sœurs,
Quae Pimpleide frigerantur umbra,	Que rafraîchit l'ombre de Pimpla
Et castae Aoniis lavantur undis.	Et qui, chastes, se baignent dans l'onde [d'Aonie.
Doctis ingenium excolensque chartis,	Cultivant mon esprit en de doctes écrits,
Vitae damna resarcio prioris.	Je répare les dommages causés par ma vie [d'avant.
Quo quidem in studio acquiesco fœlix,	C'est en de telles études, certes, que je me
	[repose, bienheureux que je suis,
Quicquam ipso neque maius esse duco.	Et rien ne m'apparaît plus important.
Et sic exhilaror, triumpho, regno.	C'est ainsi que j'exulte, que je triomphe, que [je règne!
Nunc demum ut mihi vivere ac fruisce	C'est maintenant seulement qu'il me semble [vivre et jouir,
Optati videar quiete portus.	Dans la quiétude du port tant désiré.

2.3.4. *La sodalitas*

Cette tour d'ivoire, à l'occasion, s'ouvre sur le monde des amis, d'une *sodalitas* déjà maintes fois célébrée dans les recueils antérieurs, qu'unit l'amour pour la petite patrie commune, Loudun, ou, plus largement, pour la poésie et les belles lettres. Les dédicataires Loudunais sont soigneusement distingués des autres par la mention explicite de leur origine, *Iuliodunensis*:⁸⁰ c'est le cas de Charles Calvus (pp. 25; 105), Abel Fontaine (p. 54), Jean Sanel (p. 82), Guillaume Fabricius (p. 90), Maturin Berenicus (p. 93), François Fulcetius (p. 117), Guillaume Du Maine, Adrien Dreux, futur gendre de Macrin (p. 14), René Fabricius (p. 185), Michel Lambert (p. 187), Titus Pinnius (p. 197), Claude Mangot (p. 198), Petrus Vinaius (p. 226), Tristan Portius (p. 230), toute une brigade qui se connaît souvent depuis l'enfance⁸¹, à laquelle viennent se joindre des noms de l'extérieur, des amis plus récents, souvent plus prestigieux,

⁸⁰ Sur l'appellation étymologique de Loudun, *Iuliodunum* (la ville de Jules César), adoptée par Macrin en 1528, voir Soubeille, *Epithalames*, p. 49.

⁸¹ Abel Fontaine, chanoine de Poitiers, était le cousin de Gélonis (il reparaît dans les *Hymni selecti* de 1540 et dans les *Naeniae* de 1550); Jean Sanel était professeur à Loudun, et collègue de Michel Lambert (qui est déjà mentionné dans les *Odes* de 1530). Il participera au tombeau de Gélonis en 1550. Sur Guillaume Du Maine, v. ci-dessus, n. 65. Adrien Dreux épousera Camille, une fille de Macrin, et assistera Gélonis dans son agonie. Il participera aussi à son *Tombeau*. Claude Mangot reparaît dans les *Odes* de 1546, ainsi que Tristan Portius, et participe au *Tombeau* de Gélonis. Sur tous ces personnages, voir Soubeille, *Epithalames*.

Christophe de Longueil (p. 33), Hubert Susanneau (p. 52), Guillaume Budé (p. 89), Cornélius Musius (p. 152)⁸², Nicolas Bérauld (p. 154), Jean Dampierre (p. 162), Guy Corneille (p. 163), Giulio Camillo (p. 167), Pascasius Clemens, Toussaint, Danès, Vatable, Lascaris (p. 192), Germain de Brie (p. 204), d'autres encore.⁸³ Dans le fameux poème intitulé *Ad poetas Gallicos* (p. 37), Macrin se couronne lui-même aux côtés de Brie, Dampierre, Bourbon, Dolet et Visagier, et clame sa satisfaction de voir la France humaniste égaler désormais l'Italie.⁸⁴ Rien de très original en soi, sans doute, dans cette collection de billets amicaux; la plupart des recueils lyriques des années 30, notamment ceux des poètes lyonnais⁸⁵, se composent presque exclusivement de tels échanges entre *sodales*. Chez Macrin, cependant, ces pièces sont habilement mêlées aux poèmes épидictiques ou proprement familiaux, auxquels elles font parfois écho, et constituent comme un ciment qui garantit l'harmonie d'ensemble. De plus, ces échanges amicaux à caractère épistolaire — évocations de plaisirs partagés ou de communes indignations, exhortations à écrire des vers, promesses d'œuvres à venir, auto-exaltation orgueilleuse — une fois mis en contexte, apparaissent comme autant de *stimuli* qui soutiennent l'inspiration chancelante de Macrin.⁸⁶

2.3.5. *Les joies familiales*

C'est pourtant la célébration des affections familiales, assortie d'une peinture délicate des humbles détails du quotidien, qui semble le mieux ranimer la muse macrinienne. La récurrence soigneusement orchestrée des pièces consacrées à tout un réseau de parents, qui s'entrelace avec celui des protecteurs et des amis, suggère que Macrin se plaît à tisser un

⁸² Macrin a connu à Poitiers ce poète hollandais. McFarlane insiste sur le rôle qu'a pu jouer Musius dans le retour de Macrin à une poésie religieuse ('J. Salmon Macrin', p. 325). C'est aussi Musius qui appellera Macrin *Horatius alter*, cf. Soubeille, *Epithalames*, p. 68 et note.

⁸³ Tous sont des humanistes ou des poètes fameux en leur temps. Sur l'admiration qu'ils vouaient à Macrin (dont plusieurs d'entre eux, comme Dolet, Visagier, Bourbon, Sussanneau, se considéraient comme ses disciples), voir l'introduction de Soubeille, *Epithalames*, pp. 112-126.

⁸⁴ Sur ce poème, voir McFarlane, 'J. Salmon Macrin', pp. 322-323, et Soubeille, *Epithalames*, pp. 22-23.

⁸⁵ Comme Bourbon, Ducher, Visagier.

⁸⁶ Voir en particulier p. 54, où Salmon rappelle (usant d'un vieux *topos*) que Fontaine l'a poussé à publier ses vers malgré lui; p. 82, où Sanel est invité à relire ses poèmes; p. 192, où le poète dit son épuisement au terme de l'ouvrage et demande le soutien de ses amis pour son livre.

véritable cocon familial au centre duquel il se love. Il rappelle volontiers sa propre enfance insouciante, entre une mère aimée, ‘aetatem teneram matre sub optima Indulgentem agens’ (p. 70) et un grand-père trop tôt disparu, Almaric Tyrel, dont il décrit la tendre pédagogie avec une grâce catullienne (p. 101):

Tu cunabula nanque nostra princeps,	C’est toi en effet qui le premier dorlotas notre [petite enfance,
Tu parvi teneros nepotis annos	Les tendres années de ton petit-fils tout jeunet,
Fovisti gremio subinde molli &	Souvent, dans ton douillet giron, et
Cum infantiliter impedita vinclo,	Alors que ma langue, encore embarrassée
Balbutiret adhuc tenace lingua,	A l’âge de la petite enfance, balbutiait,
Tu vocis modulus rudes figurans,	C’est toi qui, façonnant les modes maladroits [de ma voix,
Et blaesae dociles sonos loquelaē,	Et les sons malléables de mon langage hésitant,
Mi verba articulata suggerebas,	Me soufflais des mots articulés,
Pappare & praeitor ⁸⁷ meum regebas.	Et, me guidant, réglais aussi mes petits repas.
Mox cum firmior esse coepit aetas,	Bientôt, quand mon âge se fut affermi,
Doctrinaeque capax politioris,	Devenu apte à recevoir une science plus [élaborée,
Tu per praemiola apta contumacem,	C’est toi qui, par de menus présents bien choisis, [alors que j’étais rebelle
Luctantemque pati scholare fraenum,	Et rétif, m’incitais à supporter la bride des études,
Invitans modo eburneis sigillis,	M’offrant tantôt de petites statuettes d’ivoire,
Conditis modo saccharo placentis,	Tantôt des gateaux au goût sucré,
Nunc & passere, carduelibusve...	Et parfois un moineau, ou des chardonnerets...

Cette tendresse doucement éducative, Macrin l’épanche à son tour envers ses neveux; au fils de sa sœur, Helen Cherest⁸⁸, il conseille, même contre le gré de ses parents⁸⁹, de renoncer à l’ambition et à la vie urbaine pour mener cette vie d’*otium* qui lui est si chère (p. 74). A la demande de Pacifique Salmon, fils de son frère, il rédige un petit art poétique (p. 118) vantant les vertus du travail, sur lequel je reviendrai. Mais c’est véritablement l’expérience de la paternité qui insuffle à Macrin les accents les plus émus, empreints d’une délicatesse presque féminine, qui rappellent les berceuses de Pontano. C’est ainsi qu’il gourmande doucement, pour le ramener à la santé, son fils Charles, alors âgé

⁸⁷ Néologisme humaniste. Cf. R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 278.

⁸⁸ *Epithalames*, XXI est déjà dédié à Helen, alors petit garçon (éd. Soubeille, pp. 212-213), ainsi que le poème IV, 12 des *Odes* de 1530, où Macrin invite les Muses à faire de son neveu un grand poète.

⁸⁹ P. 75: ‘Consulent fortasse aliter parentes’.

de deux ans à peine et atteint d'une forte fièvre; au rythme des strophes sapphiques, le poète égrène les tableaux heureux de leur vie quotidienne (p. 88):

Quis patrem posthac redeuntem ab urbe,	Qui maintenant, quand son père rentrera [de la ville,
Blaesulo arridens hilarabit ore,	Lui sourira et l'égaiera de ses balbutiements,
Inque constricta iniiciet tenaces	Et jettera autour de son cou ses bras
Colla lacertos? ⁹⁰	En le serrant très fort?
Iam tibi vestes hyali colore	Déjà ta mère t'avait tissé un vêtement teint
Mater infectas, croceoque luto,	De couleur verte et de jaune safran,
Balteum intexto graphicum Gelonis	Gélonis, et une ceinture élégamment
Neverat auro.	Brodée d'or.
Tinnulis eccui crepitacula bullis ⁹¹	A qui va-t-on donner la crécelle aux [clochettes argentines,
Aequoris baccis opulenta rubri:	Ornée de perles de la Mer Rouge,
Eccui ebur fabra dabiturque buxum	A qui l'ivoire, et la toupie ingénieusement
Arte politum?	Polie avec art?
En Philus villo niveo catellus	Et Chouchou, le petit chien au poil neigeux,
Assidet cunis domini iacentis,	Est assis près du berceau où son maître est [couché,
Atque qua morbum potis est querela	Et, à sa manière plaintive, il pleure
Luget herilem. ⁹²	Sur le petit héritier malade.
Hic movet nil te Charilae fili,	Mais il ne t'émeut point, Charles, mon fils,
Nil fluor notae riguus papillae,	Ni le lait qui coule, abondant, du sein [familier,
Quaeque vagitus cohibebat ante	Ni la berceuse qui savait jusque là calmer [tes cris
Naenia moestos.	Affligés.
Quo tuum papare abiit minutum ⁹³ ?	Où est ton hâchis menu?
Quo tener risus saliente corde,	Où est ton tendre sourire, chaque fois que, [le cœur battant,
Venit ad fratris quoties Susanna	Susanne s'approche du berceau de son frère,
Garrula cunas?	La bavarde?

⁹⁰ Cf. Stace, *Silu.*, 2, 1, 65-66 (déploration du *puer* Glaucias): 'Obuius intranti rursus quis in ora manusque Prosiliet breuibisque umeros circumdabit ulnis?'.

⁹¹ Cf. Severus Sanctus, *Carm. Buc.* XXXV: 'Consona tinnulo Concentu crepitacula'.

⁹² Cf. Pontano, *De amore coniugali*, XVII (*Naenia decima. Mater blanditur catellae ac somnum invitat*), éd. J. Oeschger (Bari: Laterza, 1948), p. 169.

⁹³ Cf. Perse, 3, 17: 'pappare minutum poscis'.

Ailleurs, le poète peint en hendécasyllabes vivants et légers, *retractatio* manifeste du fameux chant du moineau de Catulle⁹⁴, sa fille Suzanne, alors âgée de trois ans (p. 134):

O solatiolum meum Susanna, ⁹⁵ Infestant quoties acerba mentem, Curarum & rapido inquietor aestu.	O ma douce consolation, Susanne, Chaque fois que l'amertume envahit mon esprit Soucieux et qu'un tourbillon d'inquiétude [m'emporte,
Merae deliciae, merique amores, Matri non secus atque chara patri. Cuius garrulitas faceta, cuius Argutatio ⁹⁶ , lusiunculaeque ⁹⁷ , Et verniliter expedita lingua In salsas charites, iocos, lepores,	Mes pures délices, mes pures amours, Chère à ta mère comme à ton père, Toi dont l'enjoué babillage, dont Le bavardage, les jolis mots drôles, Et la langue badine et prompte Aux grâces, aux plaisanteries, aux élégances [piquantes,
Vel duros silices movere, nedum	Pourraient émouvoir même les dures pierres, [et à plus forte raison
Propensum in te animum queant tuorum. Mellita sed enim protervitate Tum mulces avidas licenter aures, Titillasque animos inaudientum, Confictis ubi iurgiis feriris, Obiecta & regeris cavilla mordax.	Le cœur tourné vers toi de ta famille. C'est que d'une suave effronterie, Parfois, tu charmes les oreilles trop avides Et tu séduis les cœurs de ceux qui t'écoutent, Lorsqu'on feint de te quereller Et qu'aux plaisanteries qu'on te lance tu [répliques avec vivacité.
Nam tum percita bile contumaci, Commotamque magis dicax ob iram,	Alors, en effet, te rebellant avec humeur, Plus railleuse sous l'effet de la colère [provoquée,
Quae non scommata funditas in illos,	Quels sarcasmes ne déverses-tu pas contre [ceux
Quos voce increpitans refellis acri	Que tu contredis, les invectivant d'une voix [aiguë,
Et convitiolis aculeatis? Sic nunquam tua sordeat crocota ⁹⁸ , Quam plus dulciculis amas ocellis: Flavi colla fluant per alba crines	Et de petits reproches perçants? Ah! que jamais ne soit sale ta robe safran, Que tu chéris plus que tes jolis yeux tout doux; Que coulent sur ton cou blanc tes blonds [cheveux,

⁹⁴ C'est ce qu'indique, dès le premier vers, l'usage du diminutif *solaciolum* (cf. Catulle, 2, 7), l'expression, au vers 23, 'Quam plus dulciculis amat ocellis', ainsi que le thème structurel de la gracieuse petite créature que l'on agace pour jouer.

⁹⁵ Cf. *Elegiae aliquot, Epigrammata, Odae* (Paris: Augereau, 1534), f. i iiiii v°, où Macrin malade est réconforté tendrement par la petite Susanne qui n'a pas encore deux ans.

⁹⁶ Catulle, 6, 11.

⁹⁷ Néologisme humaniste, cf. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance*, p. 207.

⁹⁸ *Crocota*: cf. *Ciris*, 252 et Plaute, *ap. Non. XIV*, 8.

Monili & niveis revincta baccis,
Nec sit oppidulo puella nostro
Cultu floridior decentiorque.

Attachés par un collier et des perles neigeuses,
Et que dans notre petite cité nulle fillette
N'ait mise plus florissante et plus seyante
[que toi.

Dans la suite du texte, Macrin, non sans sourire, fait le vœu que sa petite fille, parvenue à l'âge nubile (*Quarto proxima... lustro*), trouve le mari dont rêvent pour elle ses parents:

Contingat tibi talis & maritus
Qualem sollicitis utrique votis
Tibi a numine postulant parentes,
Hoc est eximius, modestulusque⁹⁹,

Puisses-tu trouver un mari comme celui
Que de leurs vœux anxieux tes deux parents
Pour toi réclament à Dieu,
C'est-à-dire extraordinaire, et tout à fait
[honnête,

Pudore ingenuo, ore liberali,

Doué d'une pudeur naturelle, d'un noble
[discours,

Et rara simul eruditione.

Et aussi d'une rare érudition.

Le poème s'achève sur la requête d'un tendre baiser, dissipateur de tout souci:¹⁰⁰

Da bellatula, da Susanna patri
Actaeo oscula delibuta melle,
Collum cereolis patris lacertis
Astringens, bibulam susurra in aurem

Donne, ma bellotte, donne, Susanne, à ton père
Des baisers empreints de miel attique,
De tes bras blancs comme cire enserrant
Le cou de ton père, susurre dans son oreille
[avide¹⁰¹

Acres quod valeat levare curas
Dulci garrulitate...

Des mots qui allègent ses âpres soucis,
En un doux babillage...

On notera, dans ces deux textes très picturaux, de facture alexandrine, le goût du détail décoratif, de l'objet précieux, qui semble concentrer en lui, comme un talisman, les sensations fragiles du bonheur. Les vêtements soignés des petits enfants, confectionnés de la main même de leur mère, leurs jouets raffinés, témoignent moins de l'aisance de leurs parents que de l'amour vigilant dont ils sont entourés. A ces célébrations du paradis familial appartient encore, par exemple, un poème de remerciement à Nicolaus Britannicus (p. 177; strophes alcaïques), un ami qui avait envoyé à Gélonis quelques petits présents:¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Probablement un néologisme.

¹⁰⁰ P. 135.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Perse, 4, 50.

¹⁰² *Ad Nicolaum Britannicum Campanum de munusculis ad Gelonidem missis.*

Grates Gelonim exoluere maximas	Gélonis le remercie beaucoup, ¹⁰³
Nostram, quod illi pectinem eburneum,	Notre chère femme, du peigne d'ivoire,
Cum theca inaurata eleganter,	Accompagné d'un étui élégamment doré,
Miserit & speculum ipse rarum.	Qu'il lui a envoyé, ainsi qu'un miroir d'une [rare beauté.
Hoc hospitis se mnemosynon sui	Ce souvenir de son hôte,
Abscondituram dicere in arcula	Elle dit qu'elle l'enfermera dans un coffret
Clausam, nec usuram diebus	Bien clos, et qu'elle n'utilisera point de ce [présent
Munere eo nisi forte festis.	Si ce n'est peut-être les jours de fête.

La valeur affective du bel objet est ici explicitement soulignée par l'héliénisme catullien *mnemosynon*.¹⁰⁴ Le peigne, souvenir de l'amitié portée au couple par Nicolas, ne servira pas, mais sera précieusement préservé. En transmettant cette promesse solennelle et un peu enfantine de Gélonis, Macrin lui-même laisse transparaître, dans l'hyperbate des deux premiers vers, *Gelonim... nostram*, sa propre tendresse.

2.3.6. *Le temperamentum des modèles. La dette envers Germain de Brie*

Incontestablement Macrin a su, grâce au dosage habile de divers modèles latins et néo-latins, renouveler à la fois son *ethos* et son style. Cette poésie 'bourgeoise' originale doit assurément au Stace des *Silves* certaines notations de la grâce enfantine et de l'affection parentale.¹⁰⁵ Chez le poète napolitain, cependant, les liens affectifs décrits sont souvent plus ambigus, lorsqu'il s'agit du lien entre un maître et son *puer delicatus*. A Pontano, Macrin a depuis longtemps emprunté le rôle du poète-mari épris, mais à présent le poète français a pris, comme on l'a vu, ses distances avec l'expression sensuelle de l'amour; de plus, le ton souvent familier, parfois presque prosaïque, des recueils de 37 paraît finalement assez éloigné de l'expression plus ornée, plus mythologique, plus antiquisante de Pontano. Macrin se souvient surtout ici des *Nae-niae*, des berceuses où les nombreux diminutifs, les répétitions, la syntaxe hachée, les mots tendres, miment le langage mignard de la nourrice ou de la mère. Le Loudunais paraît plus sobre, toutefois, plus proche, en

¹⁰³ Macrin demande à la Muse de transmettre le message.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Catulle, 12, 13.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. surtout II, 1 (déploration du petit Glaucias); II, 6 (déploration du *puer* de Flavius Ursus); III, 4 (beauté du jeune Flavius Earinus); V, 1 (déploration de Priscilla, mère de famille idéale); V, 3 (déploration de son père; rappel de la tendresse qui l'unissait à lui); V, 5 (déploration de son enfant).

un sens, du catullianisme 'chaste' et contenu de Marulle que de celui, plus débordant, de Pontano.¹⁰⁶ Il faudrait sans doute étudier aussi l'influence, sur cette poétique du quotidien familial et du spontané, de la comédie latine, de Plaute en particulier, dont P. Laurens a rappelé récemment l'importance dans le lyrisme de Politien et de Marulle.¹⁰⁷

Cependant, la poétique bourgeoise de Macrin me semble également largement débitrice d'un poète néo-latin plus proche, exact contemporain et vieil ami auquel le Loudunais exprime souvent son admiration, Germain de Brie.¹⁰⁸ Lié à Erasme, Budé, Jean et Guillaume du Bellay, Brie fut d'abord secrétaire des reines Anne de Bretagne et Claude de France, puis aumônier du roi, enfin, à partir de 1519, chanoine de Notre Dame de Paris. Humaniste et poète renommé, excellent helléniste, Brie, qui s'était fait connaître par une éclatante querelle avec Thomas More, était aussi apprécié pour sa générosité et ses qualités de bon-vivant. Sa carrière sociale et littéraire, fulgurante mais discrète, son épicurisme de gentilhomme campagnard¹⁰⁹ devaient faire de lui, aux yeux de Macrin, moins élevé dans la hiérarchie sociale, un modèle idéal, auquel l'*ethos* macrinien des *Hymnes* doit sans doute quelques traits. Vers 1511, Brie, alors débutant, fréquentait régulièrement un haut magistrat parisien, François Deloynes, doté d'une femme cultivée et de trois charmantes

¹⁰⁶ Sur le caractère chaste de la poétique marullienne, voir Cf. W. Ludwig, 'The Catullan Style in Neo-Latin Poetry', in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition. Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. P. Godman et O. Murray (Oxford, 1990) pp. 183-197, et D. Coppini, 'Da *Dummodo non castum a Nimum castus liber*: osservazioni sull'epigramma latino nel Quattrocento', *Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme*, 1 (2000), 185-208. Sur Pontano poète de l'amour conjugal, voir Liliana Monti Sabia, 'Un canzoniere per una moglie: realtà e poesia nel *De amore coniugali* di Giovanni Pontano', in *Poesia umanistica latina in distici elegiaci. Atti del convegno internazionale Assisi, 15-17 maggio 1998*, ed. Giuseppe Cortanzaro e Francesco Santucci (Assisi: Accademia Proporziana del Subasio, 1999), pp. 23-65.

¹⁰⁷ P. Laurens, 'Modèles plautiniens dans la lyrique amoureuse latine de la Renaissance: de Marulle à Kaspar von Barth', *Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme*, 1 (2000), 243-261.

¹⁰⁸ Germain de Brie est né en 1488 ou 1490, mort en 1538; Macrin est né en 1490 et mort en 1557. Sur la vie et l'œuvre de ce poète humaniste, très admiré de ses contemporains, voir M. M. de la Garanderie, 'Germain de Brie écrivain', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis* (Copenhagen, 1991), éd. R. Schnur, (Binghamton-New York, 1994) pp. 567-578; *Christianisme et lettres profanes*, I, chap. 5, et 'Germain de Brie', in *Centuriae Latinae. Cent et une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, réunies par C. Nativel (Genève: Droz, 1997); voir aussi P. Galand-Hallyn, 'Autour de la Vénus d'Amboise (1530): une renaissance de l'*ekphrasis* en France au XVI^e siècle', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 61 (1999), 345-374.

¹⁰⁹ Dans sa 'villa' de Gentilly (v. M. M. de La Garanderie, *Christianisme*, pp. 143 et 151-152).

fillettes. Autour de Deloynes et de sa famille se rassemblait une sodalité humaniste active, dominée par Budé, Bérauld, Louis de Ruzé. Pour remercier Deloynes de son hospitalité, Brie écrivit un long poème (240 hendécasyllabes), le *Deloynus*, qu'il fit circuler parmi ses amis, mais ne publia que neuf ans plus tard.¹¹⁰ Avant de louer amplement (et peut-être plus platement) le poète inspiré et le parlementaire intègre, il y brosse un portrait charmant de l'homme privé. On retrouve ici l'idéal érasmien et macrinien de l'amour conjugal librement consenti entre deux êtres pourvus de nombreux points communs:

Felix coniuge tam bene educata, Tam culta, ac genium tuum decente...	Bienheureux d'avoir une épouse si bien instruite, Si cultivée, et accordée à ton génie...
Sagax, ingenua, eloquens, modesta, Soters, ingeniosa, casta, prudens, ¹¹¹	Sagace, bien née, éloquente, modeste, Habile, ingénieuse, chaste, sage,
Tantis dotibus, ingenii que donis	De si grands mérites, de si grands dons de [l'esprit]
Exornata, facit tacente Momo,	Ainsi parée, elle rend — Momus ¹¹² réduit au [silence —
Sortem connubii beatiorum.	Le lot du mariage plus heureux. ¹¹³

Mais c'est surtout le charme de la plus jeune fille de Deloynes qui retient l'attention de Brie, et le poème s'ouvre sur une description qui a certainement inspiré celle que Macrin donne lui-même de sa petite Suzanne, dans le texte cité un peu plus haut:

Felix prole pia venustulaque,	Bienheureux d'avoir cette progéniture, tendre [et toute mignonne]
Nata praecipue minore, nomen Anthos cui dedit, ore que venusto, Lingua blandula, blesula parentum	Ta benjamine surtout, à qui une fleur A donné son nom: de sa bouche mignonne, En un langage tout tendre et balbutiant, de ses [parents]
Mentes exhilarat, levatque, & omnem Domo tristitiam procul repellit. Adfert laetitiam, fovetque pacem, Miscet gaudia, liberosque risus, Miscet blanditias, iocos, amores. Quam circum illecebrae, elegantiaeque, Lusus, ludicra, fabulae, lepores,	Elle réjouit l'esprit, elle allège et chasse au loin Toute tristesse de la demeure. Elle apporte l'allégresse, entretient la paix, Mêle les joies et les ris en liberté, Mêle les caresses, les jeux, les amours. Autour d'elle séductions, élégances Badinages, plaisirs, devis, grâces,

¹¹⁰ *Poematia duo* (Paris, Nicolas de La Barre, 1520).

¹¹¹ Sur ce type de description énumérative chez Plaute, voir P. Laurens, 'Modèles plautiniens', pp. 245-247.

¹¹² Dieu de l'envie et de la médisance.

¹¹³ Brie, *Poematia duo*, f. IIII r^o-v^o.

Et circum Venus, & Cupido circum, Et circum Charis, & Melissa circum Hyblaeo fragrat, atticoque rore. Spargit lilia, spargit & ligustra.	Et puis Vénus et puis Cupidon, Et puis Charis et puis Melissa; Elle embaume la rosée de l'Hybla et d'Athènes, Elle répand un parfum de lis, un parfum de [troène,
Spirat cinnama, spirat ac amoma. Quae mi suavia saepe, saepe surdos ¹¹⁴	Elle exhale la canelle, elle exhale l'amome. Souvent elle m'a donné des baisers, souvent [de légères
Amplexus geminans dedit roganti. Et nostris, leve pondus, e lacertis, Arridens pueriliter, pendendit, Et curas animi levavit omneis. Risque, ac roseis decens labellis. Inter quae O quoties, puella, dixi, Optatum tibi dii, precor maritum	Etreintes, les redoublant, à ma demande, Et dans mes bras, poids si léger, Riant comme rient les enfants, elle s'est jetée, Allégeant tous les soucis de mon âme, Ravissante avec son rire et ses jolies lèvres roses. O combien de fois, alors, n'ai-je pas dit: 'Que les dieux, je les en prie, fillette, te [réservent un mari de ton choix
Felices tibi nuptiasque servant. Et semper tibi Cypris e capillis, Semper roridulo e sinu, e papillis,	Et un heureux mariage, Et que Cypris, toujours, de sa chevelure, Toujours, de son sein tout ruisselant, de ses [tétons,
Semper roscidulique de labellis, Semper de genulis, ocellulisque	Toujours, de ses jolies lèvres tout humides, Toujours de ses jolies joues, de ses yeux [mignons,
Adflet idalios, syrosque odores, Adflet ambrosiamque, balsamumque.	T'insuffle les parfums idaliens et syriens, T'insuffle l'ambrosie ainsi que le baume. ¹¹⁵

Or, en 1519, Germain de Brie publie son *Antimorus*, un manifeste poétique dirigé contre Thomas More, qui s'était moqué, dans des épigrammes, d'un poème épique publié sept ans auparavant, la *Chordigerae navis conflagratio*, où le poète français contait, de manière partielle et littérairement impropre aux yeux de More, un combat naval opposant la flotte anglaise aux marins de la reine Anne de Bretagne.¹¹⁶ En tête de ce manifeste figurent quelques hendécasyllabes où Macrin exhortait Brie à publier au plus vite l'*Antimorus*, invitant les Muses et Cypris à inonder de leurs grâces ses vers, et rappelant, comme principal titre de gloire de son ami à ce moment-là, le poème où il célébrait les innocents baisers de la fillette de Deloynes, qu'il nomme Chloris:

¹¹⁴ Brie semble disséminer ici une expression de Perse, 6, 36: 'seu spirent cinnama surdum'.

¹¹⁵ Brie, *Poematia duo*, ff. III v^o-III r^o. Le texte est cité par M.M. de La Garanderie, *Christianisme*, pp. 147-148.

¹¹⁶ Sur les étapes de cette querelle, voir M. M. de La Garanderie, *ibid.*, et *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 3, part. II, ed. Clarence Miller (Yale Univ. Press,

Sic castis tibi blandiens labellis, Chloris basia tot ferat, sereno	Qu'ainsi, t'effleurant de ses chastes lèvres, Chloris te donne autant de baisers que [dans un clair
Clara quot numerantur astra coelo, Chloris de numero puellularum Vna illustrius adsecuta nomen Tuis Hendecasyllabis disertis.	Ciel on dénombre d'astres brillants, Chloris qui, de toutes les jolies fillettes, Seule, a gagné un renom fort illustre Grâce à tes Hendécasyllabes éloquentes. ¹¹⁷

On voit donc que Macrin, dès leur commune jeunesse, avait été impressionné par le *Deloynus*, puisqu'il le citait en exemple, de préférence à d'autres œuvres de Brie¹¹⁸, et même qu'il avait plus particulièrement apprécié les vers consacrés aux charmes enfantins de la petite Deloynes. Il me paraît évident qu'il a songé à nouveau à ce texte, au moment de célébrer à son tour sa propre fille. On retrouve la même structure dans les deux poèmes : à l'éloge de la fillette succède le souhait de la voir un jour 'bien' mariée. La thématique des deux pièces est également très proche : la séduction des deux petites filles réside d'abord dans leur manière, tout ensemble maladroite, élégante et drôle, de parler ; leur joliesse n'est évoquée qu'ensuite, puis vient le motif du baiser consolateur. Néanmoins, Macrin infléchit son propre texte dans le sens d'un réalisme plus grand et d'une certaine sobriété. Aux énumérations plautiniennes un peu vagues des qualités allégorisées de Chloris ('séductions, élégances, badinages', etc.), aux successions de noms de divinités ou de parfums (qui filent la métaphore de la fleur), il substitue un portrait, moral et physique, plus précis de sa fille Suzanne. Il lui dessine un vrai caractère, à la fois tendre et colérique ; il esquisse une scène de genre où les parents taquinent gentiment l'enfant, pour le plaisir de la voir répliquer vivement. On pourrait même se demander, à propos de ce petit canevas narratif¹¹⁹, s'il n'aurait pas été suggéré, plus ou moins consciemment, par la juxtaposition, déjà effectuée dans le poème de Macrin qui ouvre l'*Antimorus*, du portrait de Chloris et du thème de la vivacité

1984) : édition de la *Chordigerae navis conflagratio*, de l'*Antimorus*, et des autres textes touchant à cette polémique.

¹¹⁷ Texte cité dans *The Complete Works of Th. More*, p. 482 et par M. M. de La Garanderie, *Christianisme*, p. 147, n. 55. Mme de La Garanderie signale que l'exemplaire de la Mazarine porte *Floris* et non *Cloris*.

¹¹⁸ Brie, il est vrai n'avait encore guère publié, sinon écrit de vers, à cette époque, en dehors de la *Conflagratio*. Le recueil des *Poematia duo* de 1520 comporte néanmoins, par exemple, une autre pièce d'hendécasyllabes antérieure au *Deloynus*, écrite à la gloire d'Érasme, cette fois, et qui datait du voyage en Italie de Brie (1508).

¹¹⁹ Dont on a vu qu'il a des affinités avec le *passer* de Catulle.

polémique. En effet, les hendécasyllabes où Salmon loue le *Deloynus* s'achèvent sur l'idée que la grâce de toute invective (on retrouve l'hellénisme *scommata*, également utilisé dans le portrait de Suzanne) réside dans la rapidité avec laquelle s'exerce l'esprit de répartie:

Quando scommata gratiam adsequuntur Puisque les sarcasmes n'ont de grâce
Sola haec, quae fuerint statim retorta. Que lorsqu'ils ont été aussitôt
[renvoyés.¹²⁰

Enfin, Macrin donne, sur la beauté de sa fille, des indications plus détaillées et picturales (assorties d'un camaïeu de couleurs), même si elles restent évidemment stylisées: cheveux blonds, teint blanc, robe jaune, perles neigeuses. En même temps, il corrige nettement ce que le texte de Brie pouvait avoir de trop sensuel, avec le portrait surimposé d'une Cypris nue, aux charmes ruisselants. Le dernier élément thématique, celui du baiser-*solacium* est en revanche très proche dans les deux poèmes.

Il est probable, au vrai, que l'ensemble du *Deloynus*, par sa thématique et par son style, a pu servir à Macrin, sous une forme disséminée, de modèle général pour les pièces des *Hymnes* consacrées à une esthétique du bonheur bourgeois qui fera date.¹²¹

2.3.7. *Imperfection du bonheur bourgeois*

Dans ce recueil constitué de strates variées, cependant, les limites de ces joies terrestres, et par là-même la précarité de l'inspiration qu'elles génèrent, sont sans cesse indiquées. L'*otium* coûte cher, et plusieurs allusions trahissent ici ou là les inquiétudes financières de Macrin (pp. 190; 192). Le malheur peut frapper, sans prévenir, au cœur même du paradis familial et le poète apparaît hanté par la crainte de la maladie et de la mort, pour ses enfants, sa femme, ses amis ou lui-même¹²², où encore pour les

¹²⁰ Macrin, liminaire à Brie, *Antimorus*, vv. 67-68, in *The Complete Works of Th. More*, p. 484.

¹²¹ Cf. p. 89, la description du foyer modèle de Guillaume Budé. On retrouve cette esthétique, toujours liée à Morel, dans les *Elegiae* de Joachim Du Bellay (5: *In vitae quietoris commendationem, ad I. Morellum Ebrod.*), ainsi que dans la poésie parlementaire d'un Michel de L'Hospital ou d'un Etienne de La Boétie (voir mon art. cité en n. 13), par exemple.

¹²² Pp. 29 (maladie de Suzanne); 33 (mort de son ami Christophe de Longueil); p. 36 (mort de son ami Antoine Papillon, jeune marié); 88 (fièvre de Charles); 121 (maladie de Gélonis enceinte de six mois, puis du bébé, Marie, âgée d'un mois); 73 (vieillesse souffrante et hernie de Macrin); 142 (Gélonis, enceinte, redoute la maladie et la mort); 163 (deux enfants morts sur les six qui sont nés); 220 (mort de ses premiers enfants Honorat et Hélène), etc.

grands, qui ne sont pas davantage épargnés. C'est ainsi que Macrin, qui avait participé aux tombeaux poétiques du Dauphin Charles, organisés d'abord par Dolet (1536), puis par Pierre Rosset (1537),¹²³ insère ici plusieurs pièces où il vitupère contre le meurtrier présumé du jeune prince, et son complice, et exprime sa sympathie au roi.¹²⁴ L'obsession est si forte qu'elle lui inspire, dans un volume d'où, comme on va le voir, la mythologie païenne est en principe bannie, toute une pièce sur l'exemple d'Hécube mère privée de tous ses enfants (p. 166). Le thème du bonheur saccagé apparaît encore dans la charmante pièce, déjà citée, où le poète raconte les joies de sa petite enfance, sous la tendre férule de son grand-père. Car celui-ci meurt, et le cours de la vie de Macrin est désorienté, comme un bateau privé de gouvernail (p. 102).¹²⁵ Le thème du paradis perdu est largement développé dans une ode sapphique consacrée à la mort de ses deux premiers nés, Hélène et surtout Honoré (pp. 220 et s.). Le poète reproche à la nymphe Prasocrène¹²⁶, divinité d'une rivière de Loudun, d'avoir oublié le culte fidèle qu'il lui rendait, et laissé mourir son fils. Voici que Gélonis, telle la vache éplorée de Lucrèce, emplit la campagne de ses pleurs: *Illa ploratu nemora, antra, valles Replet inani* (p. 221). Puis Macrin se décrit, assis au bord de l'eau, adonné à une douce songerie poétique, quand le bruit de son malheur le réveille:

Haec sedens ripa viridi canebar
Ad tuos amnes Dea, cum repente
Vox mihi nati morientis ipsas
Perculit aures.

Voici ce qu'assis sur ta rive viride je chantais,
M'adressant à ton cours, ô déesse, quand soudain
Les cris de mon enfant mourant vinrent
Frapper mes oreilles. (p. 222)

¹²³ *Recueil de Vers Latins et vulgaires* (Lyon: François Juste, nov. 1536) et, avec Brie et du Costé, *Diversa Epigrammata in obitum Francisci Valesii* (Paris, 1537). Voir Soubeille, *Epithalames*, pp. 124-125 et A. Flégès, 'Les tombeaux littéraires en France à la Renaissance (1500-1589)' (thèse dactylographiée, Université de Tours, mars 2000), I, 113 et s. Les contributions de Macrin ont été ensuite republiées par lui dans les *Hymnes* et les *Odes* de 1537.

¹²⁴ Pp. 205 (*In parricidam qui Delphinum veneno sustulit*); 211 (*In Antonium Laevam, cuius hortatu Delphinum veneno extinctus est*); p. 233 (*Ad Regem de Delphini filii eius morte*). Cf. aussi p. 46 (*Ad Margaritam Valesiam Reginam Navarrae cum filium funeraret*).

¹²⁵ On comparera, par exemple, avec le long récit de l'enfance du poète, sous la conduite éclairée de son père, dans les *Odes* de 1530 (II, 23, éd. Soubeille, pp. 468 et s.), où rien ne vient troubler la sérénité du tableau (cf. P. Galand-Hallyn, 'Marot, Macrin, Bourbon', sur le mythe autobiographique de l'enfance du *vates*).

¹²⁶ 'Verte fontaine'.

C'est que, pour le poète, la mort, comme le déluge qui, un temps, ravage les campagnes de Loudun (p. 107), sont autant de signes de la colère de Dieu. Si l'*otium* paradisiaque est menacé, c'est que nul n'est à l'abri du péché, pas même les doctes, en qui les dogmes des Ecritures ne fructifient pas toujours.¹²⁷ Il était donc nécessaire, pour Macrin, de donner à ses rêves intimistes une dimension transcendante, assortie d'une sérénité durable et d'un regain du souffle poétique.

2.4. *Intégrer l'hymne à l'ode*

Le retour à la religiosité s'est effectué, pour Macrin, de façon assez naturelle, même si sa charge de valet de chambre du roi lui imposait, vu les événements, une prise de position assez ostensible en la matière. Le Loudunais pouvait s'appuyer sur ses expériences poétiques de jeunesse, désormais complétées par la lecture de Prudence, très en faveur à cette époque¹²⁸, et par l'influence de deux amis, Barthélemy Latomus et le Hollandais Cornélius Musius, auteurs chacun d'une pièce liminaire à la fin des *Hymnes*.¹²⁹

D'une part, sur le plan de la tradition littéraire, il était aisé de réintégrer la louange divine — thème traditionnellement lié aux formes lyriques — dans un ensemble d'odes. D'autre part, la tradition poétique des recueils de circonstances reposant, comme on l'a vu, sur un constant réajustement du style aux divers moments de l'expérience humaine, il était parfaitement possible de combiner l'utile et le pathétique, de fondre l'affirmation d'une foi orthodoxe (notamment par l'éloge de la Vierge, des saints et des martyrs) dans l'expression intense des joies et des douleurs intimes et quotidiennes.

2.4.1. *Conciliation du calor rhetoricus et de la foi inspiratrice*

Les *Hymnes* de 1537 contiennent, on l'a dit, une sorte de petit art poétique abrégé que Macrin adresse, à sa demande, à son neveu Pacifique Salmon. On y retrouve la triple influence d'Horace (*Art poétique*), de

¹²⁷ 'Fructum nec omnes sic animi ferunt Quanquam eruditi' (p. 103).

¹²⁸ L'œuvre de Prudence connu de nombreuses rééditions depuis la *princeps* de 1492, à Deventer. Voir McFarlane, 'J. Salmon Macrin', pp. 325-326.

¹²⁹ On sait peu de choses sur les liens entre Latomus et Macrin. Quant à Musius, il vécut à Poitiers de 1536 à 1538, et où Macrin a dû faire sa connaissance. Dans une ode saphique des *Hymnes* (p. 152), le poète indique que c'est lui qui a encouragé son retour aux sujets religieux. Voir McFarlane, 'J. Salmon Macrin', p. 325.

Quintilien (livre X) et de Vida¹³⁰, tandis que le poète montre comment, d'une lecture assidue, suivie par des exercices répétés, naîtra enfin une inspiration qu'il faudra encore éprouver par une relecture patiente:

Si credis mihi, cum stylum parabis,	Si tu m'en crois, quand tu travailleras ta [manière]
Accingêris & aemulationi,	Et quand tu seras prêt à rivaliser,
Duntaxat veteres leges poetas...	Tu liras seulement les antiques poètes...
Posthaec schemata sedulo notabis	Ensuite tu relèveras soigneusement leurs [figures,
Illorumque phrasim, tropos, figuras	Leur style, leurs tropes, leurs expressions
Et fœliciter ordinata verba...	Et leurs arrangements de mots réussis...
Postremo...	Enfin...
... iubeo ut subinde carmen	... je veux que souvent tu composes
Componas numero modo hoc, modo illo ¹³¹ ,	Des vers tantôt en ce mètre, tantôt en [cet autre,
Assuetudine roboret Camœnam,	Que tu fortifies ta Camène par l'habitude,
Atque exercitio stylum fatiges.	Et que tu fatigues ta plume par l'exercice.
Tum si forte tibi poema felix	Alors, si d'aventure un poème réussi
Phœbi compositum faventis æstro est,	Se compose sous ta plume sous l'effet [de la fureur de Phébus,
...	...
...Quintilios adi severos	... va trouver de sévères Quintils
Ipsorum & tua subde scripta limae. ¹³²	Et soumetts tes écrits à leur lime.

Sans modifier radicalement ses conceptions, Macrin va, dans les *Hymnes* et les *Odes*, superposer un processus inspirateur parallèle, toujours axé sur le labeur et la préparation de l'âme, mais désormais fondé sur la lecture des textes sacrés. C'est ce que suggère un passage tiré des *Odes*:

Entheo noctes equidem, diesque	De la divine fureur assurément, nuit et jour
Percitus verae pietatis oestro,	Je suis frappé, sous l'effet de la vraie piété,
...	...
Naenias vatum veterum canoras	Et les mélodieux refrains des antiques poètes,
Quicquid & mendax Helicon ministrat	Et tout ce que l'Hélicon menteur procure,
Desero...	Je l'abandonne...
Ad tuas me res bone Christe verto,	Vers tes œuvres, Christ bienveillant, je me [tourne,
Vt sacris libris animum saginem,	Pour nourrir mon âme de tes livres sacrés,
Quos laborarunt studiosa patrum	Que peignèrent à composer la studieuse [foules des
Turba piorum.	Pieux Pères.

¹³⁰ Soubeille, *Epithalames*, p. 81.

¹³¹ Cf. Catulle, 50, 5 (et 3, 9).

¹³² Macrin, *Hymnes*, pp. 118-119.

... iam mihi magno studio legendi	... Désormais c'est vous qui m'animez d'un [grand désir
Estis, ut verae documenta vitae	De lire, afin que les témoignages de la vraie [vie,
Hauriam a vobis, animumque pascam	Je les puise de vous, et que je repaïsse mon [âme
Fruge salubri.	D'un fruit salubre. ¹³³

Le thème de la foi chrétienne nourrie par les lectures pieuses, elles-mêmes vues comme le fruit d'une *ars* (*quos laborarunt*), se confond ainsi avec le vieux *topos* platonicien, issu du *Ion* et récupéré par les humanistes, de la 'contagion sacrée' de la lecture, qui génère, de façon circulaire, l'inspiration mais aussi le désir du labeur.¹³⁴

2.4.2. L'«abandon au Logos»

Cependant, les *Hymnes* s'ouvrent, après la dédicace au cardinal Du Bellay, sur une paraphrase du *Pater*, en strophes sapphiques, et de l'*Ave Maria*, en hendécasyllabes phalécien, suivie par une ode sapphique, adressée à René Du Bellay et consacrée aux martyrs. Un peu plus loin viennent encore deux poèmes, relayés vers la fin du recueil (p. 199) par une autre pièce *Ad se ipsum*, qui proclament le renoncement (au moins partiel) du poète à l'inspiration païenne et à la mythologie, et le retour aux sources sacrées.¹³⁵ Tout ce paratexte n'indique pas seulement ce que seront les thèmes principaux du recueil, il met aussi l'accent sur le nouveau mode d'écriture qu'implique, pour Macrin, la thématique religieuse. A la différence des modèles païens, qui permettent une libre création, une écriture neuve issue de l'innutrition et de la contamination, les Écritures, une fois assimilées, ne sauraient être qu'inlassablement répétées sous forme de traductions ou de paraphrase, au prix de légères transpositions ou variations. Comme le souligne M. Jeanneret, le poète chrétien de la Renaissance

ne cherche pas à séduire par une invention résolument personnelle; il ne présente pas son œuvre comme une confession intime... Il se considère au contraire comme l'interprète de vérités fondamentales qui existent en dehors de lui... Puisque l'essentiel a été dit et que les idées, immuables, ne s'inventent pas, la matière d'un poème nouveau

¹³³ *Idem*, *Odes*, pp. 34v°- 35 v°.

¹³⁴ Voir le chapitre, déjà cité en n. 44, des *Poétiques de la Renaissance*.

¹³⁵ Voir Soubeille, *Epithalames*, pp. 107 et s.

réside principalement en variations par rapport à des données consacrées... C'est dans ces limites que le poète circonscrit la portée de ses inventions.¹³⁶

Les *Hymnes* de 37 s'inscrivent dans ce que Jeanneret considère comme la première période de la vogue psalmiste¹³⁷, dominée par l'avènement du calvinisme et la survie de l'idéal évangélique, qui vise, surtout pour les paraphrases en français, 'à communiquer à la pratique des fidèles une intensité nouvelle et [à] rendre vigueur au message des Ecritures'.¹³⁸ Marot est évidemment le grand représentant de ce moment. Globalement, la perspective macrinienne ici n'est pas si différente de la sienne. Le milieu où évolue le poète a été longtemps celui d'un évangélisme modéré, dont ses œuvres antérieures portent des traces.¹³⁹ A présent, bien sûr, le scandale des Placards l'oblige à afficher plus d'orthodoxie en 1537 que dans les recueils précédents.

La paraphrase et l'imitation religieuses me semblent donc répondre chez lui à trois motivations: (1) se hausser au-dessus de tout soupçon de réformisme; (2) soulager son inspiration fléchissante, liée à une usure existentielle, en se laissant porter par la veine sacrée toute tracée. C'est ce que G. Defaux, à propos de Marot, nomme 'abandon au *Logos*, reconnaissance par le sujet de son infirmité, signe pour lui d'une défaite et d'une aliénation consentie'.¹⁴⁰ Le principal effort poétique de Macrin en matière religieuse va consister, peut-être à la suite de François Bonade, dans son adaptation des psaumes ou des récits évangéliques à la métrique horatienne: 'Sceptriger gentis Solymae ille rector... Nunc mihi in leges numerosque Flacci Cogitur' (p. 90).¹⁴¹ (3) Jouer — et c'est ce

¹³⁶ M. Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Corti, 1969), p. 523. Voir aussi H. Vaganay, *Les Traductions du psautier en vers latins au XVI^e siècle* (Fribourg (Suisse), 1898) et McFarlane, 'J. Salmon Macrin', pp. 334 et s.

¹³⁷ Qui s'étend de 1535 à 1562: *Ibid.*, p. 525.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Voir Soubeille, *Epithalames*, pp. 104 et s.

¹⁴⁰ C'est que pour Marot aussi, la traduction des psaumes a pu apparaître, selon Gérard Defaux, comme une sorte de solution à ses angoisses poétiques, à l'impossibilité de trouver un langage parfaitement 'transparent', libéré de toute rhétorique superflue, pour dire Dieu (*Marot, Rabelais, Montaigne: l'écriture comme présence* (Paris-Genève: Champion-Slatkine, 1987), chap. I, surtout pp. 90 et s). La perspective de Macrin me semble moins philosophique, moins douloureuse aussi. On notera encore la présence, dans les *Hymnes*, de traductions d'inspiration profane (une épigramme française du roi, p. 135), ou de pièces grecques (p. 187).

¹⁴¹ Voir aussi p. 35, la dédicace à son ami René Lefèvre qui, avec Jean Sanel, l'aurait incité à s'adonner à son tour à ces paraphrases. Jean de Ganay fera l'apologie de ce type

qui fait son originalité, me semble-t-il¹⁴² — de l'insertion de ces pièces dans le contexte d'un lyrisme personnel et auto-biographique, à la fois pour en raviver l'actualité et l'intensité aux yeux de ses lecteurs, et pour tirer, sans doute, un réconfort personnel des analogies qui se trouvent ainsi établies entre ses propres anxiétés et l'humanité souffrante du Christ et de la Vierge.

2.5. *Mise en scène de la religion comme pratique quotidienne*

On a pu dire en effet de l'œuvre chrétienne de Macrin qu'elle était un 'manuel de piété, un guide pratique de religion'.¹⁴³ C'est que le poète s'inscrit dans (où reflète) un courant littéraire du tout début du siècle, surtout actif en langue vulgaire, visant à promouvoir la pratique quotidienne de la dévotion, notamment auprès des femmes. Ce courant a été largement illustré par Pierre Gringore, par exemple, auteur de nombreuses paraphrases liturgiques (1525), de 'prières de dévotion' en français (1523), et d'un ouvrage intitulé *La quenouille spirituelle*, poème exhortant 'une jeune fileuse à faire de chaque geste de son travail quotidien le point de départ d'exercices spirituels variés'.¹⁴⁴ De telles préoccupations viennent, par ailleurs, à la rencontre des buts poursuivis par le poète latin Prudence, dont l'influence sur Macrin est ici manifeste, dans les douze hymnes de son *Cathemerinon liber*, ou 'livre pour tous les jours'.¹⁴⁵ J.-L. Charlet a montré que les hymnes de Prudence, sans être écrites pour la liturgie officielle de l'Eglise, 'suivent le cadre temporel de la liturgie du jour et de l'année'. 'Programme tracé par le poète pour lui-même, et ... pour une communauté de chrétiens lettrés', les hymnes

d'adaptation dans ses *Psalmi Davidici LXXV in lyricos diversorum generum versi* (Paris: N. L. Riche, 1547), mais le véritable initiateur en France des paraphrases latines des psaumes fut sans doute François Bonade, avec ses *Eximii prophetarum antistitis regia Davidis oracula* (Paris, C. Wechel, 1531). Cf. McFarlane, 'J. Salmon Macrin', pp. 334-335. On notera aussi que Macrin célèbre dans les *Hymnes* le trépas de Lefèvre d'Étaples (p. 119), qui avait joué un rôle important dans la diffusion des psaumes (*Quintuplex Psalterium* (Paris, 1509); éd. latine du psautier, avec trad. française juxtalinéaire (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1524)).

¹⁴² Cependant Macrin n'est pas le seul à intégrer ses paraphrases dans un ensemble de pièces lyriques.

¹⁴³ Citation d'Imbart de La Tour, dans Soubeille, *Epithalames*, p. 111.

¹⁴⁴ Voir Jean Vignes, 'Poésie et religion au XVI^e siècle en France', in *Poétiques de la Renaissance*, 3^e section du chap. IV.

¹⁴⁵ Je suis ici l'analyse donnée par J.-L. Charlet, *La création poétique dans le Cathemerinon de Prudence* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982).

du *Cathemerinon*, dans lesquelles sont insérées des narrations bibliques qui en sont la ‘source spirituelle’, offrent à leurs lecteurs ‘une occasion de méditation personnelle, à partir de la prière liturgique et en suivant son rythme’. En ce sens, Prudence se rapproche des *Odes* d’Horace¹⁴⁶, fondées pareillement sur des *exempla*. En même temps, progressivement, il ‘prend conscience de ce qu’une esthétique néo-alexandrine’ du mélange des genres, des mètres et des tons, tempérée par une cohérence plus classique de la pensée, était seule apte à procurer à Dieu ‘une louange totale’, où chaque moment de l’existence du poète lui serait consacré.¹⁴⁷

On voit combien Prudence, auquel l’hymnodie liturgique avait fait par ailleurs plusieurs emprunts, était aisément récupérable au profit de la lyrique macrinienne. Le poète de Loudun a donc eu soin d’insérer dans son recueil les pièces religieuses en les rattachant, comme dans le *Cathemerinon*, aux rythmes de la journée et de l’année, mais en personnalisant, ici ou là, ces rythmes, en les reliant aux événements de sa vie familiale. Les *Hymnes* de 1537 sont ainsi scandées par toute une liturgie intérieure qui s’égène: *Preces matutinae ad Dominum Christum* (p.17)¹⁴⁸; *Ad Deum patrem preces vespertinae* (p. 20)¹⁴⁹; *Actio gratiarum cibo sumpto* (p. 27)¹⁵⁰; *Ad Dominum Christum ante somnum* (p. 39)¹⁵¹; *Ad Deum patrem actio gratiarum cibo sumpto*¹⁵², *Precatio vespertina*.¹⁵³ Ces prières sont complétées par une série de paraphrases des psaumes¹⁵⁴ ou d’autres textes sacrés, également disséminés dans le recueil. La plupart des autres pièces religieuses, souvent centrées sur un exemple biblique, comme chez Prudence, sont ancrées dans le petit monde propre à Macrin; telle adresse à la Vierge se fait sur fond de paysage loudunais (p. 20); ailleurs, le poète exhorte son ami Calvus à chanter les merveilles de la vie du Christ (p. 25)¹⁵⁵ ou son neveu Cherest à prendre modèle sur Lazare et à chérir la pauvreté (p. 74); la Nativité de Jésus donne lieu à des variations où divers amis de Macrin sont

¹⁴⁶ Horace lui-même imitant Pindare, à cet égard.

¹⁴⁷ Charlet, *La création poétique*, pp. 196-198.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Prudence, *Cath.*, I, *Hymnus ad Galli cantum* et II, *Hymnus matutinus*.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Id., VI, *Hymnus ante somnum*.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Id., IV, *Hymnus post cibum*.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Id., VI.

¹⁵² Cf. Id., IV.

¹⁵³ Cf. Id., VI.

¹⁵⁴ Pp. 34; 35; 49; 80; 91; 129; 155; 157; 163.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Prudence, *Cath.*, IX, *Hymnus omnis horae*.

évoqués (pp. 59; 61). Celle de la Vierge est célébrée à travers une description des cérémonies auxquelles Gélonis va participer. On apprend dans les *Odes* (p. 34) que le poète a composé la paraphrase d'un psaume spécialement pour la petite Suzanne. Les pièces qui décrivent les épreuves auxquelles Macrin et les siens sont confrontés sont parfois encadrées de poèmes chrétiens liés thématiquement au malheur évoqué, ou porteurs de consolation.¹⁵⁶ Le plus souvent, le poète, au moment de traiter un sujet religieux, se met en scène de façon métapoétique, évoquant ses hésitations, ses difficultés, sa volonté de réussir, et l'enthousiasme retrouvé (par ex. pp. 62; 90; 96, etc.).

En bref, les réminiscences chrétiennes, dispersées à travers l'œuvre, sont toujours intériorisées, qu'elles soient présentées comme autant de rites qui orchestrent l'existence de Macrin et de sa famille, ou vues à travers l'expression même de la subjectivité du poète. A cet égard, l'ode alcaïque *De nomine Iesu augustissimo* (p. 175), symbolise bien cette poétique de la dissémination. Macrin y fustige les poètes qui jugent le nom même de *Jesus* impropre métriquement à être inséré dans un poème, *insuave, barbarum*; lui-même emploie ici le nom à trois reprises, une fois comme mot disyllabe, deux fois comme trisyllabe.¹⁵⁷ Il leur oppose le martyr Ignace dont le corps, éviscéré, laissa voir le nom du Christ gravé en lettres d'or dans son cœur.¹⁵⁸ De même, si les Écritures sont partout présentes dans les *Hymnes*, c'est que leur lecture assidue a développé, chez le poète, plus qu'une méditation, de véritables obsessions, imprimées dans son imagination, qui relient à ses joies et ses angoisses personnelles les images de la vie terrestre du Christ et de la Vierge.

Les thèmes chrétiens, dans les *Hymnes*, se laissent ici diviser en deux catégories: d'un côté, la passion de Jésus¹⁵⁹ et le supplice des martyrs¹⁶⁰,

¹⁵⁶ Voir par exemple p. 29, l'ode où Macrin déplore la maladie de Suzanne, encadrée d'une prière à la Vierge, évoquant sa maternité à la fois tendre et douloureuse, et d'une prière au Christ, dépositaire de l'espoir humain; p. 121, la pièce où Macrin s'inquiète pour la vie de la petite Marie est suivie d'une évocation du massacre des Innocents, etc.

¹⁵⁷ On trouve les deux scansions chez Prudence (*Apotheosis*, 222, 1062 et *passim*: disyllabe; *Cathemerinon*, XII, 173: trisyllabe).

¹⁵⁸ Ignace, évêque d'Antioche, Père de l'Eglise, fut livré aux fauves à Rome, dans le Colisée, à la fin du règne de Trajan. Son supplice est raconté par Eusèbe, *Hist. Eccl.*, 3, 36. Une réédition de *L'histoire ecclésiastique* avait été procurée par Geoffroy Tory à Paris, en 1532. On a gardé d'Ignace sept épîtres, dont l'une, l'*Epître aux Romains*, célèbre le martyre.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. p. 10, le Christ, premier des martyrs.

¹⁶⁰ Macrin se rapproche, cette fois, entre autres, du Prudence du *Peristephanon*.

notamment le massacre des Innocents, sont médités à travers l'expérience propre que le poète fait du vieillissement et des maux physiques qui l'accompagnent, ainsi que de la souffrance engendrée par la perte d'enfants morts prématurément. C'est ainsi que le premier poème consacré au martyr (pp. 5 et s.), adressé à René Du Bellay, s'ouvre sur une réminiscence de Cicéron dans le *Cato maior* (64): *fabulam vitae peragam prius quam*, suivie d'une description du vieillissement douloureux du poète. Puis Macrin décrit la force qu'il puise dans l'exemple des saints suppliciés:

Nanque constantem quoties eorum	Car chaque fois que je me rappelle
Rebus in duris animum recordor,	Leur constance dans les épreuves,
Et tenax veri studium quieta	Et que je médite leur tenace amour du vrai
Mente voluto:	En mon esprit qui s'apaise,
Prorsus admiror, tacitusque mecum haec	Je suis rempli d'admiration, et en silence,
	[pour moi-même,
Mussito, O sanctae fidei potens vis!	Je murmure: 'O de la sainte foi force toute-
	[puissante!
Robur invictum, nec amarulenta	Invincible solidité, que même la très amère
Morte domandum!	Mort ne saurait dompter!' (p. 6)

De fait, le poète exalte plus loin (pp. 15-16) le martyr de saint Etienne, et son ode s'achève par une prière au saint, pour qu'il lui accorde pareille sérénité dans ses vieux jours:

Sit meae portus placidus senectae,	Que le port de ma vieillesse soit paisible,
Otium foelix requiesque mentis...	Mon otium heureux, ainsi que le repos de mon
	[esprit...

Ailleurs encore (p. 183), après avoir confié que ses quarante-cinq ans tout proches et ses cheveux presque blancs l'invitent à offrir au Christ le reste de sa vie, Macrin avoue que son âme est obsédée par la vision du corps sanglant de Jésus crucifié, et plus encore par l'image de la croix dressée:

Nunc meae menti species inhaeret	A présent en mon âme est fichée cette
Illa ceu praesens, animumque stringit,	Image, comme présente, et elle serre mon cœur,
Sancta cum sudor roseo rigaret	Image du moment où sa sueur ruisselait
Membra cruore...	Sur Son saint corps avec Son sang rosé...
Me sed imprimis tenet illa clivo	Mais ce qui m'obsède en premier lieu est cette
Edito montis tetrici minans trabs...	Poutre menaçante, sur le flanc élevé du sombre
	[mont...

On voit que, pour Macrin, le sentiment d'être habité par la foi se confond bien avec cette innutrition génératrice de l'*enargeia*, de l'illusion de présence (*ceu praesens; me tenet*), que Quintilien attribue à la lecture, et dont il fait un moteur affectif de l'inspiration.¹⁶¹ Enfin, parmi ces visions obsessives figurent les scènes atroces du massacre des Innocents, comme par exemple dans l'ode alcaïque (p. 122) qui suit immédiatement une pièce très anxieuse, où le poète a énuméré les maux de l'année passée, notamment les maladies de Gélonis et de son dernier nouveau-né.¹⁶²

D'un autre côté, Macrin consacre à la Vierge, pour laquelle il montre une prédilection particulière tout au long de son œuvre¹⁶³, un très grand nombre de poèmes. Plusieurs d'entre eux traitent de l'immaculée conception, l'un des thèmes principaux de la poésie mariale médiévale. Les Rhétoriciens, déjà, avaient pris position dans le débat théologique à ce sujet qui durait depuis le XIII^e siècle, et défendaient, contre les Dominicains, l'idée que la Vierge n'avait jamais été touchée par le péché originel.¹⁶⁴ En se situant dans le camp des tenants de la conception immaculée, Macrin affirme avec force son orthodoxie. Cependant, ce sont surtout le personnage de la Vierge Mère et le thème de la Nativité de Jésus qui semblent le toucher le plus, car il les rattache sans mal à l'expérience émouvante que lui-même et sa femme ont faite de la naissance de leurs enfants. Marie, proche du menu peuple, veille aussi bien sur le malade que sur la femme en couches, sur le soldat, le paysan, le marin (p. 21). Elle apparaît principalement au centre de tableaux douillets, où Macrin exalte à loisir la même tendresse, les mêmes gestes maternels qui unissent sa chère Gelonis à ses tout petits, avec une prédilection pour le motif, si pictural (et érasmien), de l'allaitement¹⁶⁵:

¹⁶¹ Quintilien, *Inst.*, X. Sur l'*enargeia* à la Renaissance, voir P. Galand-Hallyn, *Les Yeux de l'éloquence. Poétiques humanistes de l'évidence* (Caen: Paradigme, 1995).

¹⁶² Cf. aussi, p. 127, l'histoire d'Agathoclès, le roi de Sicile qui fit supprimer les sacrifices d'enfants.

¹⁶³ Cf. McFarlane, *Epithalames*, pp. 327; 329-330.

¹⁶⁴ Sur la poésie mariale, voir Michael Randall, 'Poésie et religion au XVe siècle' et J. Vignes, 'Poésie et religion au XVIe siècle', in *Poétiques de la Renaissance*, ch. IV.

¹⁶⁵ L'allaitement maternel est un thème érasmien important, repris par Michel de L'Hospital qui milite en faveur de cette pratique dans une épître en vers justement adressée à Morel (*Ad Janum Morellum, de matribus, quae filios suos ipsae non alunt, nec apud se domi educari patiuntur, Carmina*, Amsterdam, Balthasar Lakeman, 1732, pp. 141-146), puis par Scévole de Sainte-Marthe dans sa *Paedotrophia* (1584). Voir la thèse de Loris Petris, 'La Plume et la Tribune. Michel de L'Hospital et ses discours (1559-1562)', 2 vols (thèse dact. de l'Université de Neuchâtel, 2001), I, 127-129.

Ferri in latebris hic uteri tui,	Jésus n'a pas refusé d'être porté à l'abri de ton [ventre,
Et lacte pasci non niveo abnuit,	D'être nourri de ton lait de neige,
Sinuque caldo confoveri, &	D'être réchauffé dans la chaleur de ton sein, et
Saepe tuis requiescere ulnis.	Souvent de se reposer dans tes bras. (p. 28)
et, plus loin,	
Tu gestientis casta puerperae	De l'accouchée transportée de joie,
Dio ore sugis pendulus ubera,	Tu têtes, d'une bouche divine, le chaste sein, [suspendu à lui,
Sopitus interdum quiescis	Tu t'assoupis, parfois, et tu reposes
In teneris refoventis ulnis.	Dans les tendres bras de celle qui te réchauffe. (p. 59)

Ailleurs encore:

Humor pudica lacteus affatim	Un flot de lait, abondamment, de ta pudique
Mamma scaturit, virgineo sinu	Mamelle jaillit, et contre ton sein virginal
Gestasque adorandum puellum,	Tu portes l'adorable tout-petit,
Quem nequeat capere omne caelum.	Que tout le ciel ne saurait embrasser. (p. 92)

3. Conclusion

Petit à petit, dans ces poèmes du martyr glorieux ou de la maternité consolatrice¹⁶⁶, Macrin parvient, dirait-on, à reconstituer un peu, tout en lui conférant une dimension céleste, l'univers consolant, mais fragile, de sa poésie familiale. Marie, *norma matrum*, apparaît presque comme un double idéalisé de Gélonis, à qui Macrin, du reste, recommande de la prendre pour modèle (p. 42); l'humble crèche de la Nativité, *lar modicus* tout horatien, offre de même cette sécurité douillette propre à la demeure loudunaise, où le poète, si souvent absent, rêve de revenir jouir de son *otium* (pp. 64 et s.). Au-delà des nécessités du dogme et de l'orthodoxie, Macrin élabore ce que qu'on pourrait appeler une poésie du religieux familial, fondée, comme son lyrisme laïque, sur l'affectivité, où hymnes ferventes et odes de circonstance gardent le plus souvent les accents de l'humilité et reposent sur cette promesse d'amour réciproque que contiennent les Évangiles, et que le poète célèbre, à partir d'une

¹⁶⁶ Les poèmes à la Vierge ne font, eux, guère de place aux images tourmentées de la Passion.

citation de Martial¹⁶⁷: *Vicissim ut quis ametur, esse amandum, / Haec certe Ratio... valebit... / Summum erga Dominum* (p. 69).

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¹⁶⁷ Martial, *Ep.*, VI, 11, 10: *ut ameris, ama*. Il s'agit à l'origine d'un aphorisme de Sénèque, *Ad Luc.*, IX, 6: *si uis amari, ama*.

Ignacio J. GARCÍA PINILLA — Jonathan L. NELSON

THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF THE *HISTORIA DE STATU
BELGICO ET RELIGIONE HISPANICA* BY FRANCISCO DE
ENZINAS (DRYANDER)

For most of his brief career the Spanish evangelical humanist Francisco de Enzinas (Burgos 1518 – Strasbourg 1552), known more widely as Dryander, pursued a vocation of translating classical and biblical texts for his nation. Yet he is best remembered for two original works in Latin. His eulogy to the murdered Protestant Juan Díaz, *Historia de morte sancti viri Ioannis Diazii*, was avidly read following its publication in 1546. His *Historia de statu Belgico et religione Hispanica*, the subject of the present article, had a more complex fate. Dryander composed it in 1545 shortly after his escape from a Brussels prison; it consists of vivid eye-witness accounts of recent religious conflict in the Low Countries and Spain, interwoven with the story of his failed attempt to publish a Spanish New Testament in Brabant under the protection of Charles V.¹ Although the original Latin text of *De statu Belgico* was not published until the nineteenth century, a posthumous French translation entitled *Histoire de l'estat du Pais Bas et de la religion d'Espagne* appeared in 1558.² But *De statu Belgico* reached its widest audience through the contemporary martyrologies of Rabus, Pantaleon, and Foxe — albeit abridged and, in the latter two versions, heavily paraphrased.

More than 35 years ago B. A. Vermaseren made a ground-breaking study of the circumstances surrounding *De statu Belgico*'s dissemination in his 'Autour de l'édition de l'«Histoire de l'estat du Pais Bas, et de la religion d'Espagne» par F. de Enzinas dit Dryander (1558)'.³ The Breda scholar in fact described all the sixteenth-century versions and extracts,

¹ On the events surrounding the New Testament's printing, see J.L. Nelson, "'Solo Salvador': Printing the 1543 New Testament of Francisco de Enzinas (Dryander)", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50 (1999), 94-116.

² For full citations of versions, see the descriptions accompanying the *stemma* below.

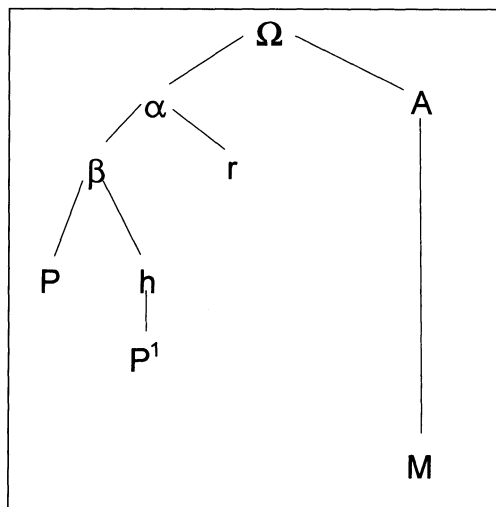
³ *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 27 (1965), 463-94 (hereafter cited as 'Vermaseren').

but the 1558 *Histoire* was his main theme because he supposed it to be the subject of most of the contemporary records. However, combining those records with new information has allowed us to shift the focus from the *Histoire* onto an attempt to print the Latin text, also in 1558. Vermaseren also initiated a study of the patrons and relatives of Enzinas's orphaned daughters who hoped to generate funds from the Spaniard's literary legacy. Developing these clues adds considerably to our understanding of the circumstances surrounding the *De statu Belgico*'s printing.

In the conclusion of his article Vermaseren said that a careful comparison of the various texts was still to be done, and that any critical study should take into account Rabus's German version. So we will begin where Vermaseren left off, by looking at the sixteenth-century textual tradition. Then we will present historical information which supports and complements the textual conclusions.

I.

The following analysis aims to establish a new *stemma codicum*. It includes the two contemporary translations alongside the Latin manuscripts, since the former occupy a special place in the sparse tradition of this text and because neither of the two extant Latin manuscripts gives the complete text. The *stemma* will have the following form:



Ω is the archetype on which all the manuscripts depend; it is datable to July 1545.

A is MS R Ab 1/21.4 of the Lehrerbibliothek des Christianeums, Altona (Hamburg). It forms part of the *Donum Kohlianum* bequeathed to the Gymnasium Christianeum in 1768 by church history professor J. P. Kohl and dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century at the latest, containing amendments and *marginalia* in the hand of Johann Wankel (†1616), professor of church history at Wittenberg.⁴ Textually it represents a Wittenberg tradition earlier than the Strasbourg MS P (which dates from about 1557), remaining untouched by Dryander after he left Saxony in June 1546. The first quire of the manuscript is lacking.⁵

α represents an autograph copy found in Strasbourg in 1555 or 1556, which may have passed in 1557 into the hands of the Basle printer Johannes Oporinus, and is now lost. It was in the author's possession at least from 1550 to 1552 — long enough for him to amend it with notes and corrections, though he did not extensively revise it. This fact gives rise to the supposition that he expected eventually to publish it. The existence of α is consistent with the account written by 'Arcturus Gallus' and attached to MS P; he speaks of finding an autograph manuscript in Strasbourg.

r is the abridged German translation made by Ludwig Rabus from the Latin, most probably from the autograph α, before he left Strasbourg in November 1556. He published it in his *Historien der heyligen ausserwölten Gottes Zeügen, Bekennern und Martyrern*, 8 vols (Strasbourg: Samuel Emmel, 1554-58), VII (1557), fols 65r-164r, 176r-230v. The preface to this volume is dated Ulm, 6 August 1557. Vermaseren says that Rabus made 'une traduction intégrale du text latin' (p. 481) but in fact he omitted about 20 percent of Enzinas's text — corresponding to sections 26-29, 66-77, 87-90 of Socas's critical edition (see below) —

⁴ According to a note on the verso of the third leaf of the manuscript: 'liber satis distincte scriptus, pertinebat quondam ad Jo. Wankelium, qui eundem manu ubique notavit.'

⁵ The manuscript is described in Johannes Claussen, *Nachrichten über die Bibliothek nebst Verzeichnis ihrer Drucke aus dem 15. Jahrhundert* (Altona, 1897), and Johann Friedrich Lucht, *Nachrichten über die Bibliothek des Gymnasiums und die in derselben befindlichen Handschriften* (Altona, 1878), pp. 10-14. Earlier descriptions by Lucht can be found in his preface to the copy of the manuscript which he made for Luis Usóz y Río in 1861 (MS M, see below) and in a letter to B.B. Wiffen of the same year (now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid). Lucht was library director of Altona's Gymnasium Christianeum.

and rearranged the narrative to suit his martyrological purposes. Nevertheless, where he translates Enzinas he is exact, and therefore critically valuable.

β represents a rather defective copy with important *lacunae*, perhaps produced rapidly when the Basle printer Oporinus requested a manuscript of *De statu Belgico* to be sent him from Strasbourg in April 1557. Manuscript **β** remained in Strasbourg, being the common source of the two extant textual witnesses from that city, ms **P** and the French translation. The urgency in copying and the peculiarities of **α** must have obliged the copyist to keep the external appearance and glosses of that text.

P is the manuscript copy prepared for a compositor in the Strasbourg printing house of François Perrin, containing evidence that it was used in a printing process which was never completed. It offers a text free of glosses and difficult abbreviations which could be used by compositors and correctors. It is now *Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus* 1853. Folios 27-29 of the original Latin text are missing.

h is the French translation, *Histoire de l'estat du Pais-Bas et de la religion d'Espagne, par François du Chesne* (Ste. Marie: François Perrin, 1558). The translation is akin to **P** and seems to have been done from **β**, probably in 1557.

P¹ is a partial translation from the French **h** back into Latin as a substitute for the three missing folios of manuscript **P**, into which they have been inserted. Its critical value is nil, but it has been included in the *stemma* in order to avoid confusion for anyone examining the manuscript.

M is Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, ms 13481; it is a copy of **A** ordered by Luis Usoz y Río in 1861, reproducing exactly the format of **A** ('a plana renglón'), and carried out under the supervision of Johann Friedrich Lucht, director of the library of Altona's Gymnasium Christianeum. It came to light during our investigations.

There are also the following significant nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions:

Campan is *Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas: texte latin inédit, avec la traduction française du XVI^e siècle en regard, 1543-1545*, ed. by Charles-Alsace Campan, Société de l'Histoire de Belgique 13, 16, 2 vols (Brussels: C. Muquardt, 1862-1863; repr., Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1983); it contains the text of manuscript **A** and of the French translation **h** printed on facing pages. It is part of the series *Collection de Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de Belgique*.

Boehmer, Eduard, 'Der Anfang von Francisco de Enzinas' *Historia de statu Belgico deque religione Hispanica*', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 13 (1892), 346-59, prints the initial part of **P** which corresponds to the section missing from **A** and, therefore, from Campan's edition.

Socas is *Francisci Enzinatis Burgensis Historia de Statu Belgico deque Religione Hispanica*, ed. by Francisco Socas (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1991), a critical edition published in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*.

The *stemma* can be established on the basis of the following five arguments (all citations below use paragraph and line references to Socas):

1. An archetype **Ω** is common to both Latin manuscripts. The modern editor of *De statu Belgico*, Francisco Socas, postulated that there are errors common to both manuscripts. We are thus obliged to assume the same archetype for both; consequently, it is possible to establish a *stemma* which integrates both. The clearest example of this kind of shared error is the following:

86,11 **AP** = cuius ne mediam quidem patrem inquisitor obtulit.

Socas = cuius ne mediam quidem partem inquisitor obtulit.

There is another example in the same line which must be cited at greater length:

109,40 **AP** = blande excipiebat eius uerba, quae agnoscebat facile hominis esse non integrae mentis et plane intemperantis, ad quae tamen ipsa ualde moderate respondebat.

Campan / **Socas** =...ipse ualde moderate respondebat.

Also, the following passage, identical in both manuscripts, almost certainly suffers from a common *lacuna*:

44,70-75 **AP** = Etsi enim totum hoc officium illustrandi sacras litteras ad illum proprie pertinebat et, cum aliorum studiis fauet qui id quod eundem ipsum elaborare conueniebat praestiterunt, et suae tranquillitati consulit et partem aliquam officii sui tenui hoc fauore quodammodo tueri uidetur (quod alioqui profecto sine nefario scelere praetermittere non posset), tamen in tanta prauitate iudiciorum ac temporum * * * existere aliquem qui uel mediocriter de sacris literis sentiat, praesertim de grege monachorum.

In the French translation the problem was resolved in the following way (which in turn appears to have suggested Socas's interpolation)

h:...c'est grand chose qu'il se trouve quelcun...

Socas =...temporum, <magnum est> existere aliquem...

However, the authority of **h** is not acceptable over the coincidence of **AP**: the French translator simply perceived the incongruity in the Latin text and found a solution consistent with the sense of the rest of the phrase. It is likely that here there is an omission in **Ω**.

2. **P**, **h** and **r** are independent of **A**. Manuscript **A** is not the source of the rest of the textual tradition. This can be shown by three examples. In the first place, certain errors in **A** are not shared by the other witnesses, e.g.:

97,48 **A** = huius corporis beneficio
 P = huius corporis sacrificio
 h = le sacrifice de ce corps (p. 287)
 r = opfer (f. 111r)

Secondly, **A** omits readings shared by **P**, **h**, and **r** (**A**'s omission is in brackets):

116,73-4 **P** =...nec id unquam ab illis esset factum, <eos pronuncia-
 bam primos legis transgressores, qui caeteris exemplo esse deberent.
 quare> in eos primum animaduertendum esse...

r = Da sagt ich, sie weren die årgsten unnd ersten vheretreter
 Kheyserlicher Mayestats gesatz und gebott, die andern zu einem [...]
 furgant gesetzen weren (f. 223v)

h =...(ce qu'ils n'avoient jamais fait), je disoy qu'eux
 mesmes estoient les premiers transgresseurs d'iceux edicts. Et pourtant
 qu'ils devoient estre les premiers puniz... (p. 230)

Finally, it is possible that **P**, **h**, and **r** share an omission over against a correct reading in **A**. The only example of this — which would allow us to assert definitely that **A** is independent from the rest of the textual tradition — is weak due to the inexact nature of the translations at this point (**P**'s omission is in brackets):

57,14 **A** =...cumque ipsa morte <manifeste> decertantem...
 r =...ja im kampff mit dem tod war... (f. 205v)
 h =...et combatant contre les horreurs de la mort... (p. 112)

3. **r** is independent of **P** and **h**. The German translation by Rabus (**r**) shows itself to be independent of **P** and **h**, as demonstrated by the following two examples:

First, a text given by **r** coincides with **A**, while it is omitted by **P** and **h** (**P**'s omission is in brackets):

38,36-39 **A** = Ergo phrasis Lutheri consentanea est doctrinae propheticae et apostolicae. <si hoc affirmare uis, quod necessario ex tuis ipsius uerbis consequitur, prae in me aut in quoquam alio reprehendis quod iure in sacris literis deberes laudare. “absit” inquit “a me tantum scelus, ut dicam Lutheri doctrinam esse congruentem apostolicae”>. “atqui hoc” inquam “uere ex argumentatione tua colligitur”

r = Darauß volget, das deß Luthers lehr, der Apostolischen und Prophetischen lehr gemäß und ähnlich seye. Das sey fern von mir, sagt der Münch, das ich sagen solte, des Luthers lehr...

h = Adonc la phrase de Luther et la phrase des prophètes et apostres conviennent ensemble. Voilà ce qu'on peut conclure de vostre argument.

In the preceding example **P** skips from one occurrence of *apostolicae* to another. The French translation has a comparable omission. The German translation of **r**, though abridged, reproduces part of the text omitted by **Ph** ('Das sey fern von mir, sagt der Münch, etc.')

Second, **P** and **h** sometimes share one variant while **A** and **r** have a different one; for example:

85,6 **A** = receptae sententiae
r = von der erkanten warheyt
P = sententiae suae
h = de sa foy

4. There is a close relationship between **P** and **h**, when compared with other sources, but one is not derived from the other; rather, both derive from a common ancestor **β**. There are many omissions in **P** and **h** which do not occur in **A** and **r**, such as the following (**P**'s omission is in brackets):

95,40 **A** = orabant etiam ualde officiose, <ut a prauis opinionibus conuerteretur,> ne cum corpore simul anima periclitaretur...

r =...er solte von seiner falschen meinung und Irrthumb abstehen, damit... (f. 107r)

h = et le prioient bien fort qu'avec le corps il ne mist pas aussi son âme au danger... (p. 192)

Nevertheless, **h** is not a direct translation of **P** because the former does not reproduce omissions which occur in the latter, as in the following two examples (**P**'s omission is in brackets).

21,12 **A** =...ut impetum in illos <iudices> impios facerent.
h =...à se ruer dessus ces faux juges. (p. 41)

r =...Sie wolten doch die Richter mit Gewalt uberfallen.

(f. 85r)

92,60 **A** = et nescio quas <praeterea> crudelitates

h = je ne scay quelles autres cruautes (p. 186)

r = und andere greüwliche ding mehr (f. 101v)

It is necessary, therefore, to postulate a sub-archetype **β** from which **P** and **h** descend.

5. It is necessary to postulate a sub-archetype **α** which is the common ancestor of **P**, **h**, and **r**. There are many variants throughout the text which cannot be understood as mere errors but which demand an intermediate sub-archetype containing emendations; frequently, these must be read as stylistic improvements. One example will suffice:

116,75 **A** = eos fustuario dignos dicebam

P = eos incendio dignos dicebam

r = sie weren guter bengel und streych würdig (f. 223v)

h = qu'ils méritoient eux-mesmes d'estre bruslez (p. 215)

In this text the variant **Ph** might at first seem to refer to sub-archetype **β** established under point 3 above. However, the problem is more complex. First of all, variants of this sort are also found in **r**. In fact, a coincidence among **P**, **h** and **r** is common, as the next example shows:

96,48 **A** = quod ab ipso Iusto accepi

P = quod ab ipso Iusto audiui

r = vom Iusto selbs gehoeret hab (f. 109v)

h = ce que j'ay ouy dire de Juste (p. 194)

7,7 **A** = filios adulterinos et rebelles solebant appellare

P = filios adulterinos et rebelles solent appellare

r = Banckhart und widerspenstige kinder zunennen (f. 71r)

h = ils ont accoustumé d'appeller fils bastards et rebelles

(p. 21)

Furthermore, some readings do not fit the scheme outlined thus far. At times there are coincidences of **A** (which is a different branch of the textual tradition) with one of the testimonies descending from **β**: that is, one finds an agreement of **AP** or **Ah** against **rh** or **rP**. For example:

108,75 **P** = quid isti sordidi uermiculi tibi facere poterunt

r = was konnen dir dise stinckende und zerganckliche würmlin thun (f. 148r)

A = quid isti uermiculi tibi facere poterunt

h = Que vous pourront faire ces petits vers (p. 215)

In this example it can be seen that **A** and **h** omit the adjective that complements *uermiculi*, an adjective which can best be considered a gloss. But this gloss cannot belong exclusively to sub-archetype **β**, because that would not account for its presence in **r**; neither can it be a gloss in **Ω**, because there is a disparity of results in texts (**P** / **h**) belonging to the same branch. It is necessary to conclude that the variant appears at a different level of the tradition, constituting a sub-archetype **α**, from which **r** and **β** descend.

This statement alone does not clear up the whole problem because the witnesses descending from this sub-archetype **α** do not always contain the same readings. In the previous example the text of **h** — but not **r** or **P** — has the same omission as **A**. The most plausible hypothesis is that some emendations and additions were made to **α** as marginal or interlinear glosses (in the given example, the gloss would have been *sordidi*). These glosses were treated variously by copyists and translators. In **β** — probably a direct copy of **α** — their character as glosses seems to have been retained; i.e., they were not incorporated into the text. This hypothesis is strengthened by the historical circumstances surrounding the manuscripts' fortunes at Strasbourg, which will be described in Part II, below.

The hypothesis of an autograph sub-archetype **α** corrected by the author allows us to explain some variants that would otherwise remain puzzling. One must keep in mind that the glosses, being in the author's hand, would have considerable authority when a manuscript or printed text was being prepared. The following is an example of a set of readings that can best be understood on the basis of such a hypothesis:

- 9,29 **A** = plenum desperatione reliquit possessorem
 P = plenum desperatione reliquit professorem
 r = durch welche der mensch [...] ganz trostloss unn voller
 verzweiflung verlassen würt (f. 73v)
 h = laisse son homme privé de toute consolation (p. 24)

In this example **A** and **P** offer *uariæ lectiones* which appear to result from an error while reading. Nevertheless, the two translations do not resolve the problem in favour of one or the other; instead they coincide in a third *varia lectio*: *mensch* / *homme*. Our perplexity can be resolved by supposing that *hominem* was a gloss in **α**, offered perhaps as an alternative to an illegible word.

- 27,23 **A** = in ista regione
 P = in tota regione

h = en toute ceste region
 (**r** does not translate this section)

This is a surprising instance, where **h** seems to gather the *lectiones* of both Latin manuscripts. The author of the critical edition decided to edit it as *in tota ista regione*. This text can be explained by using once more the hypothesis of a gloss (which, in this case, would be *tota*): the copyist of **P** substituted it for the original while **h** preferred to join them together.

82,73 **A** =...cito purus ac illibatus in patriam illam sempiternam...
 P =...cito purus ac illibatus in patriam illam coelestem...
 r =...sondern fein rin und in meinem gewissen unverseret in
 das himmlische ewige vatterland zu Gott...

h =...et de passer net et impollu au pays celeste...

In this case **r** combines the two variants (*himmlische ewige* = *coelestem* + *sempiternam*). Again, this can be explained supposing that **α** placed the gloss *coelestem* alongside the original reading *sempiternam*; the gloss was preferred by **P** and **h**, while **r** used both.

59,6-7 **A** =...quae ab aduersariis ad calumniam torqueri potuerunt
 P =...quae aliquo modo ab aduersariis ad calumniam
 torqueri potuerunt

r =...zwey stuck, die haben die wider wertigen mir etlicher
 massen zuom nachtheil deüten moegen (f. 207r)

h =...de quoy ils povoyent faire leur prouffit, en les prenant
 à la rigueur extrême et en voulant user de calomnie (p. 115)

The coincidence of **h** and **A** in suppressing *aliquo modo* suggests that these two words were a gloss in **α** which were subsequently introduced into the text by **P** and **r**.

Critical consequences of this new *stemma*. Note that the following conclusions, though critically established, should be used cautiously, and do not apply to the sections not translated by **r**.

1. **M** is a *codex descriptus* of **A**, and therefore it is not necessary to collate it.
2. The relationship between **A** and **α** is one of equal validity. This, however, has no effect on variant readings which are stylistic corrections; rather, point (3) below applies to such variants.
3. As **α** appears to be a sub-archetype with autograph corrections, it seems to offer a version preferred by the author over **A**. Therefore, variants which can with a high degree of certainty be traced back to **α** must

be preferred for the critical text. To determine the attribution to **α** of a reading, the following criteria must be used:

- a) a coincident reading of **Ahr** against **A** represents an emendation in **α**;
 - b) a coincident reading of **Pr** against **Ah** represents an emendation in **α**;
 - c) a coincident reading of **hr** against **PA** may represent an emendation in **α**, although this is more difficult to demonstrate since **h** and **r** are translations;
 - d) a reading of **P** against **Ahr** is not a emendation in **α** but an error in **P**.
4. Concerning omissions (including those of **A** which can be explained as additions to **α**) the following criteria must be used:
- a) preference must be given to a reading in **Ar** when there is an omission in **β**, because this demonstrates a coincidence of **A** and **a**;
 - b) preference must given to a coincident reading of **Ahr** against **P** on the basis that the latter's reading must be an error, either of omission or addition;
 - c) usually preference must be given to a reading in **ar** against the lack of a reading in **A** on the basis that this represents either an omission in **A** or an emendation in **α**;
 - d) nevertheless, in some cases a reading in **A** will be preferred if an omission in **α** is thought likely.

The following example involves considerations beyond merely textual ones, and shows the importance of a prudent use of the above criteria:

- 57,45 **A** = ipsam ueritatem ac pietatem
 P = ipsamque uirtutem ac pietatem
 r = die wahrheyt (f. 205r)
 h = de vertu et piété (p. 113)

Here **Ph** agree against **Ar**. Strict use of our criteria would lead us to prefer the reading *ueritatem* of **Ar**. However, one must take into account the context, specifically the phrase *uirtutis ac pietatis amantem* that occurs just two lines before (57,43). This inclines us in favour of **Ph** and therefore **β** because of the parallel that the writer apparently intends to create. So we must attribute the error to **Ω**, and it can even be supposed that the cause was the appearance at the beginning of the next sentence (57,45) of the word *ueritatem*. The best explanation for **β** reflecting the author's probable meaning is that its copyist noticed the error and corrected it according to the most likely expression.

II.

These texts are not isolated artifacts, of course, but products of people and events whose traces can sometimes be found in correspondence and archival records. Handled carefully, the records complement the hypotheses suggested by critical study of the texts and in turn provide additional hypotheses about their production and relationship. The remainder of this study will look at the historical context surrounding *De statu Belgico*'s transmission in the sixteenth century.

Francisco de Enzinas composed *Historia de statu Belgico et religione Hispanica* between March and July 1545 in Wittenberg at the request of Melancthon, who in turn promised it to Joachim Camerarius.⁶ Manuscript A is most likely a witness to this initial Wittenberg phase. Its ownership by Johann Wanckel places it in Wittenberg by the beginning of the seventeenth century at the latest. From a title added by Wanckel it is clear he planned to publish the text; it ends: 'ex manuscripto codice cum indice accurato nunc edita a Joanne Wankelio'. No such edition is extant, but Wanckel almost certainly was encouraged to consider such a project by the knowledge that no Latin edition was then in print. Enzinas did not publish it in his lifetime, a fact explained partly, perhaps, by the book's autobiographical nature. But it is also likely that he had no opportunity to publish it. His correspondence shows that, when he set out from Wittenberg in June 1546, he left writings and books in Melancthon's house. He asked his preceptor to forward them as soon as possible but, because of the Schmalkaldic War and Melancthon's fear that they would fall into the wrong hands, his possessions did not rejoin him until the summer of 1550, when he was settled in Strasbourg and printing Spanish translations of classical and biblical texts.⁷ It is possible,

⁶ *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia*, Corpus Reformatorum, 1-28, ed. by C.G. Bretschneider and H.E. Bindsell, 28 vols (Halle: C.A. Schwetschke, 1834-1860), V (1838), 705 (no. 3157)

⁷ Several pieces of his correspondence refer to the trouble he had in recovering his belongings: F. de Enzinas, *Epistolario*, ed. by Ignacio J. García Pinilla (Geneva: Droz, 1995), 312, 324-26, 330, 563 (hereafter cited as *Epistolario*). On his situation in Strasbourg he writes to Bullinger, 'fui ego impeditissimus [i.e., prevented from writing letters] toto anno multis et magnis laboribus': Strasbourg, 22 June 1551, in *Epistolario*, 612. On a press operated by Agustin Fries he produced at least nine editions of works both sacred and secular in the years 1550-1551. Concerning Enzinas's printed works see Eduard Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520*, 3 vols (Strassburg: K. Trübner, 1874-1904), I, 165-84; and Carlos Gilly, *Spanien*

therefore, that he was without a manuscript of *De statu Belgico* for four of the last six years of his life — a period of intense publishing activity in other respects.

An autograph of *De statu Belgico* was found among Enzinas's books at Strasbourg after his death (we have referred to it as α). The circumstances surrounding its discovery are given by Vermaseren, and a summary will suffice here to introduce an account of more recent findings. Enzinas died at Strasbourg in December 1552; his wife Marguerite d'Elter died about a month later. They left as heirs two daughters who were still infants.⁸ The Strasbourg authorities assigned the girls a tutor and placed them with a widow, paying 26 florins a year for their maintenance.⁹ By 1555 the city found itself in a tug-of-war with Enzinas's mother (in fact, his step-mother Beatriz de Santa Cruz) in Burgos.¹⁰ She was anxious that her grand-daughters should not be raised among 'heretics', whereas the Strasbourg city council was inclined to respect Marguerite d'Elter's dying wish that her children should not be sent to Spain, lest they be raised by 'papists'. The grandmother made contact with Strasbourg through a blood-relative in Augsburg (possibly Francisco de Salamanca, who was involved in the same business in 1559) who in turn presented a request to Johannes Sleidan's brother-in-law, Caspar von Niedbruck, at the Austrian court.¹¹ On 1 April 1555 Niedbruck asked Sleidan for information on Enzinas's legacy and told him that Enzinas's mother wished to take the girls to Spain via Antwerp. On 23 April Sleidan informed Niedbruck that the legacy of money and goods

und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 151 (Basel - Frankfurt-am-Main: Helbing / Lichtenhahn, 1985), 326-53, 510-11.

⁸ The elder was born at Cambridge in October 1549, and the younger at Strasbourg, probably in 1551; see *Epistolario*, 494-96.

⁹ Archives Municipales de Strasbourg: Protokoll der Herren Räte und XXI, no. 37 (1559), fols 144r, 147r-v.

¹⁰ Enzinas's family connections have been largely a mystery until now. We have discovered much genealogical information (such as the identity of his step-mother) in the archives of Burgos, Simancas, and the Inquisition, and plan to publish it in due course.

¹¹ Archives Municipales de Strasbourg, AA 656, no. 35 (Salamanca's 1559 letter to Strasbourg). Salamanca was at the court of Ferdinand I, where he was 'adeliger Diener ohne Amt' from 1524 to 1548 and 1553 to 1559: Christopher Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier in Österreich unter Ferdinand I., 1522-1564*, Junge Wiener Romanistik, 14 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), p. 265 (We are grateful to Constance Mathers for this information). Caspar von Niedbruck was a man of evangelical sympathies who owed his place at court in part to Enzinas's intervention with the imperial confessor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente in 1550: *Epistolario*, 586, 598. On Niedbruck, see Viktor Bibl, *Maximilian II.: der Rätselhafte Kaiser: ein Zeitbild* (Hellerau bei Dresden: Avalun, 1929), pp. 70-71, 82, 403.

was valued at about 500 florins, while most of the books had been taken by Arnold Birckmann, the Cologne bookseller.¹² One part of the goods went to the Basle printer Johannes Oporinus; he used the type which Enzinas had commissioned for a Spanish Bible (never printed) in his own edition of Vesalius's *Humani corporis fabrica*, which has a colophon date of August 1555.¹³ Sleidan told Niedbruck that the girls were too young to be sent away, and made a counter-proposal: their grandmother should send money from Spain for their support in Strasbourg. Negotiations continued with both sides pleading poverty and neither one moving from its original position. It was in the search for further income that the Strasbourg autograph of *De statu Belgico* was found by a certain Arcturus Gallus, who recounted the discovery in a dedicatory epistle to Melanchthon attached to the Palatine manuscript. Thus far Vermaseren.

Two documents record attempts at Strasbourg to find more funds for the orphans. One is a letter to Arnold Birckmann, written probably during the first part of 1556 by a woman who refers to Marguerite d'Elter as her maternal aunt.¹⁴ The writer can be identified with a fair amount of certainty as Anne d'Elter, who married Guillaume Rabot de Salene, a nobleman of the Dauphiné, at Strasbourg in mid-July 1555.¹⁵ D'Elter was a religious refugee who had lived with Marguerite d'Elter and Enzinas in Cambridge and Strasbourg, and remained in the latter city after their

¹² *Sleidans Briefwechsel*, ed. by Hermann Baumgarten (Strasbourg: K. Trübner, 1881), p. 274. Vermaseren mistakenly says 'cinquante florins' (p. 484) where Sleidan gives 'quingentos florenos'.

¹³ Carlos Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck* [(1985)], p. 344, n. 258; Vermaseren, p. 484.

¹⁴ Simler Sammlung MS 80 (1553), no. 238; also Thesaurus Baumianus 682, fo 219r-v, printed in E. Boehmer (ed.), *Offqs: viro summe venerando Ioanni Friderico Bruch [...]* *Insunt epistolae quaedam Ioannis Sturmii et Hispanorum qui Argentorati degerunt* (Strasbourg: J.H.E. Heitz, 1872), pp. 12-13 (cf. p. iv). Neither the writer nor the date is given, but the letter is in Johannes Sturm's hand, and this fact, plus the circumstances it describes, show it to be from Strasbourg. As to the date, the letter mentions a recent visit by Sturm to Cologne; such a visit took place between December 1555 and 9 February 1556, while Justus Velsius was in prison there: see the letter of Velsius to Melanchthon, dated Cologne (the prison of St Gereon), 9 Feb. 1556, in J.V. Pollet, *Martin Bucer: études sur les relations de Bucer avec les Pays-Bas, l'électorat de Cologne et l'Allemagne du nord, avec de nombreux textes inédits*, 2 vols (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), II, 248-52 (248); Ph. Denis, 'Justus Velsius', in *Bibliotheca Dissidentium* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1980-), I, 49-95 (49).

¹⁵ Sleidan to Niedbruck, Strasbourg, 30 July 1555: 'Filiarum Dryandri cognata, Ellera [i.e., Eltera], genere nobilis ante 15 dies nupsit hic cuidam nobili Delphinati, iuveni non indocto', *Sleidans Briefwechsel*, 294.

deaths. She was described by a seventeenth-century historian of the Rabot family as a rich heiress from Germany whose marriage to Rabot was arranged by the Elector Palatine.¹⁶ Guillaume Rabot was living in Strasbourg from at least November 1554, and was received as *habitant* on 7 July 1556; he was a cavalry officer serving the Elector Palatine Frederick II, a correspondent of Calvin, and a man of letters.¹⁷ Rabot and d'Elter took a hand in the orphans' affairs from the time of their marriage, as Sleidan's letters to Niedbruck indicate;¹⁸ as late as 1559 Rabot represented the girls before the Strasbourg magistrates.¹⁹ D'Elter's letter to Birckmann was occasioned by information she had received from Jörg Stecher, the Fuggers' Antwerp factor and a long-time business associate of Enzinas.²⁰ He reported that the Antwerp merchant Diego de Santa Cruz (probably the 'frater matris Dryandri' at Antwerp mentioned by Niedbruck to Sleidan on 22 July 1555) was offering to take the girls to a childless sister of his in Spain.²¹ Marguerite d'Elter's niece

¹⁶ Carl Wahlund, 'Notice sur Guillaume Rabot, "Oratio de gente et lingua Francica"', in *Recueil de mémoires philologiques présenté à M. Gaston Paris [...] par ses élèves suédois* (Stockholm, 1889), pp. 105-14 (esp. p. 112) (cited hereafter as 'Wahlund'), based on Jean de Rabot (†1664), 'Généalogie de la maison de Rabot' (Grenoble, n. d.). On Anne d'Elter see also *Epistolario*, 492, 568.

¹⁷ Wahlund, 109-12; *Calvini opera*, Corpus Reformatorum, 29-87, ed. by J.W. Baum *et al.*, 59 vols (Brunswick etc.: Appelhans *et al.*, 1863-1900), XIII (1875), 590-91; XIV (1875), 665-66; XV (1876), 307-08; Philippe Denis, *Les Églises d'étrangers en Pays Rhénans (1538-1564)* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1984), 644-45, note 5.

¹⁸ 30 July and 17 September 1555: *Sleidans Briefwechsel*, 294, 301

¹⁹ 'Dieweil die kinder noch ein bas alhie [haben], soll man dieselb und irem man, Guilhelmum de Salena, auch darunder horen und wider herbringen' (3 April 1559: Protokoll der Herren Räte und XXI, no. 37 (1559), fo. 144r); '[Die geordneten reichstagsherren] bevohlen worden, ir, der kinder baß und deren haußwurth Guilhelmum de Salena darunder zu horen' (*ibid.*, fols 162v-163r). (Besides consulting the originals, we have used transcripts made by Stephen F. Nelson in 1981, now in the John Rylands Library, Kinder MS A29.11.)

²⁰ Jörg Stecher appears several times in Enzinas's correspondence as handler of his goods and post. He took an active interest in the Spaniard's publications in the early 1550s: *Epistolario*, 432-34, 620 (letters of Arnold Birckmann).

²¹ On Diego de Santa Cruz see J.A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (portugais, espagnols, italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, facsim. reprint (New York: Burt Franklin, 1971), 166, 187, 250, 307; and *Antwerpse schepenbrieven* (Brussels: Rijksarchief te Antwerpen, 1959), entries 532, 2247. The entries cover the dates 1540-1558. He should not be confused with a 'Diego de Santa Cruz' — in fact, Diego de la Cruz — suspected in 1558 of introducing heterodox literature into Spain from Antwerp; on the latter see R.W. Truman and A. Gordon Kinder, 'The Pursuit of Spanish Heretics in the Low Countries: the activities of Alonso del Canto, 1561-1564', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 (1979), 65-93 (74-75).

informed Birckmann that Enzinas and her aunt ‘parum reliquerunt haeredibus, et id quod reliquerunt prope consumptum est’. With this plea, she asked him to intercede with the Spanish relatives and persuade them to send money, promising receipts for everything, according to Strasbourg custom.

The second record of an attempt to find funds for the orphans is the epistle of Arturus Gallus attached to MS **P**, describing the discovery of the autograph:

Accidit itaque hoc anno, praeceptor obseruande, quum Argentinae degerem propter priuatas occupationes, ut a pupillarum affine, uiro nobili et de pupillis bene merito, uocarer ad euoluendos libros atque excutiendos Francisci Enzinatis in gratiam orphanarum, quo ex paternis lucubrationibus fructum aliquem a typographis acciperent. Cui operi dum intentus essem incidi in *Historiam de statu Belgico et religione Hispanica Francisci Enzinatis* manu propria scriptam quam tibi dedicabat. Quod omnibus gratum fuit. [...] Placuit igitur haeredibus, cognatis, affinibus ac amicis, ut tuo auspicio in publicum prodiret. [...] quaeso igitur, doctissime praeceptor, ut *Historiam de statu Belgico et religione Hispanica*, quam Franciscus superstes tibi inscribere uoluit, illam iam in publicum tuo nomine euulgatam, qua humanitate praeditus es, accipias. Quod a te uno ore omnes uehementer petimus. [...] Argentinae (Socas, 2).

This ‘*Historia manu propria scripta*’ we have called manuscript **α**. Most notable in the account is the reference to a ‘pupillarum affinis, vir nobilis’ at whose request Gallus acted — a Strasbourg nobleman related to the orphans by marriage and actively seeking their welfare. Guillaume Rabot is the only man known to fit this description. More puzzling, though, is the identity of Gallus himself: a man of business from outside Strasbourg, with a knowledge of books and their market-value, and with some interest in the affairs of Enzinas and his heirs. Vermaseren was not able to identify him, though he supposed that he and the French translator of Enzinas’s book were one and the same person, since both claimed to have recovered the manuscript (the *Histoire*’s preface begins: ‘Ayant recouré ce livre en Latin [...] i’ay mis peine, etc.’ (p. 3)). However, Carlos Gilly has suggested that Gallus was Arnold Birckmann, ‘gallus’ being a male incarnation of the *gallina gorda* that was his printer’s mark. This is plausible, given Birckmann’s connections with Enzinas’s publishing affairs before and after the latter’s death, his book-seller’s expertise, and his involvement (as we have shown) on two other occasions in the affairs of Enzinas’s estate. His first action — taking away

Enzinas's books — has the appearance of a mere business transaction. But Marguerite's niece in her letter made an appeal to friendship and charity, and in this capacity one finds 'Gallus' acting as an advisor to Rabot in Strasbourg.

On this set of hypotheses, the manuscript must have been discovered after July 1555, when Rabot married Anne d'Elter. Further evidence of this — albeit of a negative sort — is the fact that Sleidan made no use of *De statu Belgico* in his *De statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo V Caesare commentarii*, which came from the press at Strasbourg in March or April 1555, although he did cite Enzinas's *Historia de morte Ioannis Diazii* (in Book XVII). Birckmann, then, must have gone through Enzinas's books twice: once when he took away most of the unsold stock from the Spaniard's Strasbourg printing-house in or before April 1555, and again when, in Strasbourg on private business after July 1555, he went through additional material at Rabot's request. As to the latest possible date for the manuscript's discovery, Boehmer argued that it must have been 1556 because Enzinas's text was used in preparing vol. VII of Ludwig Rabus's *Historien*, which carries a colophon date of 6 August 1557.²² We can only add that it would be surprising indeed if Rabus became acquainted with the Strasbourg manuscript after his departure for Ulm on 22 November 1556.

Rabus was the first to use *De statu Belgico* for publication purposes and, on the textual evidence given in Part I, above, it is likely that he translated directly from the autograph which we have called α . If the French version was being translated at the same time, a copy (which we have called β) could have been made as early as 1556. But certainly by the spring of 1557 a reason arose for making a copy of the manuscript. On 26 April 1557 Oporinus wrote to Conrad Hubert, 'ne obliviscaris ad me mittere corpus iuris quod apud te habes, una cum Driandri historia, et aliis ad me pertinentibus'.²³ That this *historia* was *De statu Belgico*, and that it was in fact sent, can be confirmed from John Foxe's note in his *Actes and Monuments* that 'Franc. Encenas[s] [...] book written in Latin, I myself have seen and read, remaining in the hands of John Oporine at Basill'.²⁴ Foxe was at Basel between November 1555 and October 1559. There is no question that he was referring to *De statu*

²² Boehmer, 'Der Anfang von Francisco de Enzinas' *Historia de statu Belgico*', 358.

²³ Cited in Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, I, 170.

²⁴ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: John Day, 1563), p. 384.

Belgico, for the note is attached to accounts of persecution based on Enzinas's text.²⁵ The Basle manuscript makes no further appearances in contemporary records. It, along with the autograph **a** (if they were not one and the same), has disappeared.

What of a printed Latin edition? Gallus (or Birckmann) said it was 'iam in publicum [...] euulgata', clearly believing that his epistle to Melancthon would preface a Latin edition whose appearance was imminent. The French translator, too, treated it as a *fait accompli*:

Ayant recourré ce livre en Latin, [...] sachant aussi qu'il se deuoit en brief mettre en lumière, i'ay mis peine à ce que non seulement ceux qui entendent la langue latine, mais aussi le comun populaire [...] en fust participant (*Histoire*, p. 3).

After the discovery of *De statu Belgico* the guardians of Dryander's orphans — '[ut] ex paternis lucubrationibus fructum aliquem a typographis acciperent' — would have looked for a printer willing to publish it in integral form. Perhaps they ran into resistance, for nothing came from the press in 1556 or 1557. Near the end of 1557, however, Pierre Estiart arrived in Strasbourg from Geneva, having left the latter city after a spell in prison for attempting to print an unauthorised book. He was willing to accept *De statu Belgico* and hired the Strasbourg printer François Perrin to do the press-work. For this purpose MS **P** was prepared from MS **β**.

Perrin began to print the Latin edition in January 1558. Manuscript **P** has marginal notes in two hands: one a corrector's, the other a compositor's. The latter marks page breaks, and page and folio numbers. The corrector's hand — which extends considerably further than the compositor's — clarifies abbreviated or doubtful words in the text, in order to allow accurate counting of words.²⁶ This is consistent with preparing a printed edition. The last compositor's mark is '60 / 12 d' —

²⁵ Foxe's immediate source was not Enzinas's original, however, but excerpts from *De statu Belgico* prepared by Henri Pantaleon for his *Martyrum historia, pars secunda* (Basle, 1563). Pantaleon in turn took these from Rabus. On the use of *De statu Belgico* in contemporary martyrologies see Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, I, 173-78; Vermaseren, pp. 481-84; J.L. Nelson, 'Francisco de Enzinas (Dryander) and Spanish evangelical humanism before the Council of Trent', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (1999), pp. 184-89 and Appendix 3 (p. 253).

²⁶ The corrector's notes extend to the last sheet of quire N, whereas the compositor's marks reach the last sheet of quire F. (Each quire or 'ternio' is made up of three folio sheets of manuscript folded in half, making a six-leaved signature.) The notes and marks were first observed by Carlos Gilly.

that is, page 60, or the twelfth page of signature 'd', of a printed octavo. In the usual way of working, printing would have been done as each signature was corrected and composed, in order for type to be re-used. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose, on this evidence alone, that three signatures or sheets (48 pages) were printed.

External evidence supports this supposition. The *Acta* of the Strasbourg magistrates for 12 January 1558 record that Latin and French manuscript copies of *Vom Stand oder Wesen der Nederland. unnd der Hispanischen Religion* were submitted to the Council for approval, and that approval was refused because of problems already caused by Sleidan's *De statu religionis*. However, on 29 January the magistrates learned that a printer living in the Krentzgesslin had *De statu Belgico et religione Hispanica* in press. Two days later the printer, François Perrin, appeared before them, saying that his employer, Pierre Estiart, had assured him that he was permitted to print the work, and that it treated the Holy Roman Emperor respectfully throughout. Perrin was ordered to stop work and to take the printed sheets to the chancery. On 3 February, the magistrates agreed to uphold an order of punishment against Estiart, but to return to him the exemplar and 'die gedruckten drei bogen', so that he might print the work elsewhere if he wished. Vermaseren supposed that these three printed sheets were from the French translation, but the coincidence with the compositor's notes in MS **P** makes it clear that it was the Latin edition that was *sub prelo*, and that the manuscript in question originated as a compositor's fair copy for Perrin.

Unlike the Latin, the French version was successfully published in 1558. A proper study of it has never been undertaken, and our supposed knowledge of it has been diminished in proportion to what we now know about the printing of the Latin text. Vermaseren reproduced and described the various title-pages of the *Histoire* and found that there were two emissions (i.e., variant printings of the same edition) by François Perrin that were printed at 'S. Marie'. Vermaseren takes this to be Ste.-Marie-aux-Mines in Alsace, though he cautions that it may in fact be a false imprint for Strasbourg. As to the translation itself, Campan asserted that 'le style du traducteur est évidemment celui de l'école du célèbre réformateur de Genève', though he did not elaborate (I, xv). The translator has never been identified. But it is worth noting that Guillaume Rabot not only would have had an interest in seeing it produced but also had the skills to translate it. Some years before, in 1550, he published a translation into French of Roger Bacon's *Speculum*

alchemiae, and two decades later was Professor of French at the University of Wittenberg, where his lecture *Oratio de gente et lingua Francica* was published in 1572.²⁷ One should keep in mind, too, that if Gilly is right in identifying Gallus with Birckmann — a German —, Vermaseren must have been wrong in thinking Gallus was the French translator. Yet the translator, like Gallus, claimed to have discovered the autograph of *De statu Belgico* himself. It seems to us that the best solution is to identify the French translator with Gallus's 'vir nobilis' who initiated the investigation of Enzinas's papers. He, as we have shown, was probably Rabot. However, these must remain speculations until a detailed study of the text of the *Histoire* can be made.

In conclusion: the lost Strasbourg autograph (α) contained authorial emendations whose existence emerges from a comparison of extant variants. Rabus's text in particular is a valuable tool (as Vermaseren supposed it would be) for producing a clearer picture of α and of the relationships among all the texts. At the same time, the fact that α contained emendations suggests that Enzinas was working toward an edition of the Latin text, which circumstances and, ultimately, his death prevented. The Strasbourg guardians of Enzinas's heirs, principally Rabot and d'Elter, encouraged the same project, supplemented with a French translation for the general public. The Latin edition was partially printed before being aborted due to official opposition; the French version alone was completed. The text, translator, and circumstances surrounding the latter's printing await further investigation.

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²⁷ The text of the *Oratio* is printed in Wahlund, 119-48. On Rabot's translation of the *Miroir d'Alchemie* (published at Lyon in 1557) see H. Baudrier *et al.*, *Bibliographie lyonnaise: recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle* 12 vols (Lyon: Brun, 1895-1921; Geneva: Slatkine, 1999), X, 254-56.

Juan J. VALVERDE ABRIL

*DE ARTE EPISTOLICA: TRADICIÓN E INNOVACIÓN EN LOS
EPISTOLARVM LIBRI SEPTEM DE GINÉS DE SEPÚLVEDA*

La epístola cultivada durante el Renacimiento ejemplifica de forma inmejorable la restauración de los géneros literarios clásicos preconizada por los humanistas. Autores como Cicerón, principalmente, Séneca o Plinio (sin olvidar a los epistológrafos cristianos del siglo IV, como san Jerónimo o san Agustín, a los que tanto deben los humanistas) se convierten en los modelos que determinan los cauces de la creación literaria epistolar, quedando ésta así enmarcada en una larga tradición que alcanza hasta la Antigüedad.¹

Pero, al mismo tiempo y en tanto que vehículo privilegiado para la expresión erudita y literaria del individuo frente a la comunidad según las nuevas necesidades de comunicación,² la epístola humanística alberga en su seno el germen de formas literarias que se desarrollarán con el tiempo, como la novela autobiográfica o el ensayo. Y en esa potencialidad de expresión propia de la epístola radica, según creemos, una de las principales y más novedosas aportaciones de los humanistas a este género literario.

En consecuencia, la epístola resulta ser un nexo inquebrantable que incardina los dos planos que los humanistas pretendían conjugar en su actividad literaria, el de la Antigüedad Clásica y el de su propia cotidianidad, y adquiere un papel activo fundamental en la conformación de una mentalidad moderna.³

¹ Cf. C.H. Clough, 'The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections', in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. C.H. Clough (Manchester: University Press; New York: Zambelli, 1976), pp. 33-67.

² Cf. P. Mesnard, 'Le commerce épistolaire comme expression sociale de l'individualisme humaniste', in *Individu et société à la Renaissance*, Travaux de l'Institut pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme, 3 (Bruxelles: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, 1967), pp. 15-31.

³ Cf. V.R. Giustiniani, 'La communication érudite: Les lettres des humanistes et l'article moderne de revue', in *La correspondance d'Érasme et l'épistolographie humaniste*, Travaux de l'Institut Interuniversitaire pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme, 8 (Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1985), pp. 109-133.

Ambos aspectos están presentes en la producción epistolar de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490-1573), según se desprende del análisis retórico-estilístico a que hemos sometido sus *Epistolarum libri septem*, una recopilación de las más representativas de sus cartas, realizada por el propio autor y que, con ayuda de su amigo Diego de Neila, consiguió sacar a la luz en Salamanca allá por el mes de agosto de 1557 en la imprenta de J. M. da Terranova y G. de Liarcari.⁴

En dicho estudio atenderemos sobre todo al empleo que Sepúlveda hace de los *topica* de lengua y de ideas que conformaban el género desde la Antigüedad, y a la tipología de las cartas, tal como queda representada en esta colección. Pero antes de proceder al mismo se imponen algunas reflexiones sobre la autenticidad de las cartas y sobre la fidelidad de las mismas al original enviado.

Es de todos conocido que los humanistas no sentían por sus cartas el respeto que se les deparó con posterioridad como documentos históricos o biográficos. A los ojos de los humanistas las cartas eran más que nada un producto de arte literario y, como tal, susceptibles de ser modificadas de cara a su publicación, si estimaban que ello era conveniente para obtener los objetivos que se habían trazado con la divulgación de su epistolario.⁵

Ahora bien, el debate acerca de la autenticidad de las cartas de Sepúlveda creemos que hay que orientarlo no tanto hacia la autoría de las mismas, sino hacia su carácter misivo-epistolar. Y aunque no hay evidencias externas para poner en duda ninguno de estos extremos, sí debemos referir aquí que sobre una de ellas, la carta 5, 2, pesa la sospecha de que es ante todo un panfleto (eso sí, disfrazado de epístola, dirigida al inquisidor Martín Oliván), en el que Sepúlveda se defiende de ciertas

⁴ Algunos ejemplares se hallan en: British Library, 1084.i.3; Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, R/29730; R/28746; R/29772; Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, 35889; Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 117.1 Rhet; Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla, R.14.6.8; R.27.7.14; etc. Existe una edición moderna de la obra: J.J. Valverde Abril, *Io. Genesii Sepuluedae Epistolarum libri septem*, Introducción, edición, traducción, notas e índices (Tesis doctoral inédita, Universidad de Granada, 2001). Los pasajes citados en este artículo los extraemos de dicho trabajo y a él remite la numeración que cierra las mencionadas citas.

⁵ Cf. C. Guillén, 'Notes toward the Study of the Renaissance Letter', in *Renaissance Genres. Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation*, ed. B. K. Lewalski (London - Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 70-101 (pp. 85-86); J. R. Henderson, 'On Reading the Rhetoric of the Renaissance Letter', in *Renaissance-Rhetoric, Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. H. F. Plett (Berlin - New York: De Gruyter, 1993), pp. 143-162 (pp. 144-145).

insinuaciones acerca de su excesiva pericia en lenguas clásicas y la irreverencia de algunas de sus ideas (acusaciones probablemente divulgadas por Melchor Cano entre un grupo de estudiantes de la Universidad de Salamanca).⁶ Del carácter abierto de dicha carta queda constancia en la misiva que sigue a ésta dentro de la colección, en la que Martín Oliván relata la buena acogida que obtuvo dicha epístola en determinados círculos:

Quoddam exemplar illius eruditissimae et elegantissimae epistolae quam ad me iam pridem scripseras [...], misi ad Ioannem Oliuanum [...]. Qui cum non ignoraret epistolam propter eruditionem et doctrinam, qua ubique scatebat, magno in pretio habendam, gymnasiarchae et doctori Neylae tibi amicitia coniunctis aliisque illius Academiae scientiarum omnium peritis eius copiam fecit [...]. Iam uero quid mihi responderint Vreniae comes, marchio Comariensis aliique bonarum literarum studiosi uiri, quibus eam feci etiam communem, quid refert commemorare? (5, 3, 6-8).

En lo que atañe a la fidelidad de las cartas editadas con respecto al original enviado, nuestras reflexiones deben ceñirse a aquellos casos en que haya existido una transmisión (manuscrita o impresa) distinta de la edición avalada por el propio autor (recordemos: Salamanca, 1557). Y los casos en que eso ocurre no son muy numerosos:

a) Las misivas 1, 9; 1, 10; 2, 12; 2, 13; 2, 14; 3, 17; 3, 18; 3, 19 y 3, 20 han conocido, en efecto, un línea de transmisión hasta cierto punto independiente, pues aparecen parcialmente en las colecciones que con el título de *Epistolae clarorum uirorum* se publicaron en la segunda mitad del XVI, como, entre otras, las *Epistolae clarorum virorum, quibus veterum auctorum loci complures explicantur tribus libris a Ioanne Michaeli Bruto comprehensae atque nunc primum in lucem editae* (Lugduni: per haeredes Seb. Gryphi, 1561); o las *Epistolae clarorum virorum selectae de quamplurimis optimae, ad indicandam nostrorum temporum eloquentiam nunc demum emendatae, auctae, summaque diligentia excusae* (Coloniae Agrippinae: per Io. Gymnicum, 1586). Pero no se pueden extraer ideas concluyentes de las divergencias entre esa otra línea y la representada por la *editio princeps*.⁷

⁶ Cf. L. Gil Fernández, *Panorama social del Humanismo español, 1500-1800*, 2ª edn (Madrid: Taurus, 1997), pp. 209-211; Valverde Abril, pp. 221-234.

⁷ Cf. Valverde Abril, pp. ccv, ccxvi.

b) Un caso distinto es el de la epístola 1, 6, enviada por Sepúlveda a Erasmo y que se conserva en la Biblioteka Uniwersytecka de Wrocław (ms. Rehd. 254.69). En ella las divergencias entre las distintas líneas de transmisión son más evidentes; lo más notorio es la supresión en la versión publicada de una frase completa del manuscrito: 'De Stunicae in Fabrum Apologia iudicare nihil possum, sed nec quicquam tale scriptum ab eo puto, cui, quo equidem sciam, nihil rei erat cum Fabro.' (1, 6, 12-13).

c) Mucho más numerosas y de mayor entidad son las variantes que presenta la versión de la epístola 3, 6 que aparece en la edición de Salamanca, con respecto a la conservada en un manuscrito de la Biblioteca Vaticana (ms. Vat. Lat. 3904, fol. 310r-v; existe una copia del mismo en la Biblioteca de El Escorial, ms. J-II-22, fols 176v-178r). En efecto, la versión publicada añade un párrafo que es casi tan extenso como el original (3, 6, 10-16), además de presentar un sinfín de lo que se podrían denominar 'variantes de redacción'.

I

En más de una ocasión se ha reconocido la escasa diferenciación existente, desde el punto de vista formal interno, entre epístola y discurso, lo que implica que los principios de la retórica son también aplicables al texto epistolar.⁸ Pero sí que hay rasgos diferenciales, algunos de ellos tan evidentes como las fórmulas de saludo y despedida.⁹ Y si bien no hay que confundir con una carta todo mensaje encabezado por un saludo (*inscriptio*) y concluido por una despedida (*subscriptio*),¹⁰ lo cierto es que el estudio de dichas fórmulas se ha mostrado muy revelador para establecer una historia del género.

⁸ Cf. J. Rico Verdú, 'La epistolografía y el "Arte nuevo de hacer comedias"', *Anuario de Letras*, 19 (1981), 133-162 (pp. 141-142).

⁹ Cf. P. Violi, 'Letters', in *Discourse and Literature*, ed. T.A. Van Dick (Amsterdam - Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1985), pp. 149-167 (p. 161).

¹⁰ Cf. J.L. Vives, *De conscribendis epistolis*, ed. & transl. by C. Fantazzi (Leiden - New York - København - Köln: Brill, 1989), p. 26 (en adelante citado como Vives, *Conscr.*, más el número de párrafo): 'Nolo in praesentia disserere quam late nomen epistolae extendendum sit, sed certe si recipimus ut quicquid salutationem praefert epistola dicatur, quid causae erit quin libri Tusculanarum quaestionum Ciceronis [...] epistolae sint? [...] ita non omnis liber fit epistola cui proposita est salutatio nisi naturam et ingenium sumat epistolae.'

En la praxis ciceroniana, y por lo que respecta al saludo, lo más normal era que el nombre del remitente, en nominativo, precediera al del destinatario, en dativo, a los que se añadía la fórmula en tercera persona del singular: 's[alutem] p[lurimam] d[icit]'. Dependiendo de la naturaleza de la carta y de la persona del destinatario se solía utilizar el posesivo 'suus' en señal de afecto, o añadir el *titulus honoris* como muestra de respeto.¹¹ A partir del epistolario de Frontón y de los distintos autores cristianos se observa una inversión en el orden de dichos términos, siempre que el destinatario fuese de dignidad más elevada que el remitente.¹² Durante la Edad Media, las fórmulas de saludo se complicaron enormemente.¹³ Ni que decir tiene que el Renacimiento reinstaura el uso clásico de autores como Cicerón y Plinio y se burla de la ampulosidad de los saludos medievales.¹⁴

Sepúlveda no se aparta de la praxis de su época en este aspecto, con independencia de la dignidad de la persona a la que escribiera. El saludo que dirige al príncipe Felipe es del siguiente tenor: 'Io. Genesisius Sepulueda Philippo, Hispaniarum principi, S.P.D.' (3, 6)¹⁵; y esas palabras no difieren mucho de estas otras con las que se dirige a su secretario Sebastián de León: 'Io. Genesisius Sepulueda Sebastiano Leoni' (3, 11); e incluso a veces el saludo es mucho más escueto: 'Genesisius Pinciano S.D.' (3, 17); en algunas ocasiones, como en Cicerón, aparece el posesivo acompañando al nombre del destinatario: 'Genesisius Sepulueda Pedrosae suo' (3, 12).

¹¹ Cf. P. Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme dell'Epistolografia latina nella tarda Repubblica e nei primi due secoli dell'Impero* (Roma: Herder, 1983), pp. 49-53.

¹² Cf. A.A.R. Bastiaensen, 'Le cérémonial épistolaire des chrétiens latins: Origine et premiers développements', in *Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva*, ed. C. Mohrmann - J.G.A. Ross - H.H. Janssen (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van De Vegt, 1964), pp. 5-45 (pp. 9-10; 33-35); Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme dell'Epistolografia latina*, pp. 54-56.

¹³ Cf. C.D. Lanham, *Salutatio Formulas in Latin Letters to 1200: Syntax, Style, and Theory*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 22 (München: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1975), pp. 13-55.

¹⁴ Erasmo parodia dichos saludos con este otro: 'Perspicacissimo domino, septem artium liberalium candelabro aureo. Radianti theologorum apici. Religionis lucernae semper fulgenti. Dominicalis ordinis lucifero. Vtriusque testamenti gazophylacio. Haeresiarum malleo. Omnium virtutum heroïcarum et non heroïcarum, speculo limpidissimo. Dignissimo domino meo, domino praeceptoris, humillimus dominationis suae discipulus et vilissimus seruitor, oscula pedum pro salute.' (Erasmus von Rotterdam, *De conscribendis epistolis: Anleitung zum Briefschreiben (Auswahl)*, Ausgewählte Schriften, 8, transl. K. Smolak [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980], p. 142 (en adelante, Er., *Conscr.*, más el número de página).

¹⁵ Los manuscritos indican, no obstante, que el original fue modificado de cara a la publicación.

Una evolución paralela a la del saludo se puede observar en las fórmulas de despedida. La costumbre ciceroniana elevó a la categoría de norma el empleo de 'uale' para cubrir ese expediente, a lo que se podía añadir facultativamente el lugar y la fecha. No obstante, en ocasiones se presentan variantes de la misma como 'cura ut ualeas', o intensificaciones afectivas del tipo 'fac ualeas meque mutuo diligas'. Ya en el epistolario de Frontón aparecen algunas variantes innovadoras como 'uale, mi Fronto, carissime mihi'.¹⁶ Y en la práctica de los cristianos junto a fórmulas tradicionales se iba imponiendo el uso de otras de un marcado tono cristiano: 'Deus uos incolumes custodiat, domini fratres'; 'optamus, fratres, uos in domino bene ualere'.¹⁷ El Renacimiento se encargará de restaurar los usos clásicos.

No es una excepción el caso de Sepúlveda. En una mayoría de ocasiones utiliza la fórmula 'uale'; y a ella se añaden de forma accesoria el lugar y la fecha en que fue escrita la epístola. Ahora bien, con la particularidad de que en la indicación del año Sepúlveda suele recurrir con frecuencia a giros cristianos del tipo: 'anno Christi nati' (1, 3, 6; 1, 4, 19; etc.), 'anno a Christo nato' (1, 6, 19), o sencillamente 'anno Christi' (1, 9, 11; 1, 11, 10; etc.). En la misma línea de los modelos clásicos y cuando nuestro autor quiere dotar su discurso de cierto tono afectivo, suele utilizar las expresiones que la tradición le ofrecía: 'uale et me quod mutuo facis ama' (3, 12, 3). Pero en otras ocasiones da vida propia a esas fórmulas adaptándolas al destinatario al que van dirigidas. La carta que envía al príncipe Felipe la cierra de este modo: 'uale, princeps humanissime, cui omnia laeta feliciaque precor' (3, 6, 17); y la que envía a Juan de Toledo, obispo de Córdoba, finaliza así: 'uale et primo quoque tempore uolente deo profecturis bene precaberis' (2, 10, 8).

II

Desde antiguo la carta fue considerada como un diálogo entre personas ausentes. Eso le confería un carácter íntimo, que necesariamente debía traducirse en un estilo llano y desprovisto de *ornatus*:¹⁸

¹⁶ Cf. Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme dell'Epistolografia latina*, pp. 56-64; Bastiaensen, 'Le cérémonial épistolaire des chrétiens latins', pp. 10-11.

¹⁷ Cf. Bastiaensen, 'Le cérémonial épistolaire des chrétiens latins', pp. 35-36.

¹⁸ Además de los citados, pueden verse también estos otros testimonios: Demetr., *Eloc.*, 229; Rhet. min., p. 589 (Halm).

Quid tibi ego videor in epistulis? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum? nec enim semper eodem modo. quid enim simile habet epistula aut iudicio aut contioni? quin ipsa iudicia non solemus omnia tractare uno modo. privatas causas et eas tenuis agimus subtilius, capitibus aut famae scilicet ornatius; epistulas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus. (Cic., *epist.*, 9, 21, 1).

Epistola imago quaedam est quotidiani sermonis ac colloquii cuiusdam perpetui, nec enim in aliud est inventa quam ut absentium sermones referat ac repraesentet. Itaque illud debet potissimum efficere, ut quam proxime poterit colloquia et sermonem familiarem exprimat; prudentum dico et eruditorum, nam optima quaeque sunt arti aemulanda, quo mediocria saltem consequatur. (Vives, *Conscr.*, 71).

Pero al mismo tiempo se reconocía que el estilo de la carta debía adaptarse al tema y al destinatario de la misma, y que, por tanto, dentro de ese tono coloquial es posible una multitud de matices que suelen situarse en los dos estratos inferiores del estilo, el *humilis* y el *mediocris*:¹⁹

Magna olim inter eruditos sententiarum varietas fuit, quod dicendi genus maxime probaretur [...]. At Fabius existimat eum optimum dicendi genus sequi, qui pro re, pro loco, pro tempore, pro qualitate auditorum quam appositissime dicit: ut inepte faciant, qui dictionem ad certas leges astringunt. Itidem et ego eam epistolam optimam iudico, quae a vulgato hoc et indocto literarum genere quam longissime recedat; quae sententiis exquisitissimis, verbis electissimis, sed aptis constet; quae argumento, loco, tempori, personae, quam maxime sit accommodata. (Er., *Conscr.*, pp. 36-38).

Podemos afirmar que la práctica epistolar de Sepúlveda se adapta a esta situación. De un lado, el estilo familiar se refleja en la presencia recurrente de algunas expresiones: ‘scito’ (1, 1, 5; 1, 4, 3; 1, 10, 3; 3, 1, 3); ‘crede mihi’ (1, 3, 4; 1, 15, 4; 3, 4, 1; 3, 17, 8; 3, 19, 1); o construcciones propias de la lengua hablada, como la de *habeo* + participio: ‘exploratum habemus’ (1, 4, 1); ‘quaestiones [...] excussas et [...] constitutas ac diiudicatas habere conuenit’ (5, 1, 7). Igualmente se observa un tono distendido cercano al *sermo cotidianus* en una carta en la que Sepúlveda relata una anécdota en clave de humor:

Quem tu mihi Trebatium narras? [...] Illud igitur haud dubie (nec me fallis) significare uoluisti, homo uaffer, me nihilo magis in Ligustico mari nuper natare uoluisset quam illum olim in oceano Britannico [...]. Sed heus tu, dum talia ludis, memento etiam in iocis retinere aliquam aequitatem. (2, 11, 3-4).

¹⁹ Véase también, además del pasaje citado, Cic., *epist.*, 15, 21, 4; Iul. Vict., *rhet.*, p. 105 (Giomini-Celentano).

Algo similar ocurre en la epístola 2, 3, en la que narra a Íñigo de Mendoza unos escabrosos sucesos ocurridos en Roma por aquellas fechas. Pero en general, son muchas las cartas en las que, por tratar en ellas asuntos relativos a las Sagradas Escrituras o de carácter filosófico en general, la prosa de Sepúlveda se asemeja más a la de los grandes autores cristianos del siglo IV que al *familiaris sermo* de Cicerón.²⁰

At libros archetypos, fundamenta nostrae religionis continentes, qui Graece fuerunt a suis auctoribus scripti, cur non credamus sanctius, grauius et incorruptius asseruatos esse in scriniis ac bibliothecis ecclesiae Romanae, quae caput est Christianorum et semper fuit norma catholicae pietatis, quam in Graecia, quae saepe fuit haereticorum et leuissimorum hominum fraudibus et motu rerum nouarum agitata? (1, 6, 15).

E incluso hay cartas en las que el tema se presta muy poco a los adornos del lenguaje:

Sacerdos enim, qui pars est ecclesiae et eiusdem deique administer, in confessione sacra de mentis quoque cogitationibus inquit et poenas imponit; et si quis occultissime clericum percusserit, iure ecclesiae excommunicatus est. (5, 1, 5).

No obstante, hay algunos pasajes en los que, a nuestro juicio, la prosa de Sepúlveda alcanza gran brillantez, como la epístola 5, 2, dirigida a Martín Oliván, o la 6, 12, destinada a Reginald Pole, o la 7, 9, remitida a Guillermo van Mâle, por citar unos ejemplos.

En el empleo del griego que hace Cicerón en su epistolario también se puede ver un intento de reflejar el *cotidianus sermo* de la clase alta romana del siglo I a.C.²¹ En autores posteriores perdió, no obstante, ese carácter y se utilizó como otro expediente estilístico más de imitación del modelo. Tal es el caso de Erasmo,²² y del propio Sepúlveda:

²⁰ Cf. M. Menéndez Pelayo, 'Apuntes sobre el ciceronianismo en España y sobre la influencia de Cicerón en la prosa latina de los humanistas españoles', in M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Bibliografía Hispano-Latina Clásica*, ed. E. Sánchez Reyes, 10 vols (Santander: Aldus, 1950-1953), III, 262.

²¹ Cf. R. B. Steele, 'The Greek in Cicero's Epistles', *American Journal of Philology*, 21 (1900), 387-410; Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme dell'Epistolografia latina*, pp. 83-91; B. Baldwin, 'Greek in Cicero's letters', *Acta Classica*, 35 (1992), 1-17; G.O. Hutchinson, *Cicero's Correspondence. A literary Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 13-15.

²² Cf. E. Rummel, 'The Use of the Greek in Erasmus' Letters', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 30 (1981), 57-92.

a) Unas veces lo emplea para nombrar con su denominación técnica conceptos filosóficos o fenómenos naturales: *παγωνίας* (2, 7, 6); *παρήλιος* (2, 7, 9); *εὐετηρία* (4, 7, 16); *αὐταρκεία* (4, 7, 17).

b) En otras ocasiones se utiliza para dotar la expresión de mayor brillantez: *κἄμοῦ συνεργοῦντος* (3, 9, 1); *ὥς κομικός φησί* (3, 19, 2).

c) Son relativamente frecuentes las citas de autores griegos. En el caso de los poetas, principalmente Homero y Hesíodo, las citas son unas veces literales: *κεραμεὺς κερεμεῖ κοτέει, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων* (5, 10, 12; cf. Hes., *Op.*, 25); otras reelaboradas *ad artem*: La frase *Ἀλλὰ τί σε σπεύδοντα καὶ αὐτὸν ὀτρύνω* (3, 17, 3) está inspirada en unos versos de la *Ilíada* (8, 293-294). Aunque su sentido es otro, también debemos referir aquí que las citas de filósofos griegos, como Aristóteles y Teofrasto, aparecen unas veces en latín (5, 2, 24) y otras en griego (3, 17, 17; 7, 3, 13), sin duda dependiendo de si el receptor de la carta donde está contenida la cita dominaba o no esa lengua.

La teoría epistolar aconsejaba igualmente el uso de proverbios y citas.²³ No obstante, y por lo que respecta a los primeros, Sepúlveda no suele reproducirlos literalmente, sino que hace una especie de glosa de los mismos:

Me tamen nihilo moueret quam Apellem quondam ineptus ille sutor
qui locum fecit ueteri prouerio, cum ultra calceos iudicasset. (3, 16, 10).

A veces esos proverbios se confunden con citas de autores clásicos o de la Biblia:

Leges [...] inter arma, ut est in prouerio, silent. (1, 11, 9; cf. Cic., *Mil.*, 11).

Vt 'sponte currenti adderem', ut dicitur, 'calcaria'. (2, 12, 8; cf. Plin., *epist.*, 1, 8, 1).

Quid enim oportuit spretis ueterum ac fidorum usuque rerum peritorum amicorum monitis, crabrones irritare? (6, 11, 1; cf. Plaut., *Amph.*, 707).

Septiesque in die cadit iustus. (7, 1, 52; cf. Vulg. *Prov.*, 24, 16).

En cuanto a las citas de autores latinos, principalmente poetas, como en el caso de los griegos, unas aparecen citadas literalmente:

²³ Iul. Vict., *rhet.*, p. 105 (Giomini-Celentano): 'Graece aliquid addere litteris suave est, si id neque intempestive neque crebro facias; et proverbio uti non ignoto percommo- dum est, et versiculo aut parte versus.' Cf. Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme dell'Epistolografia latina*, pp. 91-98.

Insere nunc, Meliboeae, pyros, pone ordine uites; [...] Saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeua fuisset. (6, 11, 1; cf. Verg., *ecl.*, 7, 3; 16, respectivamente).

Otras aparecen, sin embargo, integradas en el discurso de Sepúlveda:

Non committam post hac ut te admonendo bis stulte [...] facere dicar. (3, 19, 2; cf. Ter., *Hec.*, 343).

Et [...] iussit mensis accumbere diuum, ut uerbis utar poetae. (4, 14, 3; cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 79).

El canon de poetas latinos citados es más amplio que el de los griegos. Encontramos citas o paráfrasis de autores como Ennio, Horacio, Juvenal, Lucano, Marcial, Ovidio, Plauto, Silio Itálico, Terencio y Virgilio.

III

Por lo demás, unos determinados tópicos de ideas recorren la epístola desde la Antigüedad hasta el Renacimiento, muchos de los cuales son inherentes a la propia esencia de la comunicación epistolar, que se originó como necesidad del hombre de comunicarse con sus semejantes:²⁴

1) Uno de los más extendidos es el de presentar la carta como un diálogo entre personas ausentes.²⁵ Sepúlveda en el prefacio a sus *Epistolarum libri septem* (Praef. 6) demuestra seguir esa misma concepción de la epístola: 'Ad summam cum coram uoce, sic cum absentibus amicis sermones de rebus omnibus per literas conferimus.' Y así queda reflejada en algunos pasajes de sus cartas:

Mihi enim suauius est tecum [...] per literas, quando coram negatur, huiusmodi conferre sermones. (2, 12, 11).

Ex literis quas [...] misisti [...] intellexi tibi, quando coram negatur, non ingratum fore ut per literas colloqueremur. (3, 1, 2).

Quotidie per literas, quando coram non datur, colloquentes. (6, 11, 18).

2) Otro tópico relativamente frecuente es el de la pretendida brevedad del mensaje epistolar, característica demandada para la carta desde

²⁴ Cf. Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme dell'Epistolografia latina*, pp. 73-78.

²⁵ Cf. Ambr., *Epist.*, 47, 4: 'interludamus epistulis, quarum eiusmodi usus est, ut disiuncti locorum intervallis affectu adhaereamus, in quibus inter absentes imago refulget praesentiae et collocutio scripta separatos copulat, in quibus etiam cum amico miscemus animum et mentem nostram infundimus'; otros pasajes que inciden en esta misma idea: Demetr., *Eloc.*, 223; Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 7; Er., *Conscr.*, p. 44; Vives, *Conscr.*, 2.

la tratadística antigua,²⁶ pero que Erasmo supeditaba al tema que en ella se tratara.²⁷ Sepúlveda siente la obligación de excusarse cuando entiende que la extensión de la epístola que ha escrito ha excedido los límites adecuados:

Haec ad te pluribus uerbis scripsi. (5, 5, 22).

Haec apud te pluribus fortasse quam oportuit commemorauit. (7, 9, 12).

3) Otro argumento reiterado con cierta frecuencia es el de que en muchas ocasiones se escribe aun sin tener noticias que comunicar, por aquello de alimentar la amistad que existe entre remitente y destinatario:

Ne meum officium in scribendo requiras, qui operam petis, argumenti genus non perscribis, accipe tragoedias. (2, 3, 1).

Illud miror, quid tibi in mentem uenerit ad me in praedio meo Mariano otii studiorumque gratia rusticantem mittere et per literas nuntiosque monachos petere ut te de rebus nouis certiore faciam. Quid enim noui esse potest rebus quietis in montibus et conuallibus? (4, 13, 1).

4) Otras veces ese mismo valor filofronético de la carta exige que el remitente se excuse por la tardanza en responder a una misiva:

Nolim [...] ulla mea uel obliuione tui, uel negligentia factum fuisse putes ut ad te tam sero scriberem deque meis rebus certiore facerem. (7, 9, 1).

Quod tam longo interuallo ad te scribam noli mea uel obliuione uel negligentia commissum existimare, sed quod diu mihi ad scribendum nullum satis idoneum argumentum in mentem uenit. (1, 11, 1).

Accepi literas tuas [...] ad quas quominus ante rescripserim non obliuio tui [...], sed partim multae meae occupationes fuerunt in causa, partim quod cui literas ad te darem nemo erat. (2, 9, 1).

5) Es también frecuente comenzar una epístola consignando la recepción de otra anterior:

²⁶ Cf. Iul. Vict., *rhet.*, p. 105 (Giomini-Celentano): 'in familiaribus litteris primo breuitas observanda'; Demetr., *Eloc.*, 228; *Rhet. min.*, p. 589 (Halm).

²⁷ Cf. J.R. Henderson, 'Erasmus on the Art of Letter-Writing', in *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. J.J. Murphy (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 331-355 (pp. 352-353); Er., *Conscr.*, pp. 12-14: 'Quid si argumentum varium et amplum obiectum erit, tu nihilo minus me cohibebis, et circulum istum tuum magicum egredi vetabis? [...] Nam quid tandem est breuitate praestare? Nempe maximam rerum vim, quoad fieri potest, in pauca conferre: non pauca scribere, quod alioqui vel indoctissimus quisque desidioissimusque facillime possit.'

Accepi literas tuas Romae pridie Idus Octobris Friburgi decimosexto Calendas Septembris datas. (1, 3, 1).

Literas a te Romae datas postridie Nonarum Octobris ipse Genuae tertio Nonas Nouembris accepi. (2, 11, 1).

6) En otras ocasiones se relata la ausencia de noticias para dar comienzo a una carta:

Iam pridem quid agas ignoramus ac ne illud quidem exploratum habemus. (1, 4, 1).

O para conminar al destinatario a que escriba:

Quod rescribendi officium longiore tempore praetermissum excusas et te negas in eo praestando solitum esse amicos negligere [...]. Sed quaecumque ea causa fuerit, superioris temporis cessationem facile condonabimus si [...] in posterum frequentioribus epistolis aliqua ex parte resarcies. (1, 14, 2-4).

IV

Un asunto debatido por la tratadística epistolar desde la Antigüedad es el de la tipología de las cartas. Ya Cicerón esbozó una tímida clasificación al distinguir entre epístolas meramente informativas, de un lado, y las familiares y las serias, de otro.²⁸ Pero la primera sistematización, hecha sobre unos presupuestos teóricos (en este caso los de la retórica), es la que aparece en la obra de Demetrio *Τύποι ἐπιστολικοί*. En este formulario, cuya datación oscila desde el siglo II a.C. hasta el I p.C., se hallan descritos un total de veintiún tipos de epístolas. Todos ellos están relacionados en mayor o menor medida con el τύπος φιλικός y se encuentran agrupados en los tres géneros retóricos tradicionales: συμβουλευτικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν y δικανικόν.²⁹ Otro formulario, aunque de fecha más tardía (siglo V p.C.), titulado *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες*, que

²⁸ Cic., *epist.*, 2, 4, 1: 'Epistularum genera multa esse non ignoras, sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus absentes, si quid esset, quid eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset [...]. Reliqua sunt epistularum genera duo quae me magno opere delectant, unum familiare et iocosum, alterum severum et grave.' Cf. H. Koskenniemi, 'Cicero über die Briefarten (*genera epistolarum*)', in *Commentationes in honorem Edw. Linkomies editae* (Helsinki: Otava, 1954), pp. 97-102.

²⁹ Cf. E. Suárez de la Torre, 'Ars epistolica. La preceptiva epistolográfica y sus relaciones con la Retórica', in *Estudios de Drama y Retórica en Grecia y Roma*, ed. G. Morchocho Gayo (Salamanca: Universidad de León, 1987), pp. 177-204 (pp. 191-197).

unas tradiciones manuscritas atribuyen a Proclo y otras a Libanio, aumenta el número de esos tipos a cuarenta y uno, aunque respeta la clasificación en géneros oratorios de su precedente.³⁰ En los tratados posteriores, y debido al abandono de las teorías filosóficas que habían sustentado esas clasificaciones, se produce un progresivo aumento en el número de tipos, establecidos no ya en función de un sistema teórico, sino sencillamente por la temática que se trata en cada carta.

La obra de Erasmo intenta superar esa atomización y retoma la clasificación tripartita de Demetrio de los géneros oratorios (*deliberativum*, *demonstrativum*, *iudiciale*), aunque la práctica epistolar del siglo XVI le obliga a reconocer otros nuevos tipos, que engloba bajo el término de *familiaris epistola*.³¹ La diferencia entre unos y otros parece radicar en el hecho de que los primeros pretenden en cierto modo la persuasión del destinatario de la carta, mientras que el nuevo tipo engloba a todas aquellas modalidades que no persiguen dicho fin.³²

Aunque somos conscientes de la dificultad intrínseca de ofrecer una clasificación de las epístolas de Sepúlveda según los tipos descritos por Erasmo, dada la complejidad de sus cartas, que rara vez tienen una única finalidad o tratan de un solo tema, sin embargo, esa dificultad no nos ha de impedir que propongamos una clasificación de las mismas, porque las consecuencias que se pueden extraer de ella son muy interesantes a la hora de dilucidar la naturaleza de la carta en Sepúlveda.³³

DELIBERATIVVM GENVS:

Petitio: 3, 5; 3, 9; 4, 4; 5, 7; 5, 10; 6, 12; 7, 10.

Exhortatio: 2, 9; 3, 2; 3, 11; 3, 14; 4, 6; 5, 16; 6, 10.

Suasio: 5, 2; 5, 12.

Monitio: 4, 12.

Commendatio: 3, 3.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 197-199.

³¹ Er., *Conscr.*, pp. 276-292; cf. J.W. Binns, 'The Letters of Erasmus', in *Erasmus*, ed. T.A. Dorey (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 55-79 (p. 72).

³² Cf. Henderson, 'Rhetoric of the Renaissance Letter', pp. 150-151.

³³ Aunque Erasmo agrupa en un mismo apartado todas las cartas que no tienen cabida en la clasificación tradicional de los tres géneros oratorios ('Quae sub aliquo trium generum, suasorio, demonstratio, iudiciali contineri videbantur, hactenus absoluimus. Nunc ad reliquas epistolarum species veniemus', Er., *Conscr.*, p. 276), nos ha parecido oportuno, por la importancia que cobró el tipo de 'epistolae disputatoriae' dentro de la praxis epistolar humanística, consignar éstas últimas como un tipo independiente más (cf. Henderson, 'Rhetoric of the Renaissance Letter', pp. 150-151).

DEMONSTRATIVVM GENVS: 6, 6.

IVDICIALE GENVS:

Expurgatio: 2, 6; 3, 16; 4, 10; 5, 6; 6, 9; 6, 11; 7, 7.

Defensio: 5, 9; 6, 3; 7, 2.

Exprobratio: 2, 16.

FAMILIARIS EPISTOLA:

Gratulatoria: 1, 12; 2, 2; 2, 4; 3, 2; 3, 4; 3, 8; 5, 4; 5, 6; 6, 6; 7, 8.

Officiosa: 3, 12; 3, 13; 4, 1; 4, 14; 6, 7; 6, 10.

Nunciatoria: 1, 11; 1, 13; 1, 14; 1, 15; 2, 10; 3, 1; 3, 5; 4, 9; 4, 13; 5, 5; 6, 9; 7, 7.

Collaudatoria: 7, 5.

Narratoria: 2, 3; 3, 6; 4, 7; 7, 9.

Iocosa: 3, 9; 2, 11.

Lamentatoria: 2, 1; 7, 8.

Mandatoria: 1, 1; 1, 3; 1, 4; 1, 9; 1, 10; 2, 8; 4, 3; 4, 8; 5, 1; 5, 13; 5, 14.

DISPVATORIA EPISTOLA:

Iudicialis: 6, 1; 6, 3.

Naturalis historia: 2, 7; 2, 13; 2, 14; 2, 15; 3, 17; 3, 18; 3, 19; 3, 20; 6, 2.

Philosophica: 5, 15; 5, 16; 7, 1; 7, 3; 7, 4.

Historica-Philologica: 1, 5; 1, 6; 1, 8; 3, 6; 4, 5; 6, 8; 7, 5.

El primer dato que llama la atención es el de la variedad de tipos de epístolas cultivadas. Prácticamente se hallan representadas todas las descritas por Erasmo. Y si bien la inclusión de algunas de ellas puede estar motivada por la imitación del modelo ciceroniano (piénsese, por ejemplo, en las *epistolae exhortatoriae* o las *commendatitiae*), lo cierto es que los tipos más comunes son aquéllos que la praxis humanística había consagrado como fundamentales: las *familiares* y las *disputatoriae*.³⁴ En este sentido la colección aquí estudiada es fiel reflejo de la epístola humanística.

Pero Sepúlveda era plenamente consciente de que muchas de estas últimas, por su extensión, su propósito y su temática no eran cartas en sentido propio. Demetrio había excluido por completo tales composiciones del género epistolar.³⁵ Y aunque Erasmo admitía que la extensión de una carta debía adecuarse a la temática que en ella se tratase, reconoce finalmente la validez de ese principio de Demetrio y niega que los tratados

³⁴ Cf. Henderson, 'Rhetoric of the Renaissance Letter', pp. 150-151.

³⁵ Demetr., *Eloc.*, 231. Cf. Henderson, 'Erasmus on the Art of Letter-Writing', p. 344.

agustinianos o jeronimianos sean propiamente ‘cartas’.³⁶ Ante esta situación a Sepúlveda no le queda más remedio que excusarse ante el público, y reconocer la influencia fundamental que un autor como san Jerónimo tiene en su concepción de la epístola:

Si quis autem longiores de rebus literatis commentationes epistolas inepte nominari contendat, is poterit equidem per me eosdem libros epistolares, ut a quibusdam Hieronymi epistolae inscribuntur, appellare. (Praef. 21).

Y si se conjuga la variedad tipológica recogida en la colección con las conclusiones extraídas de la consideración de los destinatarios de las cartas y la temática de la que éstas se nutren, resulta evidente la imagen que Sepúlveda quería dar de sí mismo con la presentación ante el público lector de sus *Epistolarum libri septem*: la de ser un erudito dedicado al cultivo de las letras, preocupado por la situación política de su tiempo, ocupado en sus obligaciones sacerdotales y retirado en su finca entretenido en el noble arte de la agricultura. En efecto, como si se tratase de instantáneas que retratan a un personaje en actitudes y situaciones diversas, cada una de las cartas nos va descubriendo una faceta distinta ya sea de la actividad pública, ya de la vida privada de Sepúlveda. Recordemos en este punto someramente que los libros I y II recogen la ‘correspondencia italiana’ de nuestro autor, y que en ellos se cartea con Erasmo, Giberti, Contarini, Alfonso de Valdés, entre otros; y recordemos también que los libros III-VII representan su ‘correspondencia hispana’ y que en ellos aparecen como destinatarios de sus cartas personajes del calado del príncipe Felipe, el Pinciano, Juan Martínez Silíceo, Ramiro Núñez de Guzmán, Reginald Pole, el inquisidor Martín Oliván, Pedro Serrano, Guillermo van Mâle, y un largo etcétera.³⁷

En definitiva, tras el análisis efectuado en las páginas precedentes sobre las características intrínsecas de la carta en los *Epistolarum libri septem* de Sepúlveda, podemos afirmar que la suya es una genuina representante de la ‘epístola humanística’, heredera de una larga tradición literaria y, al mismo tiempo, resultado de un nuevo ambiente cultural y de unas nuevas necesidades de comunicación. En efecto, en su concepción

³⁶ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P.S. Allen - H.M. Allen - H.W. Garrod, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906-1958), IV, n° 1206, p. 499. Cf. Binns, ‘The Letters of Erasmus’, p. 71; Clough, ‘The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections’, p. 49.

³⁷ Cf. Valverde Abril, pp. LXIX-XCIII.

epistolar pesan, ante todo, dos modelos: de un lado, el clasicismo de autores como Cicerón y, de otro, la epistolografía cristiana del siglo IV, representada principalmente por san Agustín o san Jerónimo. De esa dicotomía deriva, por tanto, la línea maestra que guía la praxis epistolar de Sepúlveda: un eclecticismo entre estas dos opciones estéticas, que se traduce en una apariencia ciceroniana, marcada con ciertos ribetes de expresividad cristiana, y en un predominio del carácter didáctico y pastoral de la epístola, tal como se desarrolló entre los autores cristianos. Pero la forma literaria de la carta, en manos de Sepúlveda, nunca quedó prisionera ni de tradiciones pasadas, ni de formulismos anquilosados, sino que su autor supo dotarla, igual que hizo Petrarca dos siglos antes, de una expresividad, personal y sincera, como no la halló en ninguno de los géneros literarios que cultivó a lo largo de su prolífica carrera.

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DE MARCO ANTONIO MURETO ORATORE ET GALLO ET
ROMANO*

Nihil est controversiae quin Marcus Antonius Muretus Gallus inter auctorum Latinorum principes sit numerandus, qui exeunte saeculo sexto decimo floruerunt.¹ Vix enim iuventutem egressus ob eloquentiam eximiam litterarumque scientiam celebrabatur commerciaque cum Gallis doctissimis habebat, quos inter numerare possumus Ioannem Auratum (Dorat), Hadrianum Turnebum, alios non paucos. At inter humanistas Italos forsitan non minus quam Gallos numerandus sit Muretus, ut qui anno 1554 sodomiae insimulatus atque inter Hugonotos, qui vocantur, nominatus in Italiam fugerit, ubi fere statim magno cum studio acceptus omnia tam prospere gessit, ut in humanistarum Italicorum circulis summum ad locum mira celeritate pervenerit. Insuper Mureto, cum in Hippolyti Atestensis Cardinalis comitatu multos annos versaretur, aditus in Pontificis Maximi curiam quodammodo patebat. Muretus quidem, qua erat eloquentia, qua nominis claritate, coram Pontificibus Romanis oratoris officio cum pro rege Galliae tum etiam varias ob causas non

* Initium ac fundamentum, ut sic dicam, huius commentationis fuit oratio quam Romae anno 1999, mense Aprili, coram Academiae Latinitati Fovendae sociis in consessum congregatis habui. His sequentibus paginis idem fere argumentum, quod Romae tractavi, sed plenius multoque pluribus additis testimoniis et exemplis explicatur. Cum multis hominibus doctis ob consilia mihi hoc opus componenti perutilia, tum praecipue Francisco Schaer, qui me variis in investigationibus permultum adiuerit, gratias ago plurimas. Tam brevitatis quam commoditatis causa haec sigla pro quibusdam titulis posuimus: *KS I* vel *KS II.1* vel *KS II.2* = R. Kühner / C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, tom. I, tom II.1 et II.2 (Hannoverae, 1914, reimpress. 1988); *LHS* = M. Leumann, J.B. Hofmann, A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II.2.2* (Monaci, 1965); *OLD* = *Oxford Latin Dictionary*; *TLL* = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*; *Mureti op.* = *M. Antonii Mureti opera omnia*, ed. C. H. Frotscher, tom. I et II (Lipsiae, 1834), tom. III (Lipsiae, 1841); *HL* = *Humanistica Lovaniensia*; *Nizolii Observationum I* et *Nizolii Observationum II* = *Marii Nizolii Brixellensis observationum in M. T. Ciceronem, prima pars et secunda pars* (ex Prato Albuini, 1535).

¹ Muretus vixit ab anno 1526 usque ad 1585. In appendice brevi, quam huic opusculo adiunximus, conspectum operum recentium invenient lectores, unde plura non solum de Mureti vita operibusque, sed etiam de eius aequalibus discant.

semel functus est. Quibus officiis mox additum est munus professorium; nam Muretus post annum 1563 in studiorum universitate nomine Sapientiae insignita philosophiam moralem iussu ipsius Pontificis profitebatur. Professor denique eloquentiae anno 1572 creatus, oratorum Latinorum princeps haud iniuria videbatur.

Auctoritate quadam totam fere per Europam pollebat Muretus non solum propter eloquentiae famam, verum etiam ob epistularum commercia quae multis cum humanistis tam Italis quam Transalpinis frequentabat. Ordinis praeterea Iesuitarum sociis aliquot primariis usus est familiarissime: minime igitur mirum si praeceptores Iesuitici eloquentiam Mureti suspexisse admiratique esse videntur. Carolus Reggius, verbi gratia, rhetoricae sacrae enchiridion quoddam composuit, quod *Orator Christianus* inscribitur. Cuius libri, qui anno 1612 publici iuris est factus, auctorem praecepta Mureti secutum esse patet. Porro nec casu nec temere evenit ut in *Prolusionibus academicis*, quod opus didascalicum composuit Famianus Strada (1572-1649), qui in Societatis Iesu Collegio Romano ineunte saeculo septimo decimo artem rhetoricam profitebatur, Muretum ipsum quibusdam in dialogis partes agentem inveniamus. Famianus enim non minus quam Carolus Reggius de optimo dicendi et scribendi genere praecepta tradit, quae a Mureti sententiis vix discrepare videntur.² Magnum igitur in oratoribus et humanistis nomen exeunte saeculo sexto decimo habuit Muretus, qui auctoritate praesertim apud Iesuitas valebat, cuius ordinis omni fere in Europae Catholicae angulo conditae sunt academiae et scholae. Opera insuper Mureti tantopere ob sermonis elegantiam laudabantur, ut usque ad saeculum undevicesimum, vel illis in regionibus ubi ecclesia Catholica et Romana nequaquam vigeat, discipulis in scholis ad imitandum proponerentur.³ His ergo de causis nostra vehementer interest, quippe qui Latinitatem humanisticam melius intellegere cupiamus, explicare quali sermone in prosa oratione praesertim sit usus Muretus; eo quidem magis quod nemo hac nostra aetate sermonis Muretiani proprietates diligenter secundum rationem philologam demonstrasse videtur.⁴

² De Reggio et Strada vid. quae sunt memorata a T.O. Tunberg, 'Ciceronian Latin: Longolius and others', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 50; Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'éloquence* (v. appendicem), pp. 176-90; J. IJsewijn, 'Latin Literature in 17th-Century Rome', *Eranos*, 93 (1995), 78-99..

³ Cur nonnulli putaverint Mureti sermonem idoneum esse quem iuvenes imitarentur certiores nos faciunt Frotscher et Ruhnken, *Mureti op.*, tom. I, pp. ix, xxi-xxii.

⁴ Perpauca de Mureti latinitate dicit D.F.S. Thomson, 'On the Latin Style of some French Humanists', in miscellaneis q. t. *Crossroads and Perspectives. French Literature*

Primum nos oportet, quo melius intellegamus quo modo soluta oratione scripserit Muretus, etsi breviter satis tamen accurate considerare quae de dicendi atque scribendi rationibus praeceperit. Muretum enim usum esse sermone plus minusve Ciceroniano et 'classico' agnoscunt fere omnes; at quam diligenter constanterque vestigiis Ciceronis institerit alii aliter iudicant.⁵

Latinitas scilicet humanistica, id quod fere inter omnes constat, eo praesertim nomine dinoscitur a Latinitate mediaevali, quod humanistae, quamquam plerique, secundum ipsius Ciceronis praeceptum⁶, verba recentiora vel prorsus nova ad nominandas res recentiores adhibebant, sermonem tamen suum ad Latinitatis antiquae normas revocare sedulo studebant. At hoc multis modis facere poterant, quippe in campo tam immenso tamque multiplici vagantes. Tot enim exempla sequi poterant humanistae quot erant auctores antiqui. Quidam humanistae, iique non pauci, multis e fontibus sermonis elementa desumebant, etsi plerique omnes huiusmodi scriptores, quorum equidem opera legerim, ut nonnullas voces e Latinitate Christiana vel ex auctoribus etiam recentioribus libenter mutuabantur, ita tamen vix umquam a Latinitatis 'aureae' et 'argenteae' proprietatibus syntaxique desciverunt. Cuius sectae Laurentium Vallam nominare fortasse possumus antesignanum, qui affirmaverit

of the Renaissance. Studies in Honour of Victor E. Graham (Genavae, 1986), pp. 78-100 (sermo Mureti tractatur pp. 96-98). Generatim quidem et universe de Mureti stilo disserit M.W. Croll, in opere c. t. 'Muret and the History of Attic prose', *Style, Rhetoric and Rhythm*, ed. J. Max Patrick, R.O. Evans (Principitoniae, 1966), pp. 107-62, dilucideque explicat quantum distet sermo Muretianus a genere scribendi quod coluit Iustus Lipsius: at vix quidquam indicat quod ad grammaticam, syntaxin, delectum verborum spectet, sermonis videlicet proprietates quibus praecipue nititur scientia philologorum. In operum Mureti omnium editione, quam curavit Carolus Frotscher, videmus hic illic annotationes additas, quibus cum ipsius Caroli Frotscher, tum aliorum philologorum tempore priorum, dicta continentur quae ad Mureti sermonem plus minusve spectant. Carolus Frotscher praecipue laudandus est, qui nonnullis de verbis quibus utitur Muretus, quaedam utilia veraque tradiderit. Attamen haud mirandum est permulta eum praetermisisse, ut cui numquam fuerit propositum ut sermonis Muretiani proprietates plene describeret. Insuper de sermone deque verborum usu quaedam traduntur in Caroli Frotscher annotationibus, quae comperimus esse mutanda vel corrigenda. Nam his in rebus et Carolus Fr. et alii qui eum tempore antecesserant, procul dubio sunt decepti, quia exeunte duodevicesimo atque ineunte undevicesimo saeculo scientia philologorum multo minus quam nostra aetate provecta et exulta erat.

⁵ Exempli causa legatur iudicium Duglasii Thomson ('On the Latin Style' [ann. 4], p. 97). Quam variae hac de re sint hominum doctorum sententiae discere possumus ex veterum editionum praefationibus aliisque opusculis, quae in primo editionis suae tomo rursus typis describenda curavit Carolus Frotscher (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, v-xxxiv et 1-103).

⁶ *De finibus*, III, 1-5..

auctores linguae Latinae optimos a Ciceronis temporibus usque ad Quintilianum floruisse.⁷ Alii humanistae et priscae Latinitatis monumenta et auctores tempore posteriores sed Latinitatis antiquissimae studiosos rimabantur.⁸ Alii, cum fidem quibusdam procul dubio tribuerent auctoribus Romanis, apud quos dicitur non solum summus eloquentiae Latinae auctor esse Cicero, sed Ciceroniana quoque aetate Romana eloquentia plurimum polluisse, Ciceronem ipsi exprimere conabantur.⁹

Studium illud Ciceronis imitandi exeunte quinto decimo atque ineunte sexto decimo saeculo maxime floruisse videtur, atque praecipue in Italia, quamvis aliis etiam in regionibus non defuerint Tullianae eloquentiae cultores. Quo quidem studio quidam humanistae, etsi non ita multi, adeo flagrabant ut nullum verbum usurpare vellent, quin legeretur apud Ciceronem. Horum scriptorum, qui summa illa atque extrema diligentia Ciceronem imitari studebant, praecipui atque praestantissimi erant Christophorus Longolius, Petrus Bembo, Hadrianus Cardinalis. Quidam tam erant circa sermonis integritatem morosi, ut colloquia familiaria

⁷ A. Casacci, 'Gli "Elegantiarum libri" di Lorenzo Valla', *Atene e Roma*, 2 ser., 7 (1926), 187-203; et D. Marsh, 'Grammar, Method, and Polemic in Lorenzo Valla's "Elegantiae"', *Rinascimento*, 19 (1979), 91-116. Quae cum de sermonis proprietatibus praeceperit Valla, vestigia tamen syntaxeos Mediolatinae in eius scriptis cernere possumus non pauca. Cuius rei rationem a temporibus ipsis quibus vixit Valla magnam partem reposcere procul dubio debemus, quippe qui medio saeculo quinto decimo, hoc est in ipsis, ut sic dicamus, studiorum humanitatis primordiis floruerit. Cuius scilicet successores ob auctam Latinitatis antiquae scientiam et intellectum syntaxin senioris Latinitatis multo facilius evitare potuerunt. Exempli causa legantur quae dicunt M. Campanelli, 'Lingua et stile dell'oratio', in *Lorenzo Valla, Orazione per l'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico 1455-1456. Atti di un seminario di filologia umanistica*, ed. S. Rizzo (Romae, 1994), pp. 87-107, et T.O. Tunberg, 'The Latinity of Lorenzo Valla's Letters', *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 26 (1991), 159-71; 'The Latinity of Lorenzo Valla's Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum', *HL*, 37 (1988), 41-51.

⁸ John D'Amico, 'The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 37 (1984), 351-92, de Italis dumtaxat disserit, qui huic sectae annumerari possunt.

⁹ Auctores Romani, qui duobus saeculis post Christum natum floruerunt, eloquentiam Romanam ad summum gradum temporibus Ciceronis adductam, sed postea in deterius lapsam esse dicunt: exempli causa legantur quae asseverant Sen., *Contr. I*, praef., 1-7; Pers., *Sat.*, 1; Vell., *I*, 16-17; Sen., *Epist.*, 114. Hoc argumentum a Tacito in *Dialogo de oratoribus* fuse tractatur. Vix ulla controversia esse potest quin Cicero pro auctore prosae orationis omnium praestantissimo ab plerisque artis rhetoricae professoribus inde a primo post Christum natum saeculo sit habitus (cfr. Sen., *Contr. I*, praef., 6-7, et Quint., *Inst. X*, 1, 105-12). Lectu praeterea digna sunt quae hac de re dicunt G. Williams, *Change and Decline: Roman Literature in the Early Empire*, Sather Classical Lectures, 45 (Berkeley, 1978); A.D. Leeman, *Oratoris ratio. The Stylistic Theories and Practice of the Roman Orators, Historians and Philosophers*, tom. I et II (Amstelodami, 1963); J.W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, ed. A.M. Duff, tertia ed. (Londinii, Novi Eboraci, 1964).

vitarent sermonemque extemporalem refugerent, ne sermo suus dictionibus minus Ciceronianis inquinaretur, quales homines ludibrio habet Desiderius Erasmus in dialogo notissimo, qui Ciceronianus inscribitur.¹⁰

Alii, quos etsi 'Ciceronianos' nuncupare forsitan velimus, usi tamen esse videntur ratione auctores imitandi multo moderatiore. Quemadmodum enim locum Ciceroni tribuebant primum, ita verba locutionesve ex aliis auctoribus, cum opus fuerat, haud gravate mutuabantur. Audiamus Ioannem Sturmium Germanum, quem pro hoc grege quasi quendam vicarium forsitan designare queamus, qui his loquitur verbis: "Primus labor Ciceroni tribuatur, et quod huic deest, id conquire aliunde," et paulo post haec addit: "Quod vero deest, id ab aliis non accipere... dementia est."¹¹ Permulti humanistae, qui quamvis nonnullis de rebus alius aliud contenderent, quorum alii Erasmo faverent, alii in eum contumeliis essent invecti turpissimis, non tamen dissimilia atque Sturmius de Cicerone imitando dixerunt. Quorum in numero erant Stephanus Doletus, Iulius Caesar Scaliger, Philippus Melanchthon, alii non minus noti.¹²

At volumus scire quibuscum humanistis steterit Muretus. Quo iure 'Ciceronianum' eum appellare possumus? Omnem fere controversiam, quae forsitan habeatur de Mureti praeceptis, tollere poterimus, si *Variarum lectionum*, quas ipse composuit, libri quinti decimi capitulum

¹⁰ Editio huius dialogi, quam curavit A. Gambaro, c.t. *Il ciceroniano o dello stile migliore* (Brixiae, 1965), a plerisque operum Erasmianorum peritis adhibetur. De studio Ciceronis imitandi, sive 'Ciceronianismo', qui dicitur, legantur in primis quae scripserunt C. Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque* (v. appendicem) (at lectu quoque dignissima est huius libri existimatio quam scripsit C.J. Classen, *Gnomon*, 68 [1996], 684-93); T.O. Tunberg, 'Ciceronian Latin' (ann. 2); Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'éloquence* (v. appendicem); G.W. Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1980), 1-32, et 'Imitation and the Renaissance Sense of the Past: the Reception of Erasmus' Ciceronianus', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1979), 155-77; E.V. Telle, ed., *L'Erasmianus sive Ciceronianus d'Etienne Dolet (1535)*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 138 (Genavae, 1974); G. Vallese, *Da Dante ad Erasmo: Studi di letteratura umanistica* (Neapoli, 1962); R. Sabbadini, *Storia del ciceronianismo e di altre questioni letterarie nell'età della rinascenza* (Augustae Taurinorum, 1885). Memoratu quoque digna sunt duo alia opera, unde quaedam de Ciceronianismo discere possumus: M. L. McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo* (Oxoniae, 1995); D'Amico, 'The Progress' (ann. 8). Permulti ex his indagatoribus, quorum opera hoc loco recensuimus, tantam et auctoribus et disputationibus Italicis operam dederunt, ut Ciceronianos et eorum adversarios qui in aliis regionibus versabantur parum tractasse vel prorsus neglexisse videantur.

¹¹ *Ioannis Sturmi ad Werteros fratres, nobilitas literata* (Argentorati: per Wendelinum Rihelium, 1549), ff 35r et 36r.

¹² Tunberg, 'Ciceronian Latin' (ann. 2), pp. 47-9.

primum diligenter legerimus, ubi auctor de optimo scribendi genere atque de verborum delectu fuse disserit. “Diu et ipse in eo errore versatus sum,” inquit Muretus, “ut nisi qui aut Ciceronis aetate aut paulo ante vixissent aut certe illi aetati suppres fuissent non satis dignos esse arbitrare, quorum exemplo, qui Latine aut scribere aut loqui vellent, niterentur. Sed postea, re tota mecum accuratius considerata, visus ipsi mihi sum nimio plus mihi sumere, qui de Seneca, Livio, Valerio, Celso, Quintiliano, Columella, utroque Plinio, Tacito, Suetonio, Velleio, Q. Curtio, Lactantio aliisque eiusmodi scriptoribus... temere pronuntiare auderem.” Concedit Muretus nonnulla fortasse ab his auctoribus esse novata. At “quid caussae est,” inquit, “cur ea reicere debeamus?... Equidem existimo Ciceronem, si ad Quintiliani et Plinii et Taciti tempora vitam producere potuisset, et Romanam linguam multis vocibus eleganter conformatis eorum studio auctam ac locupletatam vidisset, magnam eis gratiam habiturum atque illis vocibus cupide usurum fuisse.” Deinde Muretus suam scribendi rationem his verbis adumbrare conatur: “adhibebo iudicium, habebo dilectum (*sic*), et cum ex iis potissimum, qui antiquitatis quoque ipsi principes visi sunt, Cicerone, Caesare, Terentio, aliis, quam plurima sumpsero, cum orationis meae genus ad eorum exemplar, quam maxime potuero, conformaro, ex aliis quoque bellissimum quodque carpam, et, quo quisque maxime excelsius videbitur, id imitari atque exprimere conabor: neque in iis modo, quos paulo ante nominavi, sed in Tertulliano, Arnobio, Hieronymo, Augustino, Ambrosio, et, quod magis mireris, Appuleio, Cassidoro, Martiano etiam et Sidonio Apollinari multa reperiam, quibus suo loco positis oratio uberior et ornatio fiat.”¹³

Agnovit igitur Muretus Latinitatis Christianae utilitatem: quin etiam ne mediaevales quidem primitivos quosdam prorsus respuit. His Mureti sententiis auditis et perpensis, vix quisquam dubitare potest quin Muretus, si licet nobis eum Ciceronianum vocare, sit in illis Ciceronianis ponendus, qui voluerint et viam latiore sequi et imitandi ratione uti moderatiore. Insuper eodem in *Variarum lectionum* capite nonnulla dicit Muretus de sermone extemporali, ubi videtur quibusdam aliis humanistis assentiri qui aperte asseverant nimiam illam et immoderatam Ciceronis unius imitandi curam officere posse Latine sermocinatibus, qui velint facile, profluenter, ex tempore loqui. Paucos enim evitare posse ne

¹³ Reperitur hic locus in libro XV *Variarum lectionum* quas composuit Muretus (*Mureti op.*, tom. III, 327-332).

impediatur et retardetur cursus ille verborum omnibus expedite loquentibus pernecessarius, si locutiones et verba Ciceroniana semper sint usurpanda, loquentemque semper oporteat cogitare num omne verbum sit Ciceronianum, nec umquam liceat sermonis elementa ex aliis auctoribus sumere.¹⁴ Itaque Muretus, quo nemo Latinitatis emendatae et integrae studiosior erat, non minus voluisse videtur illius linguae communis, qua inter se communicare possent res quaslibet qualibet e gente oriundi docti homines, utilitatem conservare.

Haec igitur hactenus de Mureti praeceptis. Nam in primis volumus discere quomodo reapse scripserit, atque videre num obtemperaverit ipse sibi, parueritque decretis suis.¹⁵

Quae de sermone Mureti dicemus maximam partem ad eius orationes spectabunt, quae primo editionis Frotscherianae tomo continentur. Ut proprietates latinitatis Muretinae patefacere, orationes in ‘primo volumine’ a prima usque ad sextam, et in ‘secundo volumine’ orationes XV, XVI, XX rimati et perscrutati sumus.¹⁶ Paucula quaedam etiam de eius epistulis, comparationis plerumque causa, hic illic dicemus.¹⁷ Etiam si quam plurimas voces locutionesque memorare conati sumus aut sermoni Ciceroniano absonas aut quae aliis de causis cognitu dignae esse viderentur, alias sine dubio aut oscitantes aut prorsus inscii praetermisimus. Absolutionem quidem et perfectionem sequentibus in paginis desideret forsitan unus et alter: at speramus nos proprietates sermonis Muretiani attigisse primarias.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Mureti op.*, tom. III, ibid. De sentiis humanistarum quae spectant ad sermonem extemporalem disserit Tunberg, ‘Ciceronian Latin’ (ann. 2), pp. 50-57.

¹⁵ Opinatur David Ruhnken, qui exeunte saeculo duodevicesimo Mureti opera edenda curavit, Muretum re vera nullos alios nisi Ciceronem et eius aequales imitando expressisse. “Atqui res ipsa loquitur,” inquit, “Muretum... Apulei... Cassiodori, Sidonii et similium verba tamquam scopulum fugisse” (*Mureti op.*, tom. III, 332, ann. 2). David Ruhnken, ut videbimus, deceptus esse videtur.

¹⁶ *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 114-59, 392-407, 425-31.

¹⁷ Ut Muretus nonnullis lectoribus forsitan videatur remissiore scribendi genere in epistulis quam in orationibus uti, scimus tamen eum credidisse nullis in scribendi generibus tam esse sua aetate necessarium eloquentiae usum quam in epistulis componendis (vid. *Orationem XVII*, voluminis II, *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 406). Itaque procul dubio omnes epistulas summa cum cura composuit Muretus, nec eius epistulas diligenter legentibus latet ars rhetorica. De Mureti epistularum compositione legantur in primis quae scripsit J. IJsewijn, ‘Marcus Antonius Muretus epistolographus’ (v. appendicem). Sermo ille, quo in epistulis utitur M., pressior aliquando quam in orationibus videtur. Detractio insuper, sive ellipsis, saepius in epistulis invenitur, quo facilius verisimilisque amicos familiariter alloquentis species repraesentetur.

¹⁸ Fiet nonnumquam ut locutionem quandam verbumve tractemus, quod saepenumero apud Muretum legatur. Attamen singulos memorabimus locos aut summum binos, ubi

Orationes Mureti legentes auctorem fuisse quam maxime Ciceronianum primo forsitan aspectu putemus. Statim intellegimus Mureto, sicut aliis optimis humanistis, linguam Latinam velut sermonem patrum imis esse infixam medullis. Apud Muretum verborum quasi structura, symmetria periodorum videtur esse paene magis quam classica. Non ita afficimur, cum legimus auctores qui in humanismi primordiis floruerunt, vel auctores illos academicos, qui oratiunculas praefationesve Latinas hoc nostro saeculo scripserunt. Nec dubitare possumus quin Muretus sermonem Ciceronis praecipue coluerit. Attamen si scripta Mureti diligenter indagaverimus, eum ab usu Ciceronis nonnumquam declinasse inveniimus.

1. De fontibus unde nonnullas voces sumere potuit Muretus

Legitur apud Muretum 'paritas' nomen abstractum (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 145, ultimo versu): quod nomen in serioris Latinitatis monumentis invenitur, praecipue quidem apud Martianum (quem dignum sibi videri asseverat Muretus, unde voces mutuetur¹⁹), et Boethium, primos mediaevales. Attamen idem hoc nomen unico Senecae senioris loco quondam legebatur (*TLL* X.1, 409.78-410.24). Itaque de fonte unde hanc vocem traxerit Muretus nihil certi affirmare audemus. Huiusmodi dubitatione tam Mureti quam aliorum humanistarum opera legentes nonnumquam haeremus: verbi gratia, 'incommodatio', nomen abstractum, quod in orationibus usurpat Muretus, haud apud ullum auctorem antiquum nunc legi videtur, quamquam ante aliquot saecula in Ciceronis epistularum editionibus reperiabatur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 154, v. 36).²⁰ In Mureti epistulis legitur 'invaletudo', quod nomen nunc haud invenitur apud ullum prosae orationis auctorem qui ante Tertullianum vixit, sed antea apud Ciceronem exstitit (*Mureti op.*, tom. II, 94, v. 9; *TLL* VII.2, 117.79-118.8; *Nizolii Observationum* I, 307r).

Voces, quas infra descripsimus, aut quondam, hoc est ineunte saeculo sexto decimo, apud Ciceronem legebantur (sed eius operibus nunc desunt),

singula reperiantur verba, nec operae pretium videtur enumerare quoties quodque verbum legatur.

Apparebit praeterea Mureti orationes diligenter legentibus auctorem plerasque periodos clausulis numerosis terminasse. Quam scribendi consuetudinem, quae videatur tractationem satis amplam poscere, alio in opusculo explicabimus.

¹⁹ Cf. ann. 13.

²⁰ Vid. annotationem Caroli Frotscher, ad. loc.

aut reperiebantur in operibus quae saeculo sexto decimo Ciceroni ascribebantur, sed a Cicerone nostra aetate sunt abiudicata. Qua de re cum variis e fontibus, tum praecipue ex *Observationibus*, quas in M. T. Ciceronem ineunte saeculo sexto decimo composuit Marius Nizzolius,²¹ plura discere possumus.

‘ditare’ legitur semel apud auctorem ignotum qui enchiridion rhetoricum *Ad Herennium* inscriptum composuit, quod enchiridion a Cicerone compositum esse quondam credebatur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 158, v. 23) *TLL* V, 1555.28-1556.69; *Nizolii Observationum I*, 181r.²²

‘gliscere’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 142, v. 12; p.393, v. 24) *TLL* VI.2, 2046.68-2048.46; *Nizolii Observationum I*, 249r.

‘hebetare’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 140, v. 13) *TLL* VI.3, 2584.29-2586.17; *Nizolii Observationum I*, 258r.

‘inexhausta’ quondam semel legebatur apud Ciceronem, in opere quod *De finibus* inscribitur: alioquin a nullo prosae orationis auctore ante Tacitum usurpatum esse videtur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 398, v. 22) *TLL* VII.1, 1321.44-73.²³

‘intermedius’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 140, v. 1) *TLL* VII.1, 2222.17-35; *Nizolii Observationum I*, 303r.

‘obtruncare’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 158, v. 37) *TLL* IX.2, 295.28-296.14; *Nizolii Observationum II*, 72r.

‘solari’ id fere quod ‘consolari’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 120, v. 30) *OLD* 1497; *Nizolii Observationum II*, 210r.

‘sordere’ idem paene valet quod ‘contemni’ vel ‘minoris aestimari’ (“quis unquam ita in hoc genere excelluit, ut cum Davide comparatus non sordeat?...” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 119, v. 28; p. 396, v. 31) *OLD* 1793; *Nizolii Observationum II*, 211r.

Hae igitur voces a Ciceronianis, qui tum florebant, vix improbari poterant. Satis tamen manifestum est Muretum sectae Ciceronianorum minime addictum esse.

²¹ Vid. annotationem generalem, quam in huius opusculi initio collocavimus.

²² Eo huius orationis loco invenitur hoc verbum temporale ubi imperator Hispanus loquens repraesentatur. Quem autem sermonem aut a Mureto fictum aut saltem Latine redditum esse licet nobis suspicari.

²³ Cfr. editionem quae inscribitur *M. Tullii Ciceronis De finibus bonorum et malorum libri quinque*, ed. Io. Nicolaus Madvigius (Hafniae, 1876, reimpress. Hildesiae, 1963), pp. 349-50. Vid. editoris annotationes ad loc.

Verba temporalia

Haec verba verborumve significationes nec apud Ciceronem, nec apud ullum prosae orationis auctorem leguntur qui ante Livium floruit. Non pauca ex his verbis apud Senecam et eius aequales primum inveniuntur:

- ‘abominari’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 145, v. 31) *TLL* I, 123.72-124.71
 ‘allatrare’ id sonat quod ‘aliquem verbis incessere’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 395, v. 1) *TLL* I, 166.57-69.
 ‘attollere se’ id significat quod ‘laudibus sese efferre’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 397, v. 1) *TLL* II, 1152.17-42.
 ‘coacervare’: res (nec homines) pro huius verbi subiecto perraro habentur (“tanta erat <praeda>, quantam triginta potentissimorum regum collatae unum in locum opes coacervare potuerant...” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 157, vv. 34-36) *TLL* III, 1366.82-83.
 ‘degere’ usurpatur absolute (hoc est, sine accusativo) (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 140, vv. 5-6) *TLL* V.1, 385.27-386.18.
 ‘demulcere’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 139, v. 36) *TLL* V.1, 512.31-57.
 ‘dignari’ iungitur cum infinitivo, sicut apud poetas (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 133, v. 35) *TLL* V.1, 1140.84-1141.43.
 ‘emaciare’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 393, v. 41) *TLL* V.2, 439.52-59.
 ‘exosculari’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 157, v. 30) *TLL* V.2, 1593.13-63.
 ‘ingredi’ ad tempus spectat (“quarto <anno>, quem nunc... ingredimur.... ” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 137, v. 30) *TLL* VII.1, 1572.1-15
 ‘praeire iter / viam alicui’: accusativo scilicet addito, haec locutio usurpatur secundum exemplum locutionum sacrarum et antiquissimarum, qualis est ‘praeire verba’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 137, v. 22) *TLL* X.2, 595.49-65; 596.30; 597.59-66.
 ‘praeponderare’ iungitur cum dativo (“veritas, quae aliis... rebus praeponderare debet...” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 406, v. 2) *TLL* X.2, 767.69-769.14.
 ‘propugnare’ verbum transitivum (“conservanda et propugnanda religione...” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 156, v. 13) *OLD* 1497.
 ‘terere’ id fere quod ‘lectitare’ (“...quem historiae scriptorem non ita triverat, ut edidicisse videretur...” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 394, v. 25) *OLD* 1927.

Usurpat nonnumquam verba temporalia Muretus, quae etsi apud Salustium aliosve Ciceronis aequales leguntur, operibus Ciceronianis Caesarianisque deesse videntur.

- ‘advolvi genibus’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 155, v. 1) *TLL* I, 896.66-897.15.
 ‘coalescere’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 117, v. 37; p. 155, v.41) *TLL* III, 1381.28-1383.47.
 ‘damnari votorum suorum’ - quae locutio apud Nepotem et Livium, nec apud Ciceronem nec apud Caesarem legitur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 150, v. 32) *TLL* V.1, 20.31-35.

De verborum temporalium formis

Apud Muretum haud raro leguntur ‘foret’/‘forent’, pro formis, quae sunt ‘esset’/‘essent’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 140, v. 25, et alibi). Eiusmodi formis, quae vix apud Ciceronem Caesaremve leguntur, nonnumquam utuntur Sallustius, Livius, poetae, alii (*KS II.1*, p. 167: *LHS*, p.312).

Solet Muretus formas verborum temporalium passivas ita nonnumquam componere, ut tempus perfectum aut plusquamperfectum non solum participii verbiq;ue auxiliaris collocatione, verum ipso etiam verbo auxiliari ostendatur: velut “conturbatos fuisse” (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 122, v. 19), “perceptum fuisset” (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 140, v. 17), “exterminatas fuisse” (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 150, v. 31) - qualis constructionis multa alia exempla proferri possunt. Verba passiva haud saepe eo modo a Cicerone construuntur, nec fere usquam nisi participium verbo auxiliari adiunctum pro adiectivo accipitur, aut participio significatur condicio potius quam actio. At Muretus his formis haud aliter utitur quam alii humanistae, apud quos talis temporum ‘redundantia’, ut ita dicamus, est usitatissima. Ne ‘Ciceroniani’ quidem, qui vocantur, ab hac scribendi consuetudine descivisse videntur.²⁴

Memoratu dignae sunt infinitivorum formae quae in hoc enuntiato condicionali leguntur:

Orationis igitur meae summa eo redit denique: etiam si nihil aliud a nobis requireretur, quam ut explicaremus poetarum fabulas, et iuventuti quasi vias, quibus ad dicendi facultatem pervenire posset, indicaremus; tamen neque mediocriter Reipublicae *prodesse* nos neque parvis in rebus contemnendis *versari*. (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 135, vv. 2-7)

Hoc enuntiatum ‘irreale’ (vel ‘condicionem fictam’) si oratione obliqua construxisset Muretus secundum morem ‘Ciceronianum’ et ‘classicum’ qui nostris in enchiridiis grammaticis describitur, legeremus in apodosi ‘profuturos fuisse’ et ‘versaturos fuisse’, nec ‘prodesse’ nec ‘versari’. Attamen, ut supra diximus, opera Ciceronis non semper eodem modo Mureto vivente legebantur quo a nobis leguntur: etenim veteribus in editionibus aliquando inveniuntur infinitivi temporis praesentis aut futuri, ubi ab editoribus recentioribus sunt substitutae formae, quibus

²⁴ Tunberg, ‘Ciceronian Latin’ (ann. 2), pp. 40-41. Legantur insuper quae his de formis dicunt M. Campanelli, ‘Lingua et stile dell’oratio’ (ann. 7), p. 92, ann. 24; T. Tunberg, ‘The Latinity of Lorenzo Valla’s Letters’, (ann. 7), 42; J. Lebreton, *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1901), pp. 203-7.

modus 'hypotheticus' indicaretur (*LHS*, p. 665). Fatendum insuper est Muretum talibus in enuntiatis terminationem '-urum fuisse' assidue usurpare nec ab hac consuetudine nisi perraro declinare.

Adiectiva et participia

Permulta ex his adiectivis apud nullum prosae orationis auctorem leguntur qui ante Livium floruit. Alia, etsi usurpantur a Cicerone et eius aequalibus, significationibus vel constructionibus apud Muretum sunt praedita, quae primo alterove saeculo post Christum natum, nec antea invaluisse videntur.

'accuratus' - secundum sermonis 'classici' normas homines vix vocari possunt 'accurati' ("ipse... in ea... polienda ita... accuratus fuit..." *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 396, v. 25) *TLL* I, 342.68-343.30.²⁵

'fecundus' iungitur cum casu genetivo (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 116, v. 34) *TLL* VI.1, 418.12-421.80.

'hispidus' (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 395, v. 17) *TLL* VI.3, 2832.49-2833.48.

'impexus' (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 145, vv. 1, 18) *TLL* VII.1, 612.4-32.

'inaccessus' (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 122, v. 7) *TLL* VII.1, 807.17-808.11.

'inamoenus' (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 143, v. 11, 22) *TLL* VII.1, 818.12-20.

'inexpletus' in monumentis prosae orationis antiquis non invenitur, nisi apud auctores qui tertio post Christum natum saeculo aut postea floruerunt (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 394, v. 2) *TLL* VII.1, 1327.35-70.

'inoffensus' (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 116, v. 9) *TLL* VII.1, 1735.3-1737.4.

'libratus' ad sermonem pertinet ("...inanis et nullo librata sententiarum pondere oratio" *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 142, v. 1) *TLL* VII.2, 1349.57-1353.12.

'mundus' perraro invenitur in operibus Ciceronis, apud quem semper ad homines spectat, nec ad res ("haec mundioris... doctrinae..." *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 395, v. 20) *TLL* VIII, 1629.80-1633.75.

'numerosus' id quod 'magnus' (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 157, v. 11) *OLD* 1203.

'obsequentissimus' forma superlativa haud ante Columellam usurpata esse videtur: apud priores dicitur 'appreme obsequens' (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 159, v. 34) *TLL* IX.2, 189.39-64.

'obsitus' spectat ad res quae non sunt herbae nec arbores ("pannis obsiti..." *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 145, v. 1) *TLL* IX.2, 191.21-192.48.²⁶

²⁵ Id quod iam animadvertit Frotscher. Vid. editoris annotationem ad loc.

²⁶ Hoc adiectivum, sive participium, semper a Cicerone usurpatur ut ad herbas pertinet; nec minus ad herbas spectat apud alios solutae orationis auctores qui ante Suetonium vixerunt. Sed voces "pannis annisque obsitum" leguntur apud Terentium (*Eun.* 236), qui numeratur inter illos scriptores quos in primis se imitari velle dicit Muretus. Vid. ann. 13. 'Obsitus' adiectivum apud Nizzolium invenitur, qui tamen locum *Tusculanarum Disputationum* profert, ubi Ennii versus a Cicerone allati leguntur (*Nizolii Observationum* II, 70v.

‘pinguis’ ad litteras spectat (“quicquid est pinguium litterarum...” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 395, v. 18).²⁷

‘purus ab aliqua re’ (“puros a scelerum contagione animos...” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 138, v. 12) *OLD* 1524.

‘salebrosus’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 143, v. 10) *OLD* 1680.

‘universalis’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 159, v. 10) *OLD* 2094.²⁸

‘viridans’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 143, v. 17) *OLD* 2072.

‘virulentus’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 145, v. 31) *OLD* 2074.²⁹

Vix unquam, in operibus duntaxat quae recensuimus, adiectiva vel medi-aevalia vel Neolatina usurpat Muretus.³⁰

Nomina substantiva

Haec nomina substantiva et nominum substantivorum significationes, quas infra memoravimus, leguntur apud solutae orationis auctores, qui primo secundove saeculo post Christum natum vixerunt: desunt autem operibus Ciceronis et eius aequalium.

‘admissio’ - agitur de hominibus, qui plerumque aliquid petere velint, ad principes vel magnates admittendis (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 405, v. 7) *TLL* I, 747.61-748.2.

Cf. *Tusc.*, I, 21. 48). Locus autem Ennii aliter in nostris *Tusculanarum* editionibus legitur: nam ubi ‘obsita’ posuit Nizzolius, nunc invenitur ‘nubila’.

²⁷ Apud Ciceronem leguntur voces “poetis pingue quiddam sonantibus” (*Pro Arch.* 26). At suspicamur Muretum locum Columellae in animo habuisse, apud quem legimus: “nec subtilitas pinguioribus... litteris necessaria est” (*Col.*, 9. 14. 12).

²⁸ Hoc adiectivum apud Nizzolium invenitur, ubi testes memorantur Varro, et opus illud *ad Herennium* inscriptum (*Nizolii Observationum* II, 271v).

²⁹ Duo adiectiva consulto praetermisimus, quae forsitan quisbusdam philologis ab usu Ciceronis discrepare videantur. ‘Sublimis’, quod aliquoties apud Muretum legitur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 117, v. 20; 403, v. 14), est adiectivum poeticum; at adverbium hic illic (et semel substantivum) apud Ciceronem invenitur (*OLD*, 1843). Quodam in loco litterae ‘humaniores’ a Mureto vocantur (“... de his litteris, quae humaniores vocantur...” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 130, v. 7), quae locutio videbatur quibusdam veterum editorum vix esse Latina (vid. annotationem ad loc.). Excepta tamen forma comparativa, vix quidquam hoc loco videmus sermoni Ciceroniano absonum. Nam apud Ciceronem (*Arch.* 16) animi remissio quae in litteris versatur, ‘humana’ vocatur. Item apud Ciceronem artes quaedam dicuntur esse ‘ingenuae et humanae’ (*De orat.* 3. 21). Quae significatio apud posteriores quoque invenitur: nam a Plinio maiore ars sculpendi vocatur ‘humana’ (*Nat.* 34. 89).

³⁰ ‘Subiniquus’, verbi gratia, videtur esse adiectivum neolatinum, quod tamen est secundum rationes translaticias et probatas fictum et conformatum (*Mureti op.*, tom. II [in epistulis], 142, v. 3). Cfr. R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la renaissance* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1994), p. 347.

- ‘attentio’ absolute usurpatur: quod nomen apud Ciceronem semper cum genitivo (h. e. ‘animi’) iungitur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 138, v. 14; p. 139, v. 21) *TLL* II, 1124.61-80.
- ‘cerussa’ - quod nomen, utpote quod fere unicum rei quae sit nominanda conveniat, ex necessitate usurpatur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 145, v.22) *TLL* III, 951.67-952.48.
- ‘domitrix’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 157, v. 29) *TLL* V.1, 1942.81-1943.14.
- ‘donarium’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 146, v.15) *TLL* V.1, 1988.46-1989.26.
- ‘condus’ - cfr. infra ‘promus’.
- ‘figmentum’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 125, v.1; p. 131 v. 29) *TLL* VI.1, 708.84-710.12.
- ‘illuvies’ legitur apud priscos et inde a Livio in prosa oratione invenitur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, p. 145, v. 23) *TLL* VII.1, 400.43-401.50.³¹
- ‘minium’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 145, v. 21) *TLL* VIII, 1026.21-1027.15.³²
- ‘modulatio’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 119, v. 26) *TLL* VIII, 1244.20-1245.50.
- ‘molimen’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 393, v. 28) *TLL* VIII, 1356.49-1357.40.
- ‘orbis’ id quod ‘orbis terrarum’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 122, v. 5; p. 129, v. 5) *TLL* IX.2, 915.7-22
- ‘persuasio’ id fere quod ‘opinio’ vel ‘sententia’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 122, v. 5; p. 129, v. 5) *OLD* 1358.
- ‘promus /condus’ - apud priscos, Horatium, Columellam, Apuleium (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, p.397, v. 4) *OLD* 396, 1487.
- ‘vola’ - apud Varronem (in loco qui apud Nonium invenitur) et Plinium et alios paucos (*Mureti op.*, tom. I,406, v. 6) *OLD* 2097.³³

Operae pretium est paucorum substantivorum mentionem facere, quae quamvis apud Sallustium aut apud alios legantur, qui ante Augusti imperatoris aetatem scripserunt, aliena tamen a sermone Ciceronis esse videntur.

- ‘contemptor’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 131, v. 20) *TLL* IV, 656.20-658.19.
- ‘contemptus’ - quod legitur semel apud Caesarem: quamquam Caesar non minus quam Cicero formam praeoptat, quae est ‘contemptio’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 403, v. 11) *TLL* IV, 658.45-662.49.
- ‘incultus’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 145, v. 2) *TLL* VII.1, 1071.25-40.
- ‘ministerium’ id fere quod ‘officium’ - quae significatio fortasse semel apud Ciceronem invenitur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 140, v. 14) *TLL* VIII, 1010.19-1011.50.

³¹ Hoc nomen memoratum apud Nizzolium offendimus: at iterum agitur de loco prisci auctoris in *Tusculanis Disputationibus* prolato (*Nizolii Observationum* I, 269r; cf. *Tusc.*, 3, 12, 26).

³² Ob necessitatem fortasse, deficientibus aliis nominibus ea significatione praeditis, hanc vocem usurpavit Muretus.

³³ Vix alio nomine uti potuit M., quia proverbium hoc loco ponitur, videlicet ‘nec vola nec vestigium’.

Haec in Mureti orationibus quas scrutati sumus inveniuntur nomina, quae apud nullos antiquos leguntur, nisi serae Latinitatis auctores (qui inde a Tertulliano floruerunt).

‘agonotheta’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 398, v. 16) *TLL* I, 1414.76-1415.31.

‘cinnus’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 118, v. 24) *TLL* III, 1077.30-37.

‘confectrix’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 157, v. 30) *TLL* IV, 171.46-49.³⁴

‘hypopheta’ haud invenitur in Latinitatis antiquae monumentis, at legitur apud alios humanistas (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 395, v. 5).³⁵

‘liberatrix’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 113, v. 13; p. 157, v. 29) *TLL* VII.2, 1301.23-34.

Adverbia

Haec adverbia nec apud Ciceronem nec apud Caesarem leguntur nec, excepto uno et altero, apud ullum prosae orationis auctorem reperiuntur qui ante Livium floruit.

‘alternis’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 393, v. 42) *TLL* I, 1757.54-1758.4.

‘articulate’ - quae vox legitur apud Gellium; ceteroquin serioris Latinitatis est propria (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 124, v. 2) *TLL* II, 690.72-691.24.³⁶

‘improprie’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 135, v. 40) *TLL* VII.1, 697.57-698.27.

‘impure’ id fere quod ‘non recte’: quae significatio vix apud antiquos invenitur (“...licet...impure, improprie, barbare loquantur...” *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 135, v. 40) *TLL* VII.1, 725.75-727.52.³⁷

³⁴ Hoc nomen generis feminini, quamvis apud serioris Latinitatis auctores primum legatur, a vocabulis classicae Latinitatis propriis aegre separamus: nam forma generis masculini, videlicet ‘confector’, apud Ciceronem invenitur. Idem dicendum est de duobus aliis generis feminini nominibus, quae litteris ‘-trix’ terminantur, quae sunt ‘domitrix’ et ‘liberatrix’.

³⁵ R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine* (ann. 30), p.165.

³⁶ In Mureti epistulis etiam inveniuntur hic illic adverbia, quae vix apud classicos, sed apud priscos et serae latinitatis auctores leguntur: velut ‘misericorditer’ (*Mureti op.*, tom. II, 94, v. 25) *TLL* VIII, 1130.27-71.

³⁷ Veteres operum Mureti editores hanc significationem esse insolitam iam animadverterunt (vid. annotationem Caroli Frotscher, ad. loc.). Nam apud antiquos ‘impure’ adverbium haud contrarium sonat atque ‘pure’. Porro qui ‘pure’ loquitur, is verisimiliter loquitur recte, sed in primis loquitur simpliciter et perspicue. Adiectivo, quod est ‘impurus’, id praecipue apud antiquos indicatur quod est immundum, spurcum, obscenum. Quo quidem adiectivo mores hominum saepe significantur. Ut eodem sensu apud recentiores nonnumquam praeditum est hoc adiectivum, ita latiore quadam significatione a scriptoribus mediaevalibus aliquando usurpatur, ut ad quamlibet rem commixtam compositamve spectet. (*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, tom. V, ed. D.R. Howlett [Oxoniae, 1997], 1275: vid. etiam quae dixit A. Blaise, *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi* [Turnholti, 1975], p.461 [ubi agitur de nomine ‘impuritatis’]).

‘incogitanter’ - quod adverbium, quamquam adiectivum ‘incogitans’ apud Terentium et alios legitur, vix in Latinitate antiqua exstare videtur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 118, v. 1) *TLL* VII.1, 961.81-962.10.

‘nunc... nunc...’ id fere quod ‘iam... iam’ - quae congeminiatio vix invenitur apud ullum prosae orationis auctorem qui ante Livium scripsit (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 119, v. 32; p. 405, v. 11) *LHS*, 420.

De usu praepositionum

Muretus quidem in praepositionibus usurpandis numquam fere ab usu antiquorum desciscere videtur, qui inde a Cicerone usque ad tempora Plinii Iunioris scripserunt. At consuetudinem Ciceronis Caesarisve haud penitus sequitur.

Aliquando, etsi haud saepe, voces ‘quam pro’ post adiectivum adverbiumve comparativum collocatas offendimus, velut: “... quanto nostri (hoc est, ‘Galli’) reges observantia erga Romanam ecclesiam...ceteros ex omni antiquitate superarunt, tanto Francisci II. regis, te pontifice declarato, maius quam pro virili parte gaudium fuit” (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 148, v. 17), qui locus fere idem sibi vult ac si dixisset ‘...tanto maius fuit gaudium quam pars virilis (hoc est, ‘officium regis’) postulare videatur’ (cfr. Cic. *Verr.* II, lib. III, 3.7). Quamvis locutio ‘pro virili parte’ quam maxime sit Ciceroniana, voces ‘quam pro’, antecedente comparativo, apud vix quemquam leguntur, qui prosa oratione ante Livium scripsit (*LHS*, 270).³⁸

Praepositio ‘in’ cum casu adiectivi comparativi accusativo sic aliquando apud Muretum iungitur, ut efficiatur locutio adverbialis et consecutiva, velut: “...<intermissione>...magno <te> impetu retro referri et **in peius** ruere animadvertas” (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 393, v. 26). Haec constructio apud poetas invenitur - Mureto quidem haec verba quae protulimus scribenti fortasse in mente fuit locus Vergilii (cfr. Verg., *Geor.*, I, 200). Usurpatur a Sallustio et Livio, quorum apud successores saepius legitur. At Cicero Caesarque tales locutiones prorsus evitare videntur.

De modis

Ad modorum usum quod attinet, nihil fere anomalum, nihil insolitum apud Muretum deprehendimus. Sed haec paucissima sunt memoratu digna.

³⁸ T. Tunberg, ‘The Latinity of Lorenzo Valla’s “Gesta”’, (ann. 7), 35, ann. 21.

Apud Ciceronem, si verbum temporale et hypotheticum cum adiectivo generis neutralis iungitur, modus indicativus, exceptis fortasse paucis locis, fere semper adhibetur (nisi scilicet pars est orationis obliquae tale enuntiatum, vel alias ob causas exigitur modus coniunctivus) (*KS II.1*, 171, 174: *LHS*, 327-9). At Muretus, sicut prosae orationis auctores antiqui qui post Ciceronem scripserunt, modum coniunctivum talibus in locis nonnumquam ponit: velut: "...quod et imperare iniquum esset et suscipere temerarium..." (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 114, v. 24).

Unico saltem in loco illarum orationum, quas diligentius excussimus, verbo temporali, quod est 'iubere', adiungitur fere paratactice verbum completivum: "iubeo inspiciat illam..." (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 404, v. 16). Qualis constructio sermoni Ciceroniano plus minusve absona esse videtur, quippe quae apud comicos et poetas quidem inveniatur, at vix apud prosae orationis auctores qui ante Livium scripserunt, excepto uno loco libelli, cui titulus *Bellum Hispaniense*, qui tamen locus aliter aliis in editionibus legitur (*TLL VII.2*, 579.73-580.10).

De quibusdam constructionibus

Nunc quaedam animadvertere volumus de syntaxi, sive de variis constructionibus a Mureto adhibitis, quae omnes ab usu Ciceronis discrepant, quarum aliae aliis temporibus in usum communem pervenisse videntur.

'nemini ambiguum quin': voces 'non ambiguum quin' non ponuntur, nisi apud serae Latinitatis auctores, pro locutione quae est 'non dubium quin' ("... qui... nemini, quin utraque laude praestiterint... ambiguum relinquunt" *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 147, v. 11) *TLL I*, 1844. 35-37.

dativo finali adiungitur adverbium: quae constructio haud saepe apud antiquos invenitur, et vix apud Ciceronem ("...quarum <artium> utramque vobis maximopere cordi esse novi..." *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 147, v. 11) *KS II.1*, 342-43.

'itaque' coniunctio secundo enuntiati loco ponitur: quae verborum collocatio nequaquam, exceptis quibusdam locis (qui in dubium sunt vocati), apud Ciceronem Caesaremve reperitur. At in libello, qui *Ad Herennium* inscribitur, cuius auctor fuisse Cicero quondam credebatur, haec coniunctio semel tamquam postpositiva usurpatur. Ab antiquis autem qui post Ciceronem scripserunt multo saepius collocatur 'itaque' postpositive (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 116, v. 10) *TLL VII.2*, 528.59-529.22.

'licet' vox concessiva, intercedente nullo verbo temporali, adiectivis participiisve adiungitur, secundum consuetudinem poetarum atque prosae orationis auctorum, qui 'aetate argentea', quae dicitur, floruerunt, quales fuerunt Seneca philosophus et duo Plinii ("...<dicunt> animum hominis

simplicem quandam... esse naturam... licet ortus participem, tamen interitus expertem..." *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 119, v. 11; p. 147, v. 36) *KS II.2*, 446; *LHS*, 385.

participiis temporis futuri subauditur aliquando apud Muretum finis actionis vel propositum agentis: item a Mureto participia temporis futuri hic illic attributive ponuntur (... quae <natura> corpore soluta, si se pure ac pie gesserit, in coelum evolet aeternam illic Dei beneficio adeptura felicitatem; sin se malis... cupiditatibus... dederit, ad inferos nunquam desituri damnanda suppliciiis deprimatur." *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 119, vv. 12-15). Talia participia, excepto uno vel altero loco, apud Ciceronem non leguntur, quamquam auctores qui paulo postea scripserunt, verbi gratia Livius, haud raro participiis temporis futuri hoc modo utuntur.³⁹

De translationibus

Multis quidem in locis sic metaphorice loquitur noster tamquam Cicero.⁴⁰ At in translationibus usurpandis usum posteriorum Muretum saepe secutum esse videmus. Tria proferre exempla visum est.

- I. "Horribiles eam <Petri navem> procellae et turbinum vis... agitat, ut, quanquam a naufragio quidem nullum periculum est, non

³⁹ Laurentius Valla, multo ante Muretum, vix umquam finem actionis aut propositum agentis participio temporis futuri apud Ciceronem significari agnovit, in opere quod inscribitur *Elegantiarum linguae latinae libri sex* (Basileae: apud H. Petrum, 1540), lib. II, cap. 58, reimp. *L. Valla, opera omnia*, ed. E. Garin (Augustae Taurinorum, 1962), tom. I, 78. At hac scientia Ciceroniani quidam vel morosissimi, quales erant Longolius et Bembus, haud deteriti esse videntur, quin haec participia aliquando adhiberent ad sensum 'finale' exprimendum (cfr. locos allatos a T. Tunberg, 'Ciceronian Latin' [ann. 2], 26-7).

Quodam in Mureti orationum loco gerundium casu ablativo usurpatum paene idem sonare videtur quod participium temporis praesentis ("Quid hunc verisimile est firmum ac valentem fecisse, qui ne mori quidem nisi discendo voluerit?" *Mureti op.*, tom. I, 126, v. 10). Editores quidam veteres, id quod ex annotatione huic loco subiuncta colligere possumus, talem gerundii usurpationem esse absonam asseverarunt. At gerundia nonnumquam eo modo usurpantur apud poetas et prosae orationis auctores qui 'aetate argentea' floruerunt (*KS II.1*, 752-53; *LHS*, 380). Porro quod attinet ad gerundii usurpationem, haud absimilis videtur hic Mureti locus verbis Ciceronis quae leguntur in opusculo, cui titulus *Partitiones oratoriae*: "... morique maluerint falsum fatendo quam verum infitiando dolere..." (14.50).

⁴⁰ Verbi gratia "... ipsa urbs... convulsa sedibus suis suorum civium in caede ac sanguine natabat" (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 125, v. 33). Quem locum legenti in mentem forsitan veniat translationis cuiusdam Ciceronianae, quae sic legitur: "... natabant pavimenta vino" (Cic., *Phil. II*, 105). Agnovit horum locorum similitudinem Carolus Frotscher, at fortasse paulo morosius de nomine, quod est 'caede', queritur. Nam caedes ipsa, sensu videlicet translato, nonnumquam pro 'sanguine' accipi potest, praecipue apud poetas (Catul., 64, 360; Ov., *Met.*, I, 149; et alii loci memorari possunt non pauci).

mediocris tamen animos teneat metus, ne tam saeva tempestas multos mortales novarum opinionum fluctibus involutos in ea brevia praecipites abripiat, unde postea nec enatare ipsi nec evadere atque emergere alieno auxilio possint” (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 149, vv. 34-40).

‘Fluctus’ nomen sensu quidem translato nonnumquam a Cicerone usurpatur, at apud eum talis translatio ad bellum, ad morbos, ad con-
tiones, ad servitutem, ad barbariem, ad fortunam, ad vitam humanam et
negotiosam, ad rem publicam et populum Romanum, ad res civiles et
seditiones semper spectat. Quo quidem nomine animorum aestus et
fervor atque interioris hominis turbatio, tumultus, sollicitudo significatur
apud poetas, sed vix apud prosae orationis auctores qui ante Valerium
Maximum floruerunt (*TLL* VI.1, 947.54-948.84).

II. “Non enim Petri navis, ut solebat, placido mari, secundis conspir-
antium ventorum flatibus impulsa fertur” (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 149,
vv. 32-34).

Venti perraro apud antiquos dicuntur ‘conspirare’, idque apud solos
serae Latinitatis auctores (*TLL* IV, 501.23; 56-58).

III. “Neque vero nos a philosopho exigimus ut verborum paritatem ac
similitudinem aucupetur, neque ut in rotundandis periodis occu-
petur...” (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 145 [ima pagina] - p. 146, v.2).

Legitur quidem ‘rotundare’, verbum temporale, apud Ciceronem et alios
prosae orationis auctores qui post Ciceronem scripserunt. Quod tamen
verbum ad indicandum sermonem limatum videtur esse tropologice
usurpatum a perpaucis, et fortasse a nullo auctore, cuius quidem opera
exstent, ante Sidonium Apollinarem.⁴¹

De quodam decoro

Qui opera Mureti diligenter legerit, fere statim perspiciet eum ad res
civiles exprimendas vocibus plerumque Ciceronis et aliorum paganorum
usum; attamen numquam, si res Christianas tractare opus fuerit, a verbis
latinitatis Christianae propriis refugisse. Operibus Mureti plerumque

⁴¹ A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A. D.* (Oxoniae, 1949), p. 358.

desunt ineptiae, quales invenimus apud Longolium aliosque Ciceronianos morosiores, qui vel baptismum et excommunicationem verbis Ciceronis nominare conantur.⁴² Ita tamen de rebus Christianis loquitur Muretus, ut eius dicta normis latinitatis antiquae aut non fere aut numquam repugnare videantur. Verbi gratia, Dei filius, hoc est Christus, dicitur esse “corporatus ac carne tectus” (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 116, v. 39): quam locutionem ex operibus Lactantii Muretum sumpsisse verisimile est (cf. Lact., *Inst. div.*, 4, 26). Huic participio, quod est ‘corporatus’, nova sine dubio significatio subicitur ab auctoribus Christianis: auctores tamen pagani, qui ante Lactantium floruerunt, eodem hoc participio principia quaedam et initia describunt, quibus et formae et lineamenta sunt addita (*TLL* IV, 997.20-25). Nova igitur significatio, quam addiderunt Christiani, proprietatibus huius vocis haud absona videtur. Cum res aut Medii Aevi aut Renascentiae proprias necesse fuit memorare, Muretus, ut sedulo circumfutiones verborum inhabiles evitat, ita voces et usu Christianorum probatas et linguae Latinae proprietatibus congruas semper videtur praeoptare. Orationes, verbi gratia, quae ad rem divinam spectant, ‘sacrae contiones’ a Mureto nuncupantur (*Mureti op.*, tom. I, 406, v. 19), quae locutio apud quosdam mediaevales invenitur, sed haud est vocibus absimilis quas usurpant Christiani antiqui.⁴³

* * *

Ut summatim et breviter dicamus, manifestum est Muretum plerumque suis ipsius praeceptis obtemperasse. Sermonis quidem Muretiani proprietates, quod ad syntaxin attinet, perpaucis locis exceptis, plus minusve eadem esse videntur, quas invenimus apud Ciceronem et eius aequales vel, etsi paulo rarius, apud scriptores qui sub primis imperatoribus Romanis floruerunt. Porro Muretus, quamvis Ciceronis Caesarisve vocabulis verbis dictionibus assidue utatur, verba tamen quae primum leguntur apud Latinitatis senioris et Christianae auctores, ubi opus esse videtur, libenter usurpat.

Quid ergo dicamus de tot auctoribus Latinis qui post Muretum vixerunt? Solebantne plerique, cum soluta oratione uterentur, ad easdem normas, atque Muretus, vel normas similes, sermonem suum conformare?

⁴² Dicit Longolius “sacris illis liquoribus delibutos” et “ex sacra hominum communitate exterminatum” (“Ciceronian Latin” [ann. 2], p. 44).

⁴³ *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, t. II, p. 2 (Monaci, 1995), 1744.30-35. Memorantur a Lactantio “contiones prophetarum” (*Inst. div.*, 7, 15).

Hauddum scilicet ullum responsum dabitur certum: philologi enim nostri Latinitatem recentissimam vixdum investigare coeperunt. Nihilominus quarundam rerum quasi quasdam observationes in medium proferre possumus.

Si conspectu vel brevissimo recensuerimus libellos scholasticos, libros grammaticos, lexica, alia enchiridia, quae multis in Europae regionibus usurpabantur, primum locum esse Ciceroni saepissime datum inveniemus. *Thesaurus* ille *Ciceronianus*, quem ineunte saeculo sexto decimo composuit Marius Nizzolius est aliquoties retractatus, auctus, saepissime typis expressus. Totum per saeculum septimum decimum multis in ludis litterariis et scholis adhibebantur et *Grammatica latina*, quam priore saeculo composuerat Philippus Melanchthon, et *Latina grammatica in usum scholarum adornata*, cuius auctor fuit Gerardus Vossius. Praecepta quae utroque libro traduntur in lingua Ciceronis Caesarisve maxime nituntur, quamquam non desunt voces et locutiones ex aliis tam solutae quam poeticae orationis auctoribus antiquis tractae.

Alii praeceptores et lexicographi, qui Ciceronis dictiones minime improbarent, aliis tamen auctoribus operam ex aequo dederunt. Verbi gratia, vix ullum linguae Latinae lexicum saeculis sexto decimo et septimo decimo latius est divulgatum saepiusque typis excusum quam illud *Dictionarium linguae Latinae* quod composuit Ambrosius Calepinus, Italus. Hoc lexico, quod auctore mortuo semel atque iterum ab aliis est auctum et emendatum, continetur magna verborum copia, nec pauca de verborum usurpatione syntaxique traduntur. Apparet tam e prooemio auctoris (quod quibusdam editionibus posterioribus deest), quam ex ipsius lexi materia Calepinum permultis auctoribus favisse eorumque voces commendasse, nec latinitatem Christianam sprevisse. Vel Christophorus Cellarius, ut exemplum ex aetate posteriore petamus, cuius *Curae posteriores de barbarismis et idiotismis sermonis Latini* exeunte saeculo septimo decimo primum editae postea sunt aliquoties typis expressae, quamvis hoc in libro auctores aureae Latinitatis maxime probet, suis tamen aequalibus, qui velint linguam Latinam bene accurateque usurpare, ad alios auctores antiquos eosque posteriores, unde idonea inveniant verba, nonnumquam confugiendum esse asseverat. Cellarius igitur non dissimilia atque Muretus praecepisse videtur.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ C. Cellarius, *Curae posteriores de barbarismis et idiotismis sermonis Latini, tertium recognitae et plurimis locis auctae* (Ienae, 1700), pp. 8-12.

At ex grammaticorum et lexicographorum praeceptis perpauca de ipso sermone Neolatino discemus. Fortasse quaedam percipiemus de verborum delectu, vel potius de sentiis quorundam eruditorum quae ad verborum delectum spectant. Sed in grammaticorum enchiridiis, quae sunt ante saeculum duodevicesimum composita, haud ita multa de syntaxi sive de verborum consecutione constructioneque leguntur.⁴⁵ Tales res totam fere per Renascentiam discipuli discebant imitando. Solebant enim eloquentiae studiosi permultos locos, nonnumquam variis ex auctoribus sumptos, memoriae mandare unde linguae Latinae proprietatibus assuefierent, et quasi quidam sensus et sermonis Latini intellectus sibi innasceretur.⁴⁶ Quibus ex auctoribus tales locos decerpebant? Haud vero hic locus est ut omnia quae sunt de variis studiorum curriculis comperta recenseamus. Sufficiat igitur memorare ordinem studiorum societatis Iesu utpote tam divulgatum, unde intellegamus quibus auctoribus tirunculi multis in Europae partibus operam dederint primam. Cicero scilicet solutae orationis auctor primus et praecipuus a puerulis in ordinis Iesuitarum scholis lectitabatur. Sed eadem fere opera legebant studentes Iesuitici Livium et Sallustium, quorum uterque non solum verbis et vocabulis, verum etiam constructionibus et locutionibus utitur, quae sermoni Ciceroniano prorsus repugnent. Hi discipuli, quo doctrina provectiores erant, eo plures auctores legebant.⁴⁷ Mos haud dissimilis etiam seorsum ab ordine Iesuitarum nonnumquam adhibebatur, videlicet ut Cicero tirunculis, sed varii auctores provectioribus proponerentur.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Qua de re indicia quaedam perutilia tradiderunt M. Benner and E. Tengström, *On the Interpretation of Learned Neo-Latin*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 39 (Gothoburgi 1977), pp. 75-83.

⁴⁶ De hac methodo linguae Latinae docendae et percipiendae plura dicunt G. Tournoy et T.O. Tunberg, 'On the Margins of Latinity? Neo-Latin and the Vernacular Languages', *HL*, 45 (1996), 170-171. Magnam talium locorum (variis ex auctoribus antiquis electorum) copiam nonnullis in enchiridiis et libris humanisticis, verbi gratia, in opere Erasmano, quod inscribitur *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*, invenire poterant dicentes.

⁴⁷ Id quod colligere possumus variis e locis Tomi V constitutionum illius ordinis, quae inscribuntur *Ratio atque institutio studiorum societatis Iesu* (1586, 1591, 1599), ed. L. Lukács S. I., *Monumenta historica societatis Iesu 129* (Romae, 1986), praesertim pp. 130-31, 151-56, 370. Legantur etiam quae dicit A. Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amstelodami, Philadelphiae, 1986), p. 79.

⁴⁸ Justus Lipsius, qui vix fuit Ciceronianus, in sua *Epistolica institutione*, suadet tironibus ut primo sermonem Ciceronianum ediscant. Hic locus invenitur in libello, qui inscribitur *Justus Lipsius. Principles of Letter-Writing. A Bilingual Text of 'Iusti Lipsi Epistolica Institutio'*, edd. R.V. Young and M. Thomas Hester (in oppido 'Carbondale' nominato, 1996), p. 36.

Multis denique in scholis et ludis litterariis legebantur non solum opera antiqua sed etiam humanistica, qualia erant *Colloquia familiaria* quae scripserunt cum Desiderius Erasmus, tum alii humanistae clarissimi, epistulae Politiani et aliorum, ne quid dicamus de carminibus Baptistae Mantuani.⁴⁹

Attamen si nihil praeter humanistarum theorias, et praecepta, et ordines studiorum consideraverimus, si semper retractaverimus veteres illas rixas quae inter humanistas de imitatione sunt exortae, haud multa umquam de ipsa latinitate humanistica et recentiore percipiemus. Ut huius rei scientiam augeamus, oportet compertum habeamus quibus modis auctores re vera scripserint ipsi. His recentissimis annis de primorum humanistarum latinitate quaedam saltem sunt patefacta, etsi restat ut multo plura discamus: sed de Mureti successoribus, quod ad eorum latinitatem attinet, sunt adhuc edita perpauca. Si quidquam ex paucissimis commentationibus philologorum, quibus tractatur sermo eorum qui aut saeculo septimo decimo aut ineunte duodevicesimo Latine scripserunt, nobis licuerit colligere, audebimus affirmare plerosque syntaxin adhibuisse plus minusve ‘classicam’, quamquam haud semper prorsus Ciceronianam, at in verborum delectu magna libertate usos esse nec umquam, ubi opus fuerit, a vocibus recentioribus novisve abhorruisse.⁵⁰

His igitur Latine scribendi consuetudinibus sermo Mureti videtur esse minime absonus. Multos post annos, cum plura didicerimus de eorum loquendi et scribendi rationibus, qui post Muretum florebant, continget fortasse ut reperiamus num ulli sint conati Mureti sermonem ad unguem, ut sic dicamus, exprimere. At iam nunc suspicamur plerosque solutae orationis auctores, qui post Muretum vixerint, illam Ciceronis imitandi rationem moderatam secutos esse. Qua ratione qui utebantur terminos quosdam in promptu habebant et normas, quae haud magno negotio ab eloquentiae studiosis discerentur. Qui tamen termini nec nimis angusti nec omnibus in rebus sancte constituti erant. Latine quidem hoc modo scribentes loquentesve e satis magna verborum et locutionum copia

⁴⁹ De lectione scholastica, vid. quae dixerunt Tournoy - Tunberg, ‘On the Margins’ (ann. 46), 172-73.

⁵⁰ Haec opera praecipue sunt memoranda, in quibus Latinitas recentior tractetur: Benner - Tengström, *On the Interpretation of Learned Neo-Latin* (ann. 45); I. Kajanto, ‘Aspects of Spinoza’s Latinity’, *Arctos*, 13 (1979), 49-83; J. IJsewijn, ‘John Barclay and his Argenis. A Scottish Neo-Latin Novelist’, *HL*, 32 (1983), 18-20. N. Golvers, ‘The Latin Treatises of F. Verbiest, S. J. on European Astronomy in China: Some Linguistic Considerations’, *HL*, 44 (1995), 305-69.

poterant eligere quae sibi apta esse viderentur, nec, ubi usus fuerat, a novis vocibus adhibendis deterrebantur.

At linguae Latinae, quae omnium fere hominum eruditorum, quamcumque disciplinam scientiamve profitebantur, usque ad saeculum duodevicesimum communis fuerat, cum tandem usus esset pedetemptim imminutus, res Latina eo est adducta ut homines, si umquam lingua Latina utebantur, multo magis ad sermonem antiquorum discendum quam ad res cum aliis communicandas Latine scriberent. Tum demum scriptoribus proderat omni scientia philologorum fretis (quae scientia saeculo undevicesimo valde creverat) Ciceronem, et alios antiquos, quam exactissime imitari.

Conspectus operum recentium, quae ad Mureti vitam operaque aliquo modo spectant

- de Nohac, P., *La bibliothèque d'un humaniste au XVI^e siècle: catalogue des livres annotés par Muret* (Romae, 1883).
- Dejob, Ch., *Marc-Antoine Muret: un professeur français dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1881).
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JACOBUS JACOBÆUS VOLFIUS:
CARMEN IN NUPTIAS JACOBI VI REGIS SCOTIAE ET ANNAE
(1589).

Edited with a Study of the Autograph Sources¹

The Danish Neo-Latin poems and prose compositions of the 16th century share the destiny of many literary works from the period. The extant printed copies are either unique or very few, and the surviving manuscript versions are extremely rare. Especially as regards the flourishing genre of occasional poetry and oratory, many works are known to us today only from references in contemporary bibliographical catalogues.

In this perspective the Danish author Jacobus Jacobæus Volfius (Jakob Jakobsen Wolf, 1554-1635) is relatively well represented with four extant Latin titles and a total of eight printed copies of these to be found in Danish and Norwegian libraries.² Volfius' printed Latin works are all registered in the standard work on early printed books in Denmark, Lauritz Nielsen's *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1600* (hereafter referred to as LN):³

¹ The original Danish-Norwegian manuscripts and printed books studied in this article I examined at first hand, whereas I had access to an excellent microfilm copy of the Scottish material. I would like to thank the National Library of Scotland, the National Library in Oslo, and the Royal Library in Copenhagen for having made this material available to me. I am grateful to Edgar Ytteborg of the National Library in Oslo and to Monica Aase of the University Library of Trondheim for valuable information on the printed books by Volfius which are found in these libraries. Russell L. Friedman kindly offered comments on an earlier draft of this article and corrected my English. — This study forms part of a research project which is financially supported by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities.

² In addition to this, Volfius wrote a 'Chronicle of the Jews' in the vernacular: *Jødekrønike, tilsammenskreffven aff den hellige Scrifft oc Josepho oc udi Rim korteligen befattet*, which was printed in Copenhagen in 1603. On this work see H. Ehrencron-Müller, *Forfatterlexikon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, 12 vols (Copenhagen, 1924-1935), IX, 167-168.

³ *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1550* (Copenhagen, 1919); *DB 1551-1600* (Copenhagen, 1931-33); *Registre til DB 1482-1550 & 1551-1600* (Copenhagen, 1935). The whole work was reprinted with a supplement by Erik Dal in 1996.

- (1) *Carmen de animae humanae immortalitate* (Copenhagen: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1582); LN no. 1665. Two copies at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark (= RL).
- (2) *Cenotaphium Friderico II* (Rostock: Stephen Möllmann, 1588); LN no. 1667. One copy at RL.
- (3) *Carmen in nuptias Jacobi VI Regis Scotiae et Annae Friderici II filiae* (Copenhagen: Lorentz Benedicht, 1590); LN no. 1666. One copy at RL.
- (4) *Tragoediae duae* (Copenhagen: Mads Vingaard, 1591); LN no. 1668. Two copies at RL; one copy at the National Library in Oslo, Norway; and one at the University Library in Trondheim, Norway.⁴

Two of the four titles, viz. nos. (2) and (3), are occasional pieces, known by Lauritz Nielsen in only one copy each. In 1942, however, the Danish bookseller and bibliophile Volmer Rosenkilde announced the discovery of a complete handwritten draft of title no. (3), Volfius' wedding poem celebrating the marriage in 1589 of King James VI of Scotland (later James I of England) to Princess Anne of Denmark.⁵ The draft, along with another manuscript containing a fair copy of the wedding poem (in which the first 12 lines are missing) and four proof sheets of the printed text, was discovered in a book binding together with other manuscript sheets and printed pages, all from the 16th century, and all from the Copenhagen printing press of Lorentz Benedicht.

The documents found by Rosenkilde made it possible to follow Volfius' wedding poem to the royal couple all the way from manuscript copy to printed version. Thus, the handwritten draft contains the corrections and the written approval of Johannes Sascridus (Jan Sasgers), who was from 1557 professor in Hebrew at the University of Copenhagen and an expert writer of Latin poetry himself, as well as the *imprimatur* of the rector of the University, bishop Paulus Matthiae (Poul Madsen). Moreover, the fair copy of the poem displays the inserted markings of the length of the columns as they were later reproduced in the printed book, and in the printed proof sheets are indicated the misprints to be corrected before the final printed version.

⁴ The last copy formerly belonged to the Videnskabernes Selskabs Bibliotek of Trondheim, which in 1996 became part of the University Library.

⁵ On this material, see Volmer Rosenkilde, 'Nogle hidtil ukendte Lorentz Benedicht-Tryk, m.m. Et indholdsrigt Bogbind', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, 29 (1942), 80-88 (pp. 84-86).

In March 1942 the documents concerning Volfius' wedding poem were sold by Volmer Rosenkilde to the University Library in Oslo, and two months later they were entered into the library's collections as Ms. 8° 1363. In the beginning of 1999 they were transferred as part of the *Danica-Norvegica* of the University Library to the National Library in Oslo.⁶

In 1991, the printed version from 1590 of Volfius' wedding poem to King James and Princess Anne was re-edited with introduction and notes (in Norwegian) by Egil Kraggerud and translation (into Norwegian) by Hilde Sejersted and Kari Skar.⁷ In his presentation of the text, Kraggerud compared the manuscript material found by Rosenkilde with the extant copy of the printed edition. Moreover, Kraggerud discussed some of the changes and corrections that were introduced into the poem on its way from manuscript to printed book.⁸

The manuscript material and the printed proof sheets which were sold by Rosenkilde to the University Library in Oslo, are now listed in Erik Dal's supplement of 1996 to Lauritz Nielsen's Danish bibliography (see n. 3 above). Yet, the history of Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius' authorship still offers new surprises. Thus, recently, I came upon another complete printed copy of the *Cenotaphium Friderico II*, which has hitherto been known in only one copy (cf. no. (2) in the list above). The new copy of the book formerly belonged to the Duke of Roxburghe's Collection. In 1812 it was acquired by the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, which now forms part of the collections of the National Library of Scotland. This printed copy of the *Cenotaphium* is, curiously enough, listed as a part of a manuscript, viz. ms. Adv. 19.3.29, in

⁶ I am grateful to Sigbjørn Grindheim of the National Library in Oslo for this information, and to Erik Petersen of the Royal Library in Copenhagen for confirming that RL was never in possession of the documents, cf. n. 8 below.

⁷ Cf. Egil Kraggerud (ed.), *Kongehyllest. Skrifter av J. J. Wolf og H. Gunnarssøn* (Oslo, 1991), pp. 43-55 (introduction), pp. 96-103 (edition with translation), and pp. 112-113 (notes). Unfortunately, both in the table of contents and on p. 43, the chapter concerning the wedding, which took place in 1589, is erroneously entitled 'Fyrstebryllupet i Oslo 1591' ['The Royal Wedding in Oslo, 1591']. The book also contains a re-edition of Volfius' *Cenotaphium Friderico II* (1588), cf. no. (2) in the list above of Volfius' printed Latin works.

⁸ Cf. *Kongehyllest*, pp. 52-55. Kraggerud apparently based his study on photocopies to be found at the Dept. of Classics at the University of Oslo, cf. *Kongehyllest*, p. 52, n. 36, and p. 53, section (b), and did not consult the original material which was then to be found at the University Library in Oslo, and never (*pace op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 35) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Catherine R. Borland, *A Catalogue of Mediaeval Manuscripts in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh* (III, 702-703).⁹

However, a closer look at the description in Borland's manuscript catalogue reveals that the printed copy of the *Cenotaphium* is bound together with nothing less than a complete manuscript copy of Volfius' wedding poem to King James VI and Princess Anne! Despite the fact that it is registered in the Edinburgh catalogue as well as in Paul Oskar Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*,¹⁰ this Scottish manuscript has until now remained an unexplored source to the *fortuna* of Volfius' wedding poem.

In the following, after a brief introduction to the author and to the circumstances of the composition of the wedding poem, I discuss the identification of the hands in the rediscovered Scottish manuscript and in the manuscript presented by Volmer Rosenkilde. Then follows an examination of (a) the relationship between the two manuscripts, and (b) the relationship between the manuscript sources and the printed edition. Finally I have edited the wedding poem to King James VI and Princess Anne on the basis of the Scottish manuscript which I argue must be Volfius' original version of the Latin text.

1. The author

Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius was born in 1554 in Odense on the Danish island of Funen. Volfius went to school in Odense and in Ribe, and from 1577 to 1581 he was a student at the University of Copenhagen, where, in 1581, he obtained the bachelor's degree and, in 1594, the master's degree. In 1621 Volfius was appointed professor in theology and Hebrew at the new school in his home town Odense. He died in 1635.¹¹

⁹ The four handwritten vols of Borland's catalogue (which belongs to the National Library of Scotland) were compiled in 1906-1908.

¹⁰ The brief entry in P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, IV (*Alia itinera*, II), *Great Britain to Spain* (Leiden, 1989), is found on p. 18. The manuscript copy is also mentioned in *National Library of Scotland, Summary Catalogue of the Advocates' Manuscripts* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 85: '1051. Jacob Jacobsen Wolf: poem in honour of the marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark. 1589. Adv. MS. 19.3.29.'

¹¹ See J. Paludan's article on 'Jakob Jakobsen Wolf' in *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*, XIX (Copenhagen, 1905), 149-151; and R. Paulli's article on the same in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* (3rd ed.), XVI (Copenhagen, 1984), 14-15.

In the period from 1584 through 1594 Volfius was the headmaster of the school in Oslo. It was while occupying this position that he, in 1588, and apparently at the instigation of his father-in-law, the bishop of Oslo, Johannes Nicolai (Jens Nilsson), composed the oration *Cenotaphium Friderico II*, on the occasion of the death of the Danish King Frederik II.¹²

Although he had thus already proven his abilities as an encomiastic writer, Volfius was not among the poets who celebrated the events of August 1589, when, in Copenhagen, the 14-year-old daughter of the late King Frederik, and sister of King Christian IV, Princess Anne, was married by proxy to King James VI of Scotland. In many Latin verses and various metres, Danish and Scottish poets foretold how the Princess would travel peacefully over the North Sea and be received with due pomp and circumstance by King James in Edinburgh.¹³ However, in reality the travel went quite differently. Thus, having left Copenhagen on September 1, 1589, the ships en route with Anne to Scotland were forced by the autumn gales, after a whole month's voyage, to put in on the Norwegian coast. The bad weather kept the Princess from continuing her travel, but did not prevent King James from setting out to join her in Oslo as soon as he was informed about her delay. Here the royal couple was married on November 23, 1589.¹⁴

Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius' wedding poem was composed to celebrate the unforeseen event of the royal wedding in Oslo, and — contrary to

¹² Cf. *Cenotaphium*, introductory address to Nicolai, pp. A3v-A4 in the 1588 edition; p. 60 in the re-edition of 1991, in *Kongehyllest* (cf. n. 7 above), pp. 56-95: 'Quod ubi ubi sensit Tua Praestantia, mihi autor fuit ut orationem ipse conscriberem et *in auditorio recitarem*' [italics mine, cf. n. 15 below]; 'Tua reverentia mihi persuasit ut ob praenominatas causas hanc etiam narratiunculam velut anser strepens inter olores contexerem.'

¹³ On the poems by Andreas Robertstoneus and Hercules Rollock, and on the *Harmonia gratulatoria* composed by Abrahamus Praetorius, see Pernille Harsting, 'Epitalami latini della riforma in Danimarca (1536-1590): imitazione classica e rappresentazione luterana', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 15 (1992), 97-106 (pp. 103-104). See also the Flemish poet Hadrianus Damman's *Schediasmata de nuptiis Jacobi VI et Annae* (Edinburgh, 1590), reprinted in *Delitiae C. Poetarum Belgicorum* (Frankfurt, 1614), II, 1-43.

¹⁴ The royal wedding is described in an anonymous contemporary Danish and Latin report, two copies of which are preserved in the mss. Add. 332 4° and Add. 51 4° at the Royal Library of Copenhagen. A version of this material was edited by P. A. Munch in *Norske Samlinger*, I (Christiania, 1852), 450-512. On the Princess' interrupted voyage, and on the trials of the 'witches' who were accused of having caused it, see Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot... Scottish-Danish Relations c. 1450-1707*, 2 vols, Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, 114 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1988), I, 263-269.

the poems presented in Copenhagen in August — therefore turned out to be the proper word at the proper time and place. It is possible that the poem was read aloud as part of the actual wedding celebrations.¹⁵ However, due to the extraordinary circumstances of the wedding, it was not finished in time to be presented in a printed version to King James and Princess Anne. As Rosenkilde suggests, Volfius probably offered a manuscript copy of the poem to the royal couple while they were still in Norway.¹⁶ This would have been before Christmas 1589 when King James and Princess Anne left Oslo in order to spend the rest of the winter and the beginning of the spring of 1590 in Elsinore and in Copenhagen.

2. The copyists

A manuscript copy of the wedding poem was subsequently sent to the printer in Copenhagen. This manuscript — the one found by Volmer Rosenkilde — was written in two different hands: p. 2 through p. 5, line 10 were written in a ‘first hand’, whereas the frontispiece (p. 1) as well as p. 5, line 11 through p. 7 were written in a ‘second hand’. In his introduction to the 1991 re-edition of Volfius’ poem, Egil Kraggerud explains the occurrence of the two hands by the possibility that Volfius was interrupted before he had finished copying the text himself. The first of the hands Kraggerud accordingly attributes to Volfius himself, whereas he characterises the second hand as that of a poorer writer and claims that it should possibly be attributed to the messenger who transported the poem from Oslo to Lorentz Benedicht’s press in Copenhagen.¹⁷

However, this hypothesis about the two hands seems to be based exclusively on a value-laden argument: it is thus Kraggerud’s personal evaluation of the quality of the second hand, along with his unwillingness to associate the author of the poem with poor handwriting, that

¹⁵ As was the case with Volfius’ *Cenotaphium Friderico II* which he himself read aloud at the school in Oslo on the same day as the funeral took place in Roskilde in Denmark, cf. the quotation in italics in n. 12 above, and the frontispiece of the printed oration: ‘Cenotaphium illustrissimo Principi ac Domino, Domino Friderico II Danorum et Norvegiarum Regi etc. scriptum et die 5 Junii Anno 88 quo tempore eius funeri Roschildiae justa fiebant, in Gymnasio Asloensi recitatum a Jacobo Jacobaeo Volfio’.

¹⁶ See Rosenkilde, ‘Nogle hidtil ukendte Lorentz Benedicht-Tryk’ (cf. n. 5 above), p. 84.

¹⁷ Cf. Kraggerud, *Kongehyllest*, p. 53.

leads him to suggest that the copying was begun by Volfius himself and later taken over by someone else.

In fact, both hands are typical 16th century Northern European hands, and I would describe the second hand as a regularly flowing humanist cursive, and definitely not as poor handwriting. Contrary to the hypothesis presented by Kraggerud, I would suggest that the first hand belongs to the scribe whom Volfius initially commissioned to make a copy of the poem to be sent to the printer, whereas the second hand is that of Volfius himself. The change of hands in the manuscript, from that of the scribe to Volfius' own hand, could be explained by the author himself having taken over the task — maybe in order to finish the copying of the poem in time for the departure of the royal retinue bound for Denmark before Christmas of 1589 — but of this we know nothing.

This hypothesis is strengthened by a comparison with the copy of Volfius' *Cenotaphium Friderico II* which belongs to the Royal Library in Copenhagen (no. (2) in the list above). On the frontispiece of the Copenhagen copy of the *Cenotaphium* is found a manuscript dedication (reproduced in table 1) to Georgius Simonis (Jørgen Simonsen, ?-1602) of Odense:¹⁸ 'Venerando viro, doctrina et vi<rtute...> / praestanti M<agistro> Georgio Simonis Otho<niensi...> / D<omini> Francisci pastori fidelissimo D<...>' ('To the honourable man of great learning and virtue, Master Georgius Simonis of Odense, the faithful pastor of [...].') The dedication was not considered in Kraggerud's analysis of the two hands in the Rosenkilde manuscript, even though in his 1991 re-edition of Volfius' wedding poem and *Cenotaphium* Kraggerud based his edition of the latter work on the Copenhagen copy, which was at that point the only known copy of the book.¹⁹

Yet, there is no doubt that the 'dedicator hand' of the Copenhagen copy of the *Cenotaphium* is identical with the second hand found in the Rosenkilde manuscript copy of the wedding poem. Compare, e.g., the characteristic letter 't' (e.g., 'ct'), as well as the capital letters 'M', 'D', and 'F' in the dedication to the printed work (table 1), with the same letters in, e.g., p. 6, lines 1-4 of the Rosenkilde manuscript (table 2). In other words, there is reason to believe that the 'second hand' of the Rosenkilde manuscript, and the dedicator of the Copenhagen copy of the

¹⁸ See Bjørn Kornerup's article on 'Jørgen Simonsen' in *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*, XXII (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 34.

¹⁹ On the re-edition and use of this source, see Kraggerud, *Kongehyllest*, p. 40.

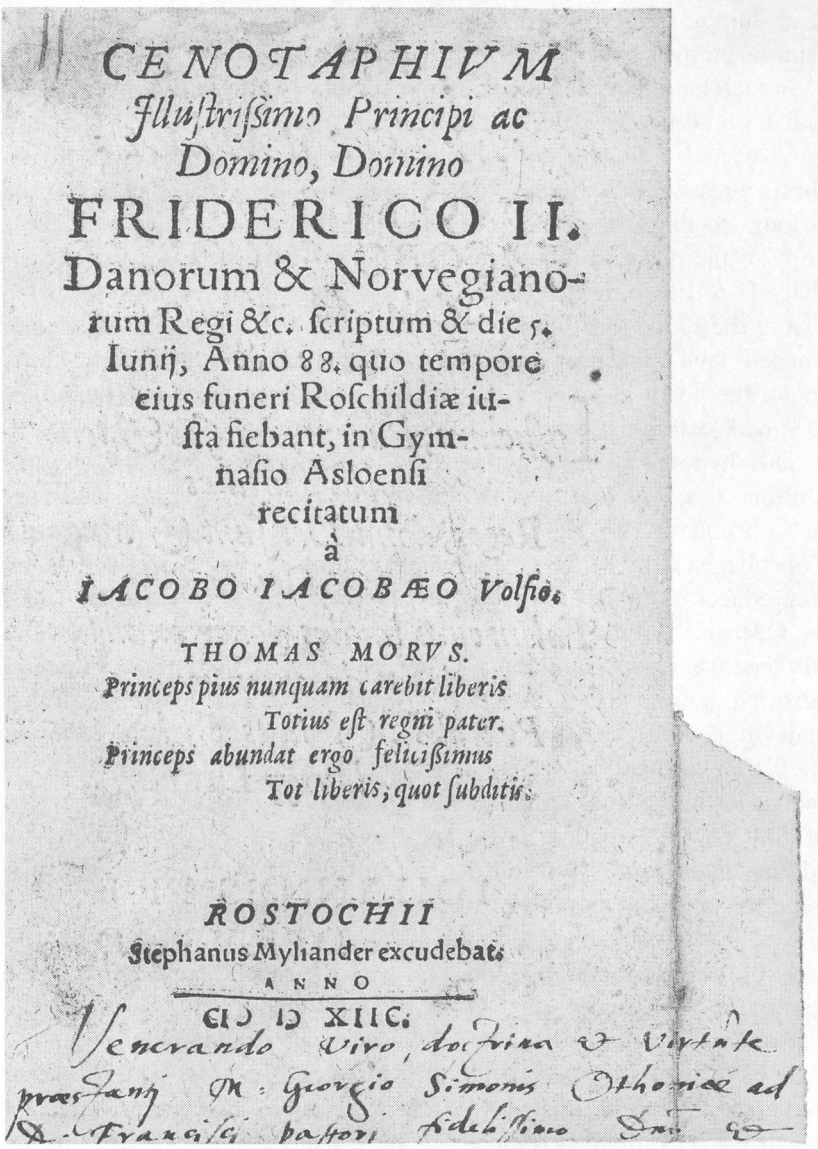


Table 1

Volſius' dedication on the frontispiece of the Copenhagen copy of the *Cenotaphium Friderico II* (1588) (Royal Library, Copenhagen)

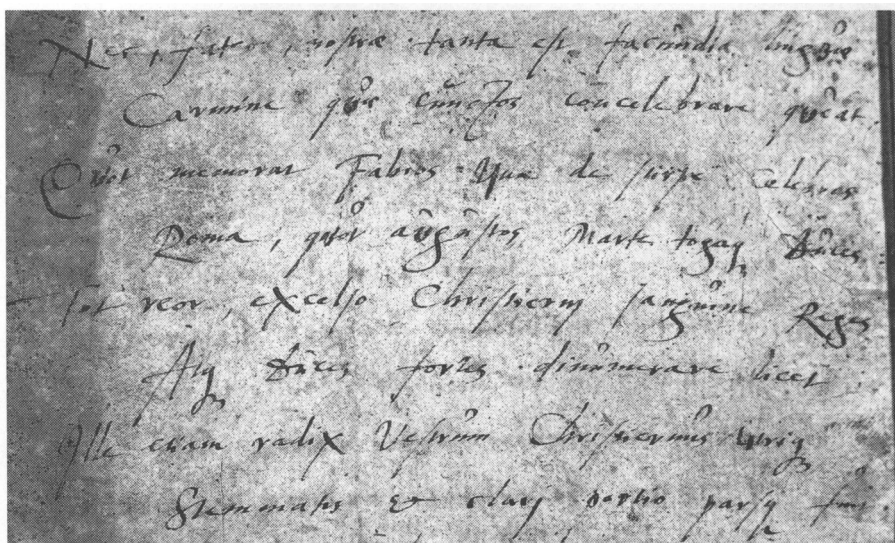


Table 2

Volfius' hand in the Rosenkilde manuscript, p. 6, lines 1-8
(National Library, Oslo)

Cenotaphium Friderico II, is none other than the author of the two works, Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius.

The Scottish material carries still more evidence for this identification of the 'second hand' of the Rosenkilde manuscript. The hitherto virtually forgotten Scottish manuscript copy of the wedding poem consists of eleven pages, the first of which contains a dedication from Volfius (reproduced in table 4) to a distinguished fellow poet, namely James VI's royal chancellor, Johannes Metlandi (John Maitland, c. 1545-1595).²⁰ 'Magnifico et amplissimo / Domino, D<omino> Johanni Me= / <t>landi serenissimae Scoto= / rum regiae Maiestatis / Cancellario, domino suo / et mecaenati benignissimo / clientulus / Jacobus Jaco= / baeus.' ('To the magnificent and great Lord, Lord John Maitland, Chancellor of His serene Royal Majesty of Scotland, his Master and most kind patron, from his humble servant Jacobus Jacobaeus.')

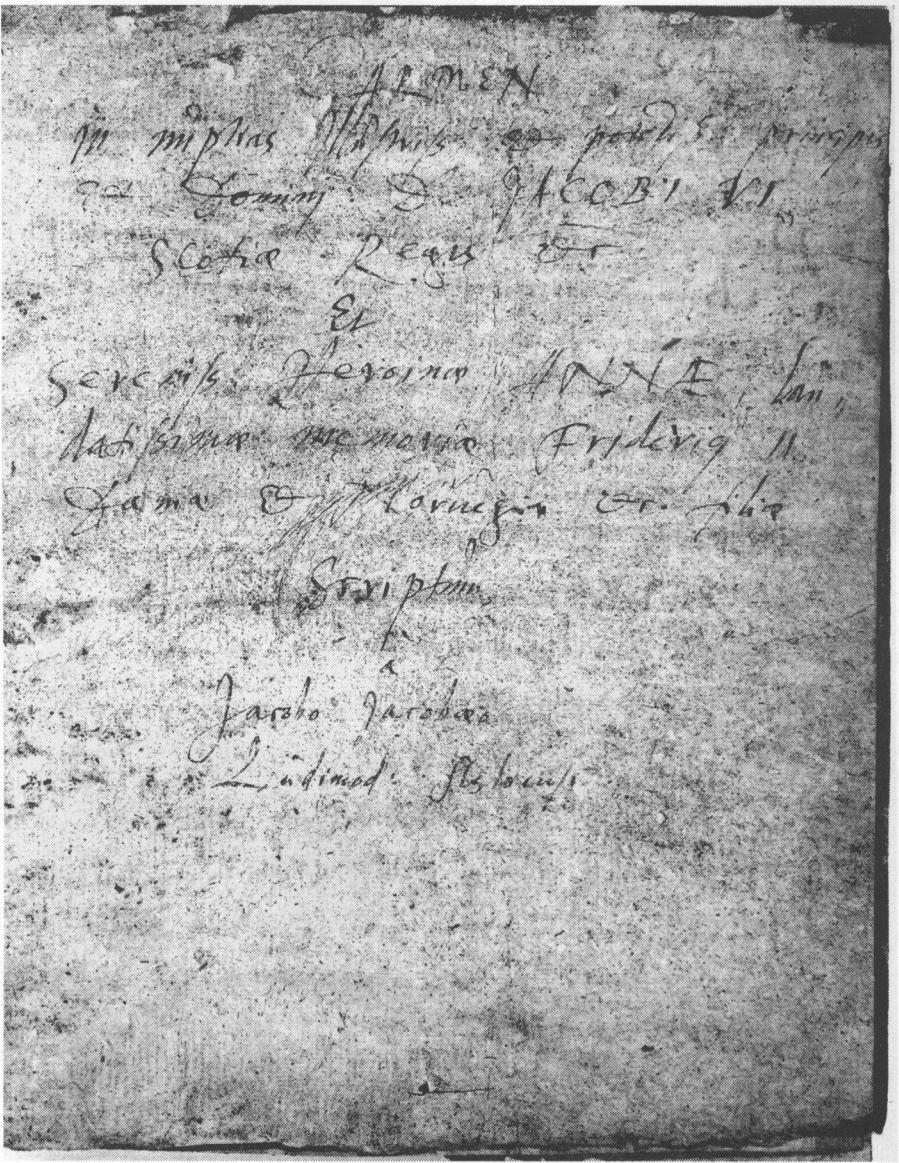


Table 3
Volfius' hand on the title page of the Rosenkilde manuscript
(National Library, Oslo)

Magnifico & amplissimo
 Domino, D. Johanni Me-
 lande Serenissimo Scotor-
 um Regia Majestatis
 Cancellario, Dni suo
 et meriti benignis
 Clientulus
 Jacobus Jaro-
 bus.

Table 4

Volfius' dedication on p. 1 of the Scottish Manuscript
 (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh)

It is well known that John Maitland while escorting King James and Princess Anne on their travel to Denmark in 1590 made the acquaintance of several Danish noblemen, scholars, and fellow poets. One of these was the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, whom Maitland presented with poems of his own as well as with his Latin translation of an English poem by King James.²¹ The discovery of Volfius' dedication copy to Maitland of his wedding poem to King James and Princess Anne along with a printed copy of Volfius' *Cenotaphium* is new evidence of the poetic exchange between the Scottish chancellor and his Danish acquaintances.

The whole of the Scottish manuscript, i.e. the dedication copy to John Maitland, is written in the very same hand as both the so-called 'second hand' of the Rosenkilde manuscript copy of the wedding poem, and the 'dedicator hand' of the Copenhagen copy of the *Cenotaphium*. Compare, e.g., the capital letters 'D' and 'M', as well as the words 'Jacobo' and 'Jacobus' in the title page of the Rosenkilde manuscript (table 3), with the same letters and words in Volfius' dedication in p. 1 of the Scottish manuscript (table 4). We can now with certainty identify this hand as that of the author and poet, Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius himself.

3. The two manuscript sources

Both the rediscovered Scottish manuscript and the second part of the Rosenkilde manuscript are thus Volfius' autographs, and both manuscript copies of the wedding poem probably date from late November to

²⁰ On John Maitland, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Sidney Lee, vol. 35 (London, 1893), 357-60; likewise Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot*, II, 69-70. For Maitland's poetry, see *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (Amsterdam, 1637), *Pars altera*, II, 138-143 (see also n. 21 below).

²¹ On the visit of King James and Maitland to Tycho Brahe at Uraniborg on the island of Hven on March 20, 1590, and on the further contact between Maitland and Brahe, see Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot* (n. 14 above), I, 121; 123. On Maitland's poems to Brahe, see *ibid.*, I, 126. In the article, 'The Inscriptions at Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg' in Minna Skafte Jensen (ed.), *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1995), pp. 251-266, Peter Zeeberg suggests the possibility that Maitland was the author of a poem (to the Prefect of Bohus, Henrik Gyldenstjerne), which had been wrongly attributed by Pierre Gassendi (in 1654) to Tycho Brahe (Zeeberg, p. 264). However, as Riis notes (*Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot*, I, 126), Tycho Brahe himself (in a letter to Peter Young of March 20, 1592) states that the poem in question was written by King James.

mid-December 1589, i.e. from the time before the royal couple, accompanied by, among others, Chancellor Maitland, left Oslo on their way to Elsinore in Denmark.

As regards the Latin text, the two manuscripts evince only few internal variants, the most important of which are the following (line and verse references are to my edition below): (a) inversion of the word order: 'Regis Scotiae' (Scottish ms.) vs. 'Scotiae Regis' (Rosenkilde ms.), line 5 in the title of the work; (b) omission of a word: 'regis filiae' (Scottish ms.) vs. 'filiae' (Rosenkilde ms.), line 10 in the title; (c) replacements of a word: 'dedit' (Scottish ms.) vs. 'dabit' (Rosenkilde ms.), v. 50; and 'Musae' (Scottish ms.) vs. 'linguae' (Rosenkilde ms.), v. 71.

There are many corrections in the Rosenkilde manuscript, especially in the first part, where the text copied by the unidentified 'first hand' was revised both by Volfius himself and by the official corrector at the University of Copenhagen, Johannes Sascerides. One of the corrections clearly indicates that the Rosenkilde manuscript is the earlier version of the poem. This correction was made by the 'first hand' himself who copied and immediately thereafter deleted a whole pentameter: 'Arctius, et valide quemque tuentur, amant'. Subsequently he replaced the verse by another: 'Et proceres ipsos indigenasque fovent?' (v. 12 in the edition below).

In his introduction to the 1991 re-edition of the printed version of Volfius' wedding poem, Egil Kraggerud correctly observed that both the first and the second version of the pentameter were written by the same hand, i.e. the 'first hand'. From this Kraggerud attributed the copying, deletion, and replacing of the line to Volfius himself.²² I have already shown that this attribution is incorrect. What we may conclude from the replacement of the pentameter is either (a) that the scribe, while copying Volfius' exemplar, caught himself including a verse that had already been expunged, or (b) that Volfius himself, while dictating the poem to the scribe, changed his mind about the verse in time for the scribe to enter the correction into the text itself.²³

²² See Kraggerud, *Kongehyllest*, p. 53. Kraggerud was unable to read the first version of the line, because he used only a microfilm copy. The original manuscript offers a quite clear reading.

²³ The copyist deleted the first version of the pentameter in question, but forgot to indent the substituting verse when he copied it into the next line. In the manuscript it therefore follows the left margin and visually misleads the reader to expect an hexameter.

There is no trace of corrections in the Scottish manuscript, and here the line which was replaced in the Rosenkilde manuscript appears in its second and better version. The Scottish manuscript thus seems to have been copied by Volfius after he had put a final touch to the Rosenkilde manuscript, i.e. the copy of the wedding poem which was to be sent to the printer in Copenhagen. The Scottish manuscript, i.e. the presentation copy to John Maitland, apparently represents Volfius' finished and polished original version of the wedding poem.

4. The manuscript sources and the *editio princeps*

Lorentz Benedicht's *editio princeps* of 1590 — and Egil Kraggerud's 1991 re-edition of this — differ in various places from Volfius' original poem in the two manuscript versions. In order to compare the hand-written and the printed material we have to take into account the many levels of correctors involved. Thus, the Rosenkilde manuscript was emended by three different hands: (1) the unidentified 'first hand', (2) Volfius himself, and (3) the official corrector, Johannes Sascerides. As regards the printer's material, both the proofs and the final printed version of the poem reveal the work of an editor at the printing press. The following examples of the differences between the two manuscript sources and the *editio princeps* clearly show how the official corrector and the editor, while preparing the text for the printing press, both made several minor adjustments and some major changes to Volfius' Latin text (NB: the verse references are all to my edition below).

To the category of minor *corrigenda* belong the changes of capitalized and emphasized words in the text. An example are the words 'Jacobe', v. 26, and 'Anna', v. 28, in the two manuscripts. These words were corrected to 'IACOBÉ' and 'ANNA', respectively, in the printer's fair copy and appear like this in the final printed version. Apparently these corrections were the responsibility of the press and were made according to the editor's taste and understanding of the *decorum* of the genre as well as of the specific occasion.

Of greater importance, and probably also the editor's full responsibility, is the inclusion in the beginning of the printed text (p. A2v) of the quotation from Psalm 128:²⁴ 'Uxor tua sicut vitis fructifera', which was

²⁴ Cf. Psalm 127 of the modern version of the *Vulgata*, 'Uxor tua sicut vitis abundans'.

a general *topos* in the context of the genre, but cannot be found in Volfius' original manuscript. On pp. A1v-A2 in the *editio princeps* are depicted the Scottish and the Danish royal coats of arms. This appears, in fact, to have been an obligatory feature of the wedding poems presented to the royal couple.²⁵

One of several major changes to Volfius' Latin text is the official corrector's reworking of vv. 53-54 in the Rosenkilde manuscript from: 'Mascula nulla fuit regali sanguine proles / Iam dudum Danis, illa sed interiiit', into: 'Mascula non fuerat regali sanguine proles / Iam dudum Danis ast ea corruerat'. The latter reading is found *ante correctionem* in the printer's fair copy of the poem. However, the verses apparently did not satisfy the editor, since they were subsequently corrected and remodelled into the form in which they appear in the *editio princeps* (cf. the *apparatus criticus* in my edition below).

Presumably with an eye to *variatio*, the whole of v. 56: 'Nescio quo fato prorsus et interiiit' in the Rosenkilde manuscript appears to have been changed by the official corrector to: 'Conciderat, finem mox habituratum', which is found in the printed edition as well. Moreover, in v. 82, the manuscripts have 'Junxerat heroas', which the corrector changed to 'Heroas junxit', preferring *praeteritum simplex* to Volfius' *praeteritum perfectum*. The corrector's version is the one found in the *editio princeps*.

Volfius concludes his poem with an eteostichon, a type of distich in which the capital letters were to be read as Roman numbers that added up to the date of the wedding in question. Eteosticha were in fashion and could be found in many Danish wedding poems by the end of the 16th century.²⁶ After the Greek genre *titulus*, ἐτεόστιχον, Volfius adds in the manuscript versions: 'etiam diem initi matrimonii complectens' ('An eteostichon which also gives the day of the wedding'). Yet, Volfius' distich only gives the year of the wedding. This unfulfilled promise seems to have bothered the editor at the printing press, who in the final printed version added in a parenthesis after the word 'matrimonii':

²⁵ See, e.g., the six printed parts of Abrahamus Praetorius' *Harmonia gratulatoria* (cf. n. 13 above), copies of which are to be found in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, in the British Library, and in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

²⁶ On the appearance of manneristic features in Danish and Northern German wedding poetry of the late 16th century, see Pernille Harsting, 'From Melanchthonism to Mannerism: The Development of the Danish Neo-Latin Wedding Poetry in the 16th Century', in Thomas Haye (ed.), *Humanismus im Norden. Frühneuzeitliche Rezeption antiker Kultur und Literatur an Nord- und Ostsee*, Chloë 32 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 289-318.

‘Is erat xxiii. Novembris, anni a reparatione salutis humanae 1589’
(‘i.e. November 23, in the year of our Saviour 1589’).²⁷

* * *

Usually we are unable to examine the development of a 16th-century poem from manuscript draft to printed edition. The chance finding of the printer’s material reused in a contemporary book binding, combined with the lucky survival of two complete manuscript copies (one and a half of which are autograph), makes this a rare opportunity to study the author’s working process and to evaluate the influence of the corrector and the editor on the final printed version.

The extant source material demonstrates the meticulous work of the University’s corrector and the editor at Lauritz Benedicht’s printing press. It also suggests that their influence on the final printed product was only just second to that of the official *imprimatur*. Although the corrections made to Jacobus Jacobaeus Volfius’ wedding poem certainly did not change the poem altogether, nevertheless they clearly left behind the traces of the various levels of censorship involved.

In the following edition of Volfius’ wedding poem I have included the two extant manuscript sources as well as all of the printer’s material. Whereas the printed proof sheets and the final edition are represented along with the Rosenkilde manuscript and the printer’s fair copy in the *apparatus criticus*, the main text is based on my transcription of Volfius’ hitherto neglected dedication copy to John Maitland which, as I have argued above, may be regarded as Volfius’ original — uncensored and autograph — version of the poem.

²⁷ Kraggerud in *Kongehyllest*, p. 55, claims that there is a printer’s error in the distich (a supposedly missing ‘t’ in the word ‘SeXtVs’). This is not correct: the letter is certainly there, both in the printed proofs, and in the final printed version.

**EDITION OF
JACOBUS JACOBÆUS VOLFIUS' WEDDING POEM OF 1589
TO KING JAMES VI AND PRINCESS ANNE,
BASED ON THE COMPLETE AUTOGRAPH VERSION OF THE LATIN TEXT**

List of abbreviations:

- E ms. Adv. 19.3.23, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh = the Scottish manuscript (i.e. the dedication copy to John Maitland)
- O ms. 8° 1363, National Library, Oslo = the Rosenkilde manuscript
- O¹ unidentified 'first hand' in the Rosenkilde manuscript, p. 2 through p. 5, line 10
- O² Volfius' hand = the 'second hand' in the Rosenkilde manuscript, p. 1 (frontispiece) and p. 5, line 11 through p. 7
- O³ the official corrector's (= Johannes Sascerides') hand in the Rosenkilde manuscript
- F the printer's fair copy of the Rosenkilde manuscript
- P printed proof sheets, pp. A2, A3-A3v and B1, from Lorentz Benedicht's press (NB: The minor lacunae in the proof sheets, a result of the pages having been used in a book binding, are not indicated in the *apparatus criticus*)
- B *editio princeps* of 1590 from Lorentz Benedicht's press = no. (3) in the list of Volfius' printed Latin works

General editorial principles:

The orthography and the punctuation are normalised (e.g., 'œ' => 'oe'; 'æ' and 'e caudata' => 'ae'; and 'jj' => 'j' or 'i'). NB: 'U' is rendered 'V' in the eteostichon.

All abbreviations (except 'etc.') are expanded.

[p. 2r E || p. 1 O || A1 B]

1

CARMEN

in nuptias illustrissimi et
 potentissimi Principis et Do=
 mini, Domini IACOBI VI
 Regis Scotiae etc.

5

et

serenissimae heroinae AN=
 NAE laudatissimae memoriae
 Friderici II Daniae et
 Norvegiae <etc.> Regis filiae,
 scriptum

10

a

Jacobo Jacobaeo
 ludimoderatore Asloensi.²⁸

14

[p. 2v-3 E || p. 2 O || A3 P, B]

1

Inclyte Rex, ampli Scotorum gloria regni
 Et decus Arctoi spesque salusque soli.
 Multis saepe agitat variam sententia mentem,
 Hosque velut pinum verbere ventus agit:

5

Maxima regnorum quae gloria, maxima plebis
 Ornamenta, decus, vita, corona, salus.
 Num sacrata levi constructa e marmore templa,
 Aethera quae tangunt turribus alta suis?
 Vel nitidae fossis munitae et montibus arces,

10

Quales magnanimis regibus esse solent?
 Num sanctae leges sociant quae viscera regni,
 Et proceres ipsos indigenasque foveant?
 Sic animos torquent, sed eos, Rex optime, solus
 Illa doces, huius dulcis imago rei.

[p. 3v-4 E]

[p. 1 F]

tit. 5 Scotiae Regis O², B || etc. om. B || 10 etc. O²: om. E || Daniae Norvegiae etc. B ||
 Regis om. O² ||

7 Num deest O¹: add. in mg. sin. O² || 8 Aethera] Aetherea O¹ a.c. || 11 Num] Vel O¹, P,
 B || regni] in linea seq. scripsit et del. Arctius, et valide quemque tuentur, amant O¹ || 12
 proceros P || post foveant inc. F, sed Sic - solus difficiliter legitur F ||

²⁸ Below this follows in B, A1: 'Hafniae, / impressit Laurentius / Benedictus. / M.D.XC.'; A1v: the royal Scottish coat of arms; P & B, A2: the royal Danish coat of arms; B, A2v: 'Psal<mus> 128. / Uxor tua sicut vitis fructife= / ra, in lateribus domus tuae, / filii tui, sicut rami olivae= / rum, in circuitu mensae tuae.'; P & B, A3: 'Serenissimo et poten= / tissimo Domino, Domino Iacobo VI. / Scotiae Regi / et / serenissimae heroinae Annae, / beatissimae memoriae Friderici II. / Daniae Norvegiae etc. Regis / filiae.'

- 15 Quid refero solus? Nonne id tua regia conjux
 Obtinet, aut pariter vendicat ANNA sibi?²⁹ [A3v P, B]
 Hanc certe laudem merita est cum rege marito,
 Qua nec privari nostra Thalia sinet. [p. 3 O]
 Verum quid cunctor? Quid sic ambagibus utor?
- 20 Quin potius retro Musa reflectat iter?
 Exprimat et paucis, quod prodidit ante, politis:
 Maxima quae regnis gloria, quaeque salus? [p. 4v-5 E]
 Si libet annales Danorum inquirere regum,
 Et conferre simul secla vetusta novis,
- 25 Si libet illustrem scrutari ab origine stirpem
 Ex proavis Danis, Rex Jacobe, tuam,
 Si libet et nitidis virtutibus, HEROINA
 Anna, tuam penitus cernere progeniem, [p. 2 F]
 Quae sit vera salus lucens quae gloria regnis
- 30 Hic labor e multis unicus expedit.
 Regna licet decorent permulta, tamen decus unum
 Est regnis, Regem regibus esse satum. [p. 5v-6 E]
 Non tamen hoc satis est, sed prolem regna virilem
 Continue ex ducibus posse tenere suis.
- 35 O regio felix igitur, rex cuius honestum
 Connubii properans ardet inire thorum. [p. 4 O]
 Quoque thorus fuerit foecundior ipse jugalis,
 Major eo regnis venerit inde salus.
 Hinc reges uno coalescunt corpore multi,
- 40 Latius hinc fines tendit amicitia,³⁰ [A4 B]
 Hinc manet inviolata suis pax publica regnis
 Et placida colitur religione DEUS. [p. 6v-7 E]
 Quid multis? Quicquid felici est nomine regnis,
 Felix hoc uno nomine semper erit.
- 45 Quocirca Domino dicendae pectore grates,
 Qui Danos tanta prosperitate beat.
 Vidit enim multos gemmantia sceptrata per annos
 Continue reges obtinuisse suos. [p. 3 F]

15 conjunx F || 16 aut a.c. O¹: et add. et del. O²: aut p.c. O² || si<...> F || 17 marito] m<...> F || 27 HEROI<...> F || 28 pro<...> F || 29 Quae sit... regnis] difficile legitur F || 31 unu<...> O¹ || 33 vi<...> O¹ || 37 thorus] torus O¹, F, P, B || ante torus del. th F || 40 Post hanc lineam expl. P || 45 post dicendae add. ex O³ s.l., F, B ||

²⁹ In F, the page division is marked at the beginning of the next line.

³⁰ In F, the page division is marked at the beginning of the next line.

- Felix illa dies, CHRISTI DE NOMINE PRIMO
- 50 Dania ubi primum regna regenda dedit.
Felix illa dies niveis signanda lapillis
Ille subit thalamos qua, DOROTHEA, tuos. [p. 7v-8 E]
Mascula nulla fuit regali sanguine proles
Iam dudum Danis, illa sed interiit. [p. 5 O]
- 55 Quocirca antiquum series et linea regum
Nescio quo fato prorsus et interiit.
Sic DEUS omnipotens cum fert sua sancta voluntas
Transfert regna, alios constituitque duces.
Quid poterit, quaeso, nunc esse beatius illo
- 60 Cum videas tantam surgere progeniem?
Ut patulos uno diffundit stipite ramos
Arbor dans foetus fertilitate suos, [p. 8v-9 E]
Utque aliis illa decerptos arbore ramos
Inserimus, fructus uberiusque ferunt.³¹ [A4v B]
- 65 Sic quoque CHRISTIERNI foecundo e corpore REGIS,
Reges innumeros secula nostra vident
Magnanimosque duces, reginas atque ducissas
Queis refluus famam terminat Oceanus. [p. 4 F]
Ut modo praeteream multos, Rex, omnibus unus
- 70 Sufficis, et conjux regia, SEXTE, tua. [p. 6 O]
Nec, fateor, nostrae tanta est facundia Musae
Carmine quae cunctos concelebrare queat. [p. 9v-10 E]
Quot memorat Fabios una de stirpe celebres
Roma, quot augustos Marte togaque duces,
- 75 Tot reor excelso Christierni sanguine reges
Atque duces fortes dinumerare licet.
Ille etiam radix vestrum Christiernus utrique
Stemmatis et clari portio parsque fuit.

49 Felix... PRIMO] *difficile legitur* F || 50 dabit O¹ a.c.: dedit E, O² [seu O³?], F, B || 52 Ille F a.c.: Is F p.c., B || subiit O¹, F, B || 53 nulla fuit] non fuerat O³?, F a.c.: iam dudum F p.c., B || 54 Iam dudum F a.c.: Nulla fuit F p.c., B || illa sed] sed p<...> O³ a.c.: ast ea O³ p.c. || interiit O¹a.c.: corruerat O³ || illa sed interiit] ast ea corruerat F a.c.: ill<...> F p.c. || 56 Concid / nem <...> / tura / J / add. in mg. O³ || Nescio - interiit] Considerat, finem mox habitura suum F, B || 57 volunt<...> O¹ || sancta <...> F || 58 du<...> F || 64 Post ferunt expl. O¹ et inc. O² || 65 Reg<...> F || 68 Ocean<...> F || 69 Ut... unus] *difficile legitur* F || 70 SEXTE] an Sexto F? || 71 Nec] Non F || fateor] non legitur O² || Musae] linguae O², F, B ||

³¹ In O, a catchletter 'S' is added in the right margin, maybe by Volfius himself. — In F, the page division is marked at the beginning of the next line.

- Sed genus amborum vestrum ceu scinditur uno
 80 Sanguine, sic uno corpore junxit amor.
 Vos pater omnipotens, uno qui corpore binos
 Junxerat heroas, servet et unanimes. [p. 10v-11 E]
 Nestoreos vivant REX et REGINA per annos
 Fertilis et videant pignora connubii [p. 7 O]
 85 Et natos natorum et qui nascentur ab illis
 Ut proavos priscos vidit uterque suos.
 Vivite felices igitur, REX inclyte et ANNA,
 ANNA, decus patrii et magna corona soli. [A5 P, B]
 Vivite felices, soli sed vivite Christo,
 90 Qui dabit aeternae gaudia sortis. Amen. [p. 11v E]

ἐτεόστιχον
 etiam diem initi ma=
 trimonii³² comple=
 ctens.

CLeMens LaetVs erat, IaCobVs SeXtVs et Anna
 ConnVbII CLaros Vt petlere thoros.³³

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79 amborum *iteratum a.c.* F || 82 Junxerat *expunxit* O³: junxit *add. s.l. post* heroas O³ || Junxerat heroas] Heroas junxit F, B || 85 nascantur E: nascentur O², F, B || 88 Post soli *inc. P* || 90 sortis] *non legitur* F || Post Amen *expl. F* ||

³² After the word 'matrimonii' is added a caret in *P*. This corresponds to the inserted parenthesis after the same word in *B*: '(Is erat xxiii. Novem= / bris, anni a reparatione salutis humanae / 1589)'.

³³ The sum of the capital letters, C+L+M+L+V+I+C+V+X+V+C+V+I+I+C+L+V+I = 1589, indicates the year of the royal wedding. — In *O* follows, at the bottom of p. 7, the corrector's note: 'Carmen hoc vidi, correctumque sic satis existimavi, quantum ad grammaticam et prosodiam. Johan<nes> Sascerides', along with the approval of the rector of the University of Copenhagen: 'Imprimatur. P. Matz<en>'. On p. 8 is found an anonymous note from the printing press: 'Den 25. Dag februarii begynte ieg at sette dette Carmen / Anno 1590, som er underschreffuen aff D. Pouel / Matzen och M. Hans Sacarides [sic!]' ('On the 25th of February, 1590 I began to set this Carmen which is signed by Doctor Pouel Matzen and Master Hans Sa<s>cerides').

John K. HALE

MILTON AND THE GUNPOWDER PLOT:
IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS RECONSIDERED*

Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* dates from 1626, when as a seventeen-year-old Cambridge student he celebrated the twenty-first anniversary of the aborted Gunpowder Treason Plot. It was back in 1605 that King, royal family and both houses of Parliament narrowly escaped being blown up together, by Guy Fawkes and other Catholic extremists. Readers of Milton have always wanted to understand the poem's significance for him.

Many writers on Milton have dismissed the poem as a mere undergraduate exercise. Others have put the focus on its chief villain, who is not Guy Fawkes but an airborne Satan, who wings his way round Europe stirring up evil and tempting the Pope to support the gunpowder-plotters. Later work has related Milton's poem to other contemporaries' Latin ones on his subject. Meanwhile, editorial scholarship has steadily accumulated notes on the Latin poems which have contributed to Milton's poem. The most recent approach emphasizes the poem's politics, anti-papal and Protestant.

The first two of the five approaches are misunderstandings, I believe; and the third is important but narrow. The last two approaches, however, offer a way forward. All five are now briefly passed in review.

The Cambridge 'exercises' were not 'mere' for the practitioners because they were a means to reputation and preferment. For example, to compose funerary tributes in Latin verse for a Cambridge or national worthy, and to position them amongst the tributes where the body lay in state under its hearse-cloth, was a usual way of securing publicity and reputation. Indeed, Milton in 1626 was closely engaged with such

* A version of this paper was read to a joint seminar of the English and Classics Departments of the University of Otago, and thanks are due to those present for comments. I thank Paul Sorrell also, for reading a revised version and for other help.

epicedial writing to win a local reputation.¹ *In Quintum Novembris*, however, is not epicedial. Nor does it conform to the undergraduate exercises known at this time²: it is more of a combative voluntary than akin to any of these genres. On the other hand, its length makes one suppose an occasion, performance and audience, and the paper will be probing these.

Nor is the Satan of this poem much like Milton's later Satans: the relations of its overflying evil-doer to the epic character are almost wholly ones of difference, since this Latin Satan is allegorized pastiche, a caricature of *Schadenfreude*.³

Connecting the poem with Gunpowder poems by other people, and especially Latin ones, is naturally much more relevant and fruitful than connecting up Satans.⁴ Accepting the detailed work of Estelle Haan and others, the paper seeks to move forward, into a fuller sense of what Milton omits or avoids as he takes up this occasional genre at a time when its productions had slowed to a trickle. Viewed in these terms, his silences may reveal as much, of difference or distancing, as his many congeneric words do of a shared theme.

Similarly with the mountain of palpable influences upon Milton's verbal texture from Roman or Neo-Latin poets, as accumulated by editors and commentators, I accept such influence as enormous, almost overwhelming. Not repeating their findings, I instead propose some further

¹ Poems assigned in 1645 to 'Anno aetatis 17' are the four *epicedia*: 'Elegia Secunda' and 'Elegia Tertia', 'In Obitum Praesulis Eliensis'; and 'In Obitum Procancellarii Medici', headed 'Anno aetatis 16', which must be of the same year as the others since its subject died in October 1626. The bunching surely betokens some plan, to win audience and profile.

² The only verses included amongst the official University exercises were the act verses, Latin verses which summarized the prose theses defended at the disputations. Tutors in colleges might assign all sorts of work to individual pupils, over and above the University's set requirements, but even here the length of the poem makes it look unlike a tutor's college *assignment*.

³ Links to the Satan of *Paradise Lost* are emphasized by (e.g.) Macon P. Cheek, in 'Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*: An Epic Foreshadowing', *Studies in Philology*, 54 (1957), 172-184.

⁴ See esp. Estelle Haan, 'Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* and the Anglo-Latin Gunpowder Epic', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 41 (1992), 221-295; 42 (1993), 368-393. Haan has also edited Phineas Fletcher's *Locustae* (pub. 1627 but composed earlier) for *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 9 (Leuven: Louvain University Press, 1996). Gunpowder Plot poems are listed in J.W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: Latin Writings of the Age*, ARCA, 24 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), p. 457, n. 31. Listed where possible by year of first printing: Anonymous, Barclay, Goad (1605); Herring, Wallace (1606); Cooper (1607); Phineas Fletcher (pub. 1627, written c. 1611); Simson (1621); Campion (in ms only, till 1987); Milton, *In Quintum Novembris* (written 1626, pub. in *Poems*, 1645).

influences within texture, but indeed focus more upon ones of structure, so as to connect these to the 'speaking silences' just proposed.

The present approach is most similar to the fifth group of responses, the political one of Stella Revard and others, who link the poem and its placing in *Poems, 1645* to Milton's developing, increasingly articulate Protestantism.⁵ The approach goes wider than both the last two kinds of predecessor, by looking at neglected contexts. For instance, Latin sources are examined which have been neglected, such as Ovid's *Fasti*, or interpreted in too textural a way by the commentators, such as a satire of the Scottish Protestant poet George Buchanan. Examination also proceeds more fully than Revard's into such contexts as national then Cambridge politics in 1626; and the commemorations and their 'vocabulary' between 1605 and 1626. The approach taken here is also narrower, rather than wider, so as to offer and maintain a more precise hypothesis: that Milton's political awakening is found in this very poem, and indeed at its ending precisely because of the poem's act of thought.⁶

The chief arguments for these positions will come from contexts and from sources, and especially (to reiterate) from silences. Certain contexts and sources create an expectation which Milton does *not* fulfil; so when, and how far, may one infer that he *chooses* not to fulfil?

Within the challenge to consider where the argument from silence is applicable, is implied a challenge to the accumulations of editorial scholarship. A Neo-Latin poem can become almost dissolved by zealous scholarship into verbal borrowings, because it is by nature an extreme of intertextuality. Yet the prior question remains, whether the cornucopia of allusion is mere pastiche. Whereas some of the chief bodies of allusion in Milton's satiric epic do strike me as mainly of diction, vocabulary to colour a detail or keep up the hexametric momentum, the ones to be emphasized now are a source of ideas, and of thought, regardless of whether they also emerge from scrutiny as absorbed for texturing. Furthermore, no single model of influence suffices for the appreciation of this poem, and despite the labours of editors on intertextuality I shall focus rather on the poem's train of thought.⁷

⁵ Stella Revard, *Milton and the Tangles of Neaera's Hair: The Making of the 1645 'Poems'* (Columbia - London: University of Missouri Press, 1997); C.W.R.D. Moseley, *The Poetic Birth: Milton's Poems of 1645* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1991).

⁶ This is applying an approach formulated for different poems by J. Martin Evans, *The Miltonic Moment* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1998).

⁷ In doing so, I am revising and expanding my assessments in *Milton's Languages: The Impact of Multilingualism on Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

1. Speaking Silences

The obvious sources of Milton's poem lie in three types of material: in the events of 1605; in the rituals of commemoration 1605-1626; and in the bilingual tradition of Plot-poems as high culture's contributions to those rituals. Not one of these sources is used by Milton in the expected, precedented way.

First, Milton's poem gives almost no historical details, and nothing of the causality and cross-currents of the conspiracy itself.⁸ He mentions no names of actors in the melodrama except that of the King, and him briefly, facelessly (lines 1, 203). He says nothing about the divisions amongst Catholics, between quietists, Jesuits, and zealots; nothing about the tensions within the Church of England; nothing about the tortures nor the show trials, nor yet about why Catholics would go to such extremes just then. The poem contains only one historical character, and gives him no characterisation whatever.

As against all that, Milton does stress agency. He dwells on the diabolic agency of the Conspiracy, and the mysterious agency of the deliverance. Satan mounts the mischief, by tempting the Pope: God defuses it, through the actions of a personified Rumour.⁹ Now although Milton was not the only poet to bring spirits and personifications into the story, no other Gunpowder poet I have read relies solely on their agency.¹⁰ One could infer that Milton's poem simply aimed to be shorter than the

⁸ Here in brief are the incidents of the Plot. In 1603 James VI of Scotland became James I of England too. Catholics hoped for relief from the punitive fines of Elizabeth's reign. By 1605 these hopes were waning: James liked the money and kept the Elizabethan balance. Catholic extremists planned to blow up the Parliament buildings, complete with members of both Houses and the royal family, all assembling there for a State opening of Parliament. But one of the conspirators warned a kinsman, Monteagle (also a Catholic, but a quiescent one), to stay away from the State Opening. Monteagle gave the tip-off to the secret police. All the conspirators were killed or caught. The survivors were tortured, then came a show trial. King, peers, parliamentarians, all had been flabbergasted. Their joint escape was soon regarded as a divine intervention, a sign of God's special favour to England under its new dynasty. In the present essay, I have relied on the narrative of Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War 1603-1642*, 10 vols (London: Longmans, 1883), Vol. I 1603-7, especially chs 3 to 6. The recent popular work by Antonia Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605* (London: Weidenfeld, 1996) valuably pays more attention to the Catholic side and to Catholic culture, together with the continuance of the Guy Fawkes cult into modern times.

⁹ Deriving from Virgil's Fama, as editors all comment.

¹⁰ Known Gunpowder poems are listed above (n. 5). Of these, I have had opportunity so far to check Barclay, Herring, Wallace, Fletcher and Campion.

cognate narrative poems (which tend to be huge and circumstantial); and yet it is not all that short, being in fact his longest Latin poem. Instead, my paper proposes that Milton relished the allegorization, wanting to present the events as a myth of national deliverance – as that and nothing else. And ‘deliverance’ here is meant in the biblical sense, of God’s saving acts: the poem is ambitious, eschatological, politically alert.

Secondly, the commemorations were not as fixed for all time as their sturdy survival into the present century might make one suppose.¹¹ At the court, already by 1609, the King had tired of hearing Protestant vituperations during the 5 November court sermon: he needed support from sundry Catholic monarchs for his foreign policy, and the balance of forces within the Church of England was under pressure. In fact, the tenor and tone of court sermons become a barometer of factional strength and royal thinking, from 1610 onwards.¹²

Exactly the same applied to the parish rituals. These were being damped down by officialdom from 1610; but contrariwise they intensified when popular opinion (vaguely Protestant) saw the papacy as a renewed threat, or felt the King was too mild toward Papists (usually those two feelings coincided).¹³ By relating Milton’s poem to these trends, then, we might glimpse him placing himself politically by his handling of the popular cults. The popular 5 November commemorations were becoming distasteful and embarrassing to the Stuarts: Milton,

¹¹ General official forms of the yearly commemoration from 1606 to 1626 included: (i) sermon to be preached before the King, at court; (ii) service of thanksgiving on November 5 in every parish; (iii) bells to be rung, with beer for the ringers at parish expense. General informal commemorations took the usual pattern of Protestant festivals: (iv) bonfires at cross-roads, and street-partying, with the special feature of (v) the burning of Guy Fawkes in effigy; and (vi) songs and nursery rhymes were composed for the event, like ‘Gunpowder, Treason and Plot’. At Cambridge University in particular, the rites of 1626 would have included: (vii) sermon in University Church, of Great St Mary’s, in English; (viii) bells rung at St Mary’s, as for (iii) above; (ix) Latin oration to University Senate, in King’s College Chapel. In each college, too, something would have marked the day, but I know of nothing recorded. At night, street celebrations of the usual popular sort would have included bonfires, effigies, fireworks, beer. The question whether Latin poems formed a part of the day’s doings in colleges is discussed below.

¹² See Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹³ See David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), esp. ch. 9, ‘Remembering the Fifth of November’.

on the other hand, makes them the sole focus of his ending. King and courtiers fade out of the triumphant rescue and concluding jubilation of the poem, making way for a theophany, then a cadenza describing the people's 5 November cult practice. Omissions and emphases alike are tendentious, hence to be read politically.

Thirdly, the tradition of poems celebrating the nation's survival follows a course similar to that of the folk-rites, of which it might be seen as a part or a high-culture counterpart. Printed poems abounded at first, then stopped till after 1626. Manuscript poems seem to have fallen to a trickle, as far as one can tell.¹⁴ Two of the best poems remained (like Milton's) unpublished for years: did publishers fear the market had dried up, or was the censorship more actively discouraging the fiery Protestant ones?¹⁵ There is much we do not and perhaps cannot know until new evidence is forthcoming.

As against these uncertainties, the salient fact is that Milton wrote not one but *six* Gunpowder poems; or rather, six which he kept. This exceeds most other writers' output on the topic. While one cannot insist that all six come from 1626¹⁶, the likelihood remains that the same impetus which led Milton to compose his longest Latin poem in 1626 on the Plot led him to compose his four epigrams on the same topic at the same time; and indeed with the same commemorative occasion in mind.¹⁷

¹⁴ This may seem an insecure inference, since Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, p. 457, lists sixteen such poems. However, the list includes Milton's one, two not published till this century, and one published the year after Milton wrote. Some of the poems, too, are bunches of epigrams preceding a *prose* text, or poems in Oxbridge anthologies.

¹⁵ Since most of the poems were monarchist in emphasis (for example giving an unhistorical role to James in the detection of the Plot), reasons for their non-publication may have been simply commercial and personal. Can anyone say how Fletcher managed to publish his poem in 1627, a time of tension between King and Commons, yet Campton's never saw print at all?

¹⁶ The five epigrams were placed with other epigrams (on metrical principles, being all elegiac couplets as against the hexameters of *QNov*) in *Poems 1645*, without any indication of age or date in their titles. Furthermore, the fifth epigram concerns the invention of gunpowder, not the Gunpowder Plot, which again creates some uncertainty whether all six poems were of 1626. In reply, however, it is perfectly natural to take the shared subject as an indicator of an experimentation with form and a continuity of thematic interest; and so to reconnect the six poems despite their metrical separation in 1645. Most biographers make this natural connection. For present purposes, at any rate, the six will be taken *together* as evidence (to put it at its lowest) of the mind of the undergraduate Milton, and placed in its Cambridge and political contexts (amongst others). So David Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, 7 vols (London: Macmillan, 1881-1894), I, 148.

¹⁷ A recent summary of Milton chronology is noncommittal: 'The Gunpowder poems may have been written in successive years or in a single creative burst; the poem in praise

This is the natural, most economical way to explain why the first four epigrams make the same point in the same way, and why the fourth hits hardest.

If so, his interest seems more like personal passion than routine exercises. An 'exercise' can be anything from a routine private production for a tutor (ancestor of the weekly Oxbridge essay) to a set University exercise, given to small college audiences or larger university ones. But the word extends further than to routine or set work, to exceptional and prestigious pieces performed to a gathering of a whole college upon a feast-day or commemoration. The first two sorts of exercise must be excluded: our poem is too long, and must have been too long in the composing, to be a routine private thing for a tutor; and the University exercises did not include verses much, and none at all of this sort. So the likelihood is that he wrote *In Quintum Novembris*, if not the epigrams also, for performance to a college audience on a commemorative occasion: such occasions are recorded at Christ Church, Oxford, some years later; and as going strong at Pembroke College there into the time of Samuel Johnson.¹⁸

This idea appeals, simply because the poem is ambitious. Milton must have been working on it well before November, if not back in the summer vacation. He was composing several other poems that autumn on university topics¹⁹, and probably performing them so as to gain a reputation: this, his longest Latin poem, seems aimed like them at reputation. And yet, intriguingly enough, it is less orthodox. *In Quintum Novembris* goes beyond Cambridge conformity or *pietas*, into the voluntary and political.

of the inventor of gunpowder may be part of the sequence (if it is intended ironically), but may be an unconnected poem that [Milton] intended as a simple encomium'; see Gordon Campbell, *A Milton Chronology* (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 30.

¹⁸ See E.G.W. Bill, *Education at Christ Church Oxford 1660-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), ch. 5, e.g., p. 252; and cf. again Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, I, 148; also *The Latin Poems of John Milton*, ed. Walter MacKellar, Cornell Studies in English, 15 (New Haven: Yale University Press for Cornell University, 1930), p. 46, n. 2, citing Boswell, and mentioning Thomas Gray when a student at Peterhouse, Cambridge. (Gray's 'In Quintam [*sic*] Novembris', composed at Peterhouse, is rightly deemed a 'mechanical exercise' by R.W. Ketton-Cramer, *Thomas Gray: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 21: too long for an epigram, too short for a worthwhile narrative, it is a poem without discovery or passion, hence quite the opposite of Milton's.)

¹⁹ The poems on the deaths of the Cambridge Bedellus and the Vice-Chancellor, and of two bishops who had been heads of colleges there, are all to be dated 1626. The rather sudden surge of such writing on local and public themes suggests an interest in recognition, making up so to speak for the turbulence of Milton's first year at Cambridge (as mentioned in his 'Elegia Prima').

2. Contexts: National and Cambridge Politics, 1626

The chief contextual factor missing from standard accounts of the poem is the political climate of late 1626 in Cambridge. To put it summarily, the Commons were lining up against the new monarch, Charles I, and his unpopular mentor the Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham had narrowly escaped impeachment in the Lords. But the Cambridge dons chose this moment to elect him their Chancellor. He was elected by a margin of five votes, in an election which had been manipulated (by certain heads of colleges, for example): '[I]t was known that many had voted for him sorely against their wishes, and it was whispered [...] that [...] an impartial scrutiny would have converted [Buckingham's] victory into defeat'.²⁰ There must have been extreme tension in Cambridge, and it must have been felt by the undergraduate body as they watched the manoeuvrings of their teachers during the campaign and the election.²¹

Now, all this was going on in the summer when Milton conceived and began if not composed our poem. Its topic being political, one naturally looks for reflections of the tension. The tension being dangerous, one looks next for coded reflections. Whereupon, with such probabilities guiding, here is where the coding waits to be found. It resides in the choice and use of particular literary sources, especially the following: the Bible; Buchanan's satire upon the Franciscans; and Ovid's *Fasti*.

3. The Bible

That the poem owes much of its verbal texture to earlier Latin poets, both ancient and Neo-Latin, is amply recorded in editions, especially those of MacKellar and Bush²²; and particular, pervasive indebtedness

²⁰ S.R. Gardiner, *A History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I, 1624-1628*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, 1875), II, 67.

²¹ Evidence is lacking, but it stands to reason that undergraduates would be aware of the national crisis of 1626, and would be agog when it led to a trial of strength locally. Any election for Chancellor is a trial of political strength when one of the contestants is a politician, which Oxbridge Chancellors tend to have been, right up to the present day. As an undergraduate, not even a very political one, I was well aware of the lobbying amongst the fellows of my college who were backing Harold Macmillan for Chancellor. Indeed, friends of mine who were studying history complained that they were not getting full tutorial attention from their tutors because the phone kept ringing, about the lobbying.

²² MacKellar, *The Latin Poems of John Milton; A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton*, ed. Douglas Bush (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

to Virgil has been amply demonstrated.²³ Without discounting such textual debts, however²⁴, I believe that understanding of the poem is better advanced at the present stage of debate if we dwell on a source which provides structure yet seldom texture, namely the Bible.

The entire narrative is hung like a suspension bridge from three biblical moments. Its beginning consists of Satan 'roving' the world organising temptation to evil (as at the beginning of the Book of Job):

Iam pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto
Teucrigenas populos, lateque patentia regna
Albionum tenuit, iamque inviolabile foedus
Sceptra Caledoniis coniunxerat Anglica Scotis:
Pacificusque novo felix divesque sedebat
In solio, occultique doli securus et hostis:
Cum ferox ignifluo regnans Acheronte tyrannus,
Eumenidum pater, aethereo vagus exul Olympo,
Forte *per immensum terrarum erraverat orbem*,
Dinumerans sceleris socios, vernasque fideles,
Participes regni post funera moesta futuros.

(Now came good King James from the far north and began his reign over that nation which traces its origins to Troy, and over the extensive domains of the English people. Now an inviolable treaty had united the Scots of Caledonia under English rule.²⁵ James, the peace-bearer, sat on his new throne. Wealth and good fortune were his: he was not worried about any enemy or secret plot. It happened at that time that the fierce tyrant who controls Acheron's flaming currents, the tyrant who is father to the Furies and a wandering exile from heavenly Olympus, *had gone roaming over this huge globe*. He was counting up his companions in crime, his faithful slaves by birth, who, after their miserable deaths, were going to share his kingdom.) (lines 1-11, emphasis mine)²⁶

²³ Besides Cheek, 'Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*', see Mason Tung, 'Milton's Adaptation in *In Quintum Novembris* of Virgil's *Fama*', *Milton Quarterly*, 12 (1975), 90-95.

²⁴ The poem comprises these materials, thus disposed: 1-47: Satan plans revenge on England's prosperity under James VI and I; 48-132: Satan flies to Rome, and disguised as a Franciscan tempts the Pope in a dream to instigate the Gunpowder Plot, timed for the State Opening of Parliament (Virgil, Juvenal, Buchanan); 135-165: The Pope commissions personified Murder and Treachery to blow up Parliament; 166-215: God foils the Plot, through personified Rumour; 216-226: the commemorative cult of 5 November.

²⁵ Carey's rendering ('under English rule') would have seemed tendentious to Scots, since the line could simply mean that James had united English 'sceptra' with Caledonian Scottish ones.

²⁶ Text and translation are those of John Carey, here and throughout: see John Milton, *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. by John Carey, 2nd edn (London: Longmans, 1997).

The entire verse-paragraph is given, to show exactly how it leads up to the crucial first action of the poem's plot, Satan's roaming. The sequence of tenses and moods in the Latin is unusual: 'James [...] coming [...] held [...] and had united [...] and was sitting when [Satan] [...] had gone roaming'. The syntax sets in parallel the twin pluperfects: James had done one key thing; Satan had begun doing another.²⁷

That, then, is the first pivot of the narration. There follows many a busy doing by Satan and his cohorts; but nonetheless, the second pivot or decisive intervention occurs when 'the Lord looks down' at line 167. Soon afterwards, or thirdly from the soteriological perspective, the Lord 'takes pity on his people' – at which point we have come to the end of the Plot, and the plot, alike.

The action hinges when 'the Lord looks down from the citadel of heaven and derides the vain attempts of the perverse crew' (167-168). This veritable theophany comes in the poem's shortest printed paragraph, in which the shortness makes it stand out. Thematically, it surely should do so:

Interea longo flectens curvamine coelos
 Despicit aetherea dominus qui fulgurat arce,
 Vanaque perversae ridet conamina turbae,
 Atque sui causam populi volet ipse tueri.

(Meanwhile the Lord who sends the lightning from his skyey citadel and bends the heavens in their wide arc looks down and laughs at the vain attempts of the evil mob, intending to defend His people's cause Himself.)

Whether or not it seems too abrupt to dismiss so many lines of menace by a single short divine intervention, or too hindsightfull or uncircumstantial or inaccurate, that is what Milton does.

His detail bears scrutiny also. The fact that the first line quoted is modelled on Ovid²⁸ may cause readers (and has certainly led editors) to notice Ovid first because of rhythm and sound. Biblical modeling, nonetheless, is clearer and more important. To be exact, it *becomes* more

²⁷ The *cum inversum* construction here takes the indicative, as regularly when the verb governed by *cum* is really a new main verb: see e.g. E.C. Woodcock, *A New Latin Syntax* (London: Methuen, 1959), p. 193, §237. Less regular, perhaps, is the pairing of pluperfects in this locution.

²⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 6, 64, 'inficere ingenti longum curvamine caelum': this evinces close phrasing, yet since 'flectens' alters the meaning, the echo is assimilated, and is one of sound as well as sense ('inficere' / 'flectens').

important, as a first line of Ovidian coloration (God as a Jove-like lightning-sender) modulates into the Psalmist's thought, every detail of which is used and expanded. In Psalm 2 'He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision'.²⁹ It is almost a disservice to Milton to bury the crucial biblical source amongst the more copious Latin parallels, topoi of Jupiter looking down from Olympus. Milton's ideas are biblical. They precede, not follow, his wording.

A further unnoticed detail should alert the reader to the preeminence of the biblical, and to the poem's climax as an act of faith: God 'sui causam populi volet ipse tueri'. The verb is future, even though metrically it could easily have been a further historic present, 'vult'. Instead, we are told he 'will be willing' to protect his own people. He was, he is and he will be: this is to make a fuller affirmation of God's providence toward the chosen people. Seen in this light, too, the line's syntax is hung upon its pronouns, 'sui' then 'ipse', God's very own people then 'God himself'. And coming furthermore in the last line of the paragraph, the future tense makes a valuable new impact on the sequence of the tenses: hitherto, these have been historic presents (picturing the past in the present), but now the future tense stretches them both into the future. 1605 is making a statement about 1626, and about an indefinitely extended future time.

At the close, similarly, once the Virgilian Rumour has leaked the Plot, 'the father of heaven pities his people from on high' (220-21):

Attamen interea populi miserescit ab alto
Aethereus pater, et crudelibus obstitit ausis
Papicolum; capti poenas raptantur ad acres;
At pia thura Deo, et grati solvuntur honores;
Compita laeta focis genialibus omnia fumant;
Turba choros iuvenilis agit: quintoque Novembris
Nulla dies toto occurrit celebratio anno.

(But meanwhile our Heavenly Father looked down on his people with pity and put a stop to the Papists' cruel venture. They are captured and hurried off to sharp punishments. Pious incense is burned and grateful honours paid to God. There is merrymaking at every crossroads and smoke rises from the festive bonfires: the young people dance in crowds: in all the year there is no day more celebrated than the fifth of November.) (220-226)

²⁹ I quote from the 'King James' version, as seems apt here.

Here again we should be noticing the biblical governing idea. It 'governs', amongst other things in the finale, the Ovidian allusion and emphasis. It will be urged shortly that the last four lines are shaped by the Ovid of the *Fasti*; a debt to an unusual region of Ovid, and I think a new suggestion into the bargain; but Ovid appears as final voice only because of the primary biblical resonance, preceding and enabling it. Only after all of that can the Roman voice corroborate the biblical idea.

In the three biblical moments together, then, a biblical ideology is applied to the English people. They appear in postures of faith or supplication, much like the chosen race of old, the Children of Israel.³⁰ Whereas the words are those of Latin poets, the meaning is biblical.

4. George Buchanan

The second source, Buchanan, is equally Protestant, if not more so. The verbal indebtedness is widespread and well-documented. Accordingly, since Milton stands closer to the attitudes of Buchanan as well as to his Latin texture than to other sources in these respects, do we have here the completest source of all for the poem? It might appear so; but doubts soon surface.

Buchanan (1506-1582) was a founding father of Scottish Presbyterianism, and a historian, University Principal, royal tutor, and much else. His European reputation, though, was for his Latin poetry. For instance, he versified the Psalms.³¹ Buchanan is a major quarry for Milton in the section where Satan reaches Rome and disguises himself as a Franciscan Friar, to tempt the Pope into blessing an act of terrorism (lines 74-132). The quarrying for words, phrases, and imagery is well-attested.³²

There is an attendant puzzle, however. Why should Satan adopt the disguise of a *Franciscan*? It was English *Jesuits* who knew the conspirators and were blamed for their plot. Did Milton know that Franciscans

³⁰ The paralleling of a would-be Protestant people with the Israelites of the Exodus and afterwards is a favourite trope with seventeenth-century religious radicals. Milton's use of it, however, fluctuates throughout his life. The present poem may indeed be its first express appearance in his writing.

³¹ Hence there may be biblical echoes in Milton's poem which have come to him through Buchanan's Latin rather than from the Vulgate or the Protestant Latin Bible.

³² See especially MacKellar, *The Latin Poems of John Milton*, and Bush, *A Variorum Commentary*, passim.

at Rome had the ear of the Pope of that time?³³ It is more likely that he artlessly follows Buchanan, who had indeed fallen foul of the Franciscans.³⁴ Any other explanation escapes me.

The reliance on Buchanan is intermittent, episodic. For the middle of his action and its plot-machinery Milton absorbs the satirical scorn and Reformation stance of Buchanan, even to the notable idea of Satan breathing temptation into the Pope's ear as he falls asleep (91)³⁵ — with which we could compare Eve's dream in *Paradise Lost*. Satire upon the Franciscan order connects only with Milton's fourth paragraph. Buchanan's dream-poem, likewise, informs another episode (90-132, the poem's fifth paragraph). The indebtedness is verbal and local, yet not structural, and only questionably thematic.

So far, then, the poem relies on a naively millennarian ideology, and an artless, limited use of the reformist Buchanan. Yet although the poem is in many ways a naive pastiche, a clear personal, political significance continues to emerge: Milton wants to see the events of 1605 in a simple, strident Protestant way, linking if not equating that providential escape to the providence of the Lord God (who 'reveal[s] Himself to His servants, and as His manner is, first to His Englishmen').³⁶ Is Milton, toward his close, admonishing the nation to see itself as Israel, because of this saving act? His passing over of the historical details³⁷ moves the reader's or listener's attention in that direction. This omission of details is the greatest speaking silence of all. It renders Milton's poem unlike others of its type and occasion. It redirects the propagandist intention of this whole genre, away from monarchism and towards a Reformation Protestantism. I see the redirecting as the poem's discovery, its personal dynamic.

³³ As the year 1605 had no fewer than three Popes, I doubt that all were under the influence of the Franciscans, and that Milton in 1626 knew much about the matter. See Ludwig, Freiherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, trans. by Dom Ernest Graf, OSB, 40 vols (London: Kegan Paul, 1891-1953), vol. XXV: *Leo XI and Paul V, 1605-1621* (1937). The three popes came from three different families, which suggests that in 1605 the Papacy was preoccupied more with Vatican politics than with terrorists at the far end of Europe. The chief threat and worry for the Vatican at the time was Venice.

³⁴ I.D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London: Duckworth, 1981), ch. 2.

³⁵ Not the *Franciscanus*, but the *Somnium*, where a Franciscan tempts Buchanan himself as he falls asleep.

³⁶ *Areopagitica*, quoted from *Milton's Prose Writings*, Everyman's Library (London: Dent, 1958), no editor named, p. 177.

³⁷ A detail which is especially well omitted is the fact that it was a *Catholic* lord, Mounteagle, who divulged the conspiracy to James's secret police.

5. Ovid in the *Fasti*

My final new source-suggestion concerns the sense of an ending. The poem closes on the commemoration rituals, the 5 November street bonfires (the passage is quoted above). Whereas the poem had begun by plunging into the events of 1605, it ends with the events of 1626. Whether or not Milton's Gunpowder poems were themselves a part of his college's commemorations in that year, he puts his closing emphasis on the present, not the past. His poem's title turns out to refer to the present 5 November as well as to the first one. The poem ends calendrically, saying, 'This date is the one most celebrated in all the year's festival days' ('Nulla dies toto occurrit celebratio anno').³⁸ At which point I recalled Ovid. The *Fasti* record the greatest of Rome's festival days. They do so with a triple time-sense, of past origins, of how the rite is reenacted now, and often closing with a prayer for the future of Rome. Although Milton takes the last two matters at a fast pace, indeed, one may feel their presence at the close, precisely because it is the close, Milton's last word on his subject.

Ovidian words and phrases cluster there, too, as is likely enough in a Latin poem summarizing history by evoking community joy in its cult. The idea of a *dies fastus* — holy day and holiday, recorded in the people's calendar of red-letter-days — makes a decisive contribution to the poem's interpretation. It is a calque, declaring England the new chosen nation.

Curiously enough, in checking through Ovid (texts and scholarship and criticism) I found that no less a scholar than Ronald Syme³⁹ had seen certain 'instructive' omissions in Ovid's treatment of Roman festival cult. Ovid omits quite a number of the festivals, and these include several anniversaries of the cult of the Emperor, Augustus. True, his resulting explanation is painstakingly demolished or qualified by a later scholar.⁴⁰ But both argue from the contexts, the historical contexts, and both take the silences themselves most seriously. Similarly with the 'instructive omissions' or 'speaking silences' which I have been remarking. Are they not to be expected of *political* poetry, of an authoritarian

³⁸ If 5 November thus attracts greater celebration than Christmas, Carnival and Easter, it is a sure sign that the Protestant festivals had captured the popular imagination.

³⁹ Ronald Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

⁴⁰ Geraldine Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti. A Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), Appendix I.

and repressive society — just as they were in eighteenth-century France, or Soviet Russia? The things that may not be said can be inferred by context and silence; a coded silence. Royalty's fading out from the climax and the ending of Milton's poem, and also his reliance there upon the Bible and Ovid, combine to become a candidate for a coded silence.

6. Milton's Own Work as Context

Milton wrote another five Gunpowder poems, probably at about this time. These are a sign, at the least, of repeated effort and interest in the theme. So is Milton's retention of the five in his work-box, and his publication of all in his collected poems, 1645. No other such set of works on a single topic exists.⁴¹

It is not that the epigrams deserve any higher acclaim by moderns as poems. The four epigrams on the Gunpowder Plot say much the same thing, and say it slowly. The last of the four is the best, not least because shortest (four lines, as against eight, ten and twelve lines – so much for epigrammatic brevity!).

Yet still Milton had not exhausted the subject, for he wrote a further epigram: equivocal praise for the inventor of gunpowder, as a greater than Prometheus. These facts are inscrutable individually. Collectively, however, they surely betoken a sustained attempt at political thought; a Protestant fervour, perhaps timed to the Plot's twenty-first anniversary in 1626.

I am arguing, then, that the poems together convey a sense of the nation's passing through crisis and emerging into settled safety under the Lord. The 1626 crisis was indeed troubling to Protestant reformists, just as Charles' marriage and other policies were. But the look back to 1605, coming after the Buckingham crisis and upon the anniversary of the Plot, could lead to a timely, psalmodic reaffirmation.

'Let the people serve God, and be glad': that is what the poem's ending affirms. First the one thing, psalmodically; then the other, after the manner of Ovid and the *Fasti*. And this is one of my main conclusions.

Another is that Milton arrived at this view during and because of the poem. At its beginning, the nation has prosperity under its new king: the

⁴¹ The nearest parallel might be Milton's two groups of Psalms, but these too have political (church-and-state) significance.

dynasty, and the uniting of the two kingdoms, are the means to this blessed state. But at the close, the king has faded out of the blessedness: the emphasis has shifted onto the Lord, and then to the people in their folk-rites. The crisis as narrated has changed the emphasis.⁴²

Furthermore, the occasion of *In Quintum Novembris* was the first time Milton expressed this patriotic, zealot view of history. His earlier Psalm versions speak of the Exodus without mentioning England or forcing one to make that connection. Nor do the five epigrams.

If this view of Milton's poetic development is correct, an explanation is supplied for the six poems as a group. Milton's repeated treatment of the same subject suggests a preoccupation with church-state relations in the England of 1626. He worries at them, like a dog with a bone, until late in the sixth and longest poem he sees what the subject means for him.

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⁴² This view accords with other poems by Milton, for instance *Lycidas*, in which he begins feeling unripe in his vocation but ends more than ready. See Evans, *The Miltonic Moment*.

Fee-Alexandra HAASE

HEINRICH TOLLES LEHRBUCH *RHETORICA GOTTINGENSIS*.
EIN DOKUMENT DER KULTIVIERUNG RHETORISCHER
LEHRE AN EINEM GYMNASIUM DEUTSCHLANDS IM
17. JAHRHUNDERT

Die erstmals im Jahre 1680 veröffentlichte Schrift *Rhetorica Gottingensis* stellt innerhalb der Tradition von Lehrbüchern der Rhetorik in Deutschland ein interessantes Dokument dar. Noch vor der Einführung eines Lehrstuhls für Beredsamkeit an der Göttinger Universität im Jahre 1734 trägt dieses Buch zur schulischen Ausbildung im Fach Rhetorik bei. Das in lateinischer Sprache für ein norddeutsches Gymnasium verfaßte Kompendium ist ein Vorläufer späterer Rhetoriken Göttingens und so ein Grundlage für die Etablierung der Rhetorik als Fach an der Universität. Zweifelsohne ist ihr Verfasser Heinrich Tolle (1629-1679) auch ein Förderer der in der Epoche der Aufklärung fortgesetzten Rezeption von Quellen der Rhetorik in anderen Zweigen der Wissenschaft. Für die Beliebtheit seiner *Rhetorica Gottingensis* als Unterrichtsmaterial spricht bereits ihr mehrfacher Druck. Vier Editionen sind bis in das Jahr 1723 nachweisbar. Ihre dritte Ausgabe, die für ihre zeitgenössische Benutzung an der Schule wichtige Details enthält, erscheint im Jahre 1699. Diese Fassung besteht aus mehreren Teilen: Dem Titelblatt, drei Vorworten, einem Inhaltsverzeichnis, der Abhandlung der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* mit handschriftlich verfaßten eingebundenen Seiten und einem *Index rerum memorabilium* mit einer alphabetischen Aufstellung von lateinischen und griechischen Begriffen. Das Titelblatt der Hauptschrift Tolles beginnt ohne einen Hinweis auf den Verfasser mit den Worten *Rhetorica Gottingensis*.¹

¹ Tolles Rhetorik wurde unter wechselnden Titeln in den Jahren 1680, 1683, 1699 und 1723 publiziert. Das hier besprochene Exemplar der dritten Ausgabe der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* befindet sich in der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover. Die Vorworte dieser Ausgabe haben keine Seitenzählung. Angebunden an Tolles Schrift *Logica Gottingensis* aus dem Jahre 1697 befindet sich ein weiteres Exemplar dieser dritten

RHETORICA
 GOTTINGENSIS
 AUCTION ET MULTOS LOCOS E-
 MENDATIOR
 EX ARISTOTELIS CICERONIS DE ARTE DICENDI LIBRIS
 MAXIMAM PARTEM CONCINNATA
 & USUI SIC ACCOMODATA,
 UT
 ISAGOGE IN RHETORICAM
 ARIST[otelicam] AD THEOD[orum] & AD ALEX[andrum] OPE-
 RA ITEM CICERONIS RHETORICA
 DICI QUEAT.
 APPENDICULAE LOCO ACCESSIT AD HANC
 TERTIAM EDITIONEM
 HARTVICI SMIDESTETI
 LIBELLUS DE
 CICERONIARUM ORATIO-
 NUM STATIBUS, ET HORUM AD
 RES CIVILIS ACCOMODATIONE.
 CUM PRIVILEGIO ELECTORALI BR[unsvigae] L[uneburgensi]
 GOTTINGAE,
 SUMPTIBUS & LITERIS JOSQUINI WOYKEN
 ANNO MDCIC

Es lassen sich bereits aus den in lateinischer Sprache verfaßten Vorworten einige Angaben über ihren Verfasser Heinrich Tolle, den Ort und die Zeit der Publikation seiner Schrift und ihrer Verwendungszwecke ableiten. Die Abhandlung ist nach Kapiteln und Abschnitten in drei Hauptteile untergliedert, die mit den jeweiligen bibliographischen Verweisen auf zitierte Literatur abschließen. Ihr *Index memorabilium* faßt die behandelten Termini aus der Rhetorik alphabetisch zusammen. Der Einband enthält eine Schrift von Hartwig Smidestedts (1539-1595), der eine Widmung, eine Darstellung seines Lebenslaufes, das Verzeichnis seiner Publikationen und die Verweise und Zitate von Reden römischer Redner beigelegt sind.

Edition der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* in der Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. Interpunktion und Abkürzungen wurden für die notwendige Erläuterung der Stellen geringfügig textkritisch durch in eckige Klammern von der Autorin bearbeitet. Bei der Transkription des Griechischen in Tolles Schrift wurde die fehlende Setzung von diakritischen Zeichen übernommen.

CICERONI-
ANARUM ORA-
TIONUM STATUS, ET
HORUM AD RES CIVILES
ACCOMODATIO

Auctore

M. HARTVICO SMIDEN-
STEDT; quondam Eloquentiae in Acad[emia]
Julia Prof[essore] Ord[dinario]

Für die Veröffentlichungen der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* nach Tolles Tode sorgt sein Nachfolger Justus von Dransfeld (1633-1714), der ihre Vorworte schrieb. Auffällig ist in diesen Vorworten die Wiederholung der Redewendung *cultor rhetoricae*, bei der es sich als Anrede an den Verfasser mit einem Hinweis auf seine Bedeutung als Pädagoge nicht zuletzt um einen Terminus zum Lobe Tolles handelt. Die Überschrift des ersten Vorwortes vermerkt in einer Widmung seine Leistungen:

Juventuti eloquentiae cultrici S[alutem] P[lurimam] D[icit] Justus à
Dransfeld

Das dem Vorwort nachgestellte Datum ihrer Niederschrift fällt in das Jahr 1691:

GOTTING[ae] Cal[endis] Nov[embribus] anni MDCIXC.

Finden sich auf dem Titelblatt keine Hinweise auf den Verfasser der *Rhetorica Gottingensis*, so ist diese Einleitung in zweierlei Hinsicht aufschlußreich: Zumal ihr Verfasser mit den Worten 'è Typographéo Goettingensi' die norddeutsche Stadt als ihren Druckort erwähnt, dürfte es sich bei der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* um den frühesten Beleg einer hier gedruckten Rhetorik handeln. Auch das zweite Vorwort, das sich anhand des Vermerks

Gottingae VII. Eid[us] Jan[uaris] anni MDCLXXX.

datieren läßt, wird mit einer Anrede an den Verfasser als Förderer der Beredsamkeit, *eloquentiae cultor*, eingeleitet. Als Verfasser der *Rhetorica Gottingensis*, die an dieser Stelle als Kompendium klassifiziert wird, erwähnt Dransfeld den in Göttingen geborenen Tolle. Das dritte Vorwort zu seiner Abhandlung wurde acht Jahre nach seinem Tode im Jahre 1687 verfaßt:

Gott[ingae] Eid[us] Sept[embres] a[nni] MDCLXXXVII.

In diesen Vorwort bezeichnet der anonyme Verfasser, bei dem es sich vermutlich auch um Justus von Dransfeld handeln dürfte, Tolles Schrift wiederum als ein rhetorisches Kompendium eines *eloquentiae cultor*, für dessen Publikation er als Herausgeber sorgt.

Lagen die Gründe für diese Hochschätzung von Tolles Werk in der Zusammenarbeit mit Dransfeld, der auf diese Schrift als Lehrmaterial zurückgriff? In einem Bericht aus dem Jahre 1737 ist zu lesen, daß Tolle als ein Leiter einer deutschen Lateinschule in der Funktion des Pädagogiarchen des Göttinger Gymnasiums, die erste Buchdruckerei der Stadt auf eigene Kosten anlegt. Hier erscheint im Jahre 1675 die erste Schrift *Memoria publica Domini de Mandelsloh celebrata in Ducati Gymnasio*.² Nach seinem Studium erhielt Tolle im Jahre 1653 die Magisterwürde in Helmstedt, dessen Universität in der Zeit von 1576 bis 1810 den Namen *Academia Julia* trug, und wurde im folgenden Jahr zum Leiter des Gymnasiums von Göttingen ernannt. Die Benutzung seiner *Rhetorica Gottingensis* als eine Lehrschrift an diesem Gymnasiums dürfte darauf hin deuten, daß sie zum Kreis von Schriften zählte, die eigens für Lehrzwecke den Weg aus Tolles Druckerei auf die Schulbänke des Göttinger Gymnasiums fanden.³ Tolle übernimmt in Göttingen die Leitung dieser Schule mit dem Amt des Pädagogiarchen in der Nachfolge von Hermann Gockenhold und übergibt es im Jahre 1676 seinem Nachfolger von Dransfeld.⁴ Als die erste Ausgabe der Lehrschrift im Jahre 1680 erscheint, ist Tolle bereits anderweitig in seiner Heimatstadt verpflichtet. Im Jahre 1675 wird er Superintendent und übernimmt die Leitung von St. Johannis. Seine aus dieser Arbeit hervorgehende Schrift *Principia theologica seu sacrae scripturae dicta primaria, quibus praecipuae conclusiones theologicae dogmaticae probantur* wird in den Jahren 1686, 1692 und 1700 veröffentlicht. Wenn man Tolles Tätigkeitsbereiche anhand der wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen seiner Schriften betrachtet, so erscheint die Auswahl von juristischen Schwerpunkten aus der Beredsamkeit in der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* zunächst als ein recht ungewöhnliches Thema für diesen Universalgelehrten. Die *Rhetorica Gottingensis*

² Anonymus, *Zeit und Geschicht-Beschreibung der Stadt Göttingen, worinnen derselben Civil-Natur-Kirchen - und Schul-Historie aus verschiedenen alten Urkunden, auch andern sichern Nachrichten umständlich vorgetragen wird*, 3 vols (Hannover und Göttingen, 1738), 3, 111-112.

³ Bereits Gresky sprach von diesem im Jahre 1568 neu gegründeten *gymnasium academicum* als einem 'Wegebereiter der Göttinger Universität'. Vgl. Wolfgang Greys, 'Bildnisse Göttinger Pädagogiarchen', *Göttinger Jahrbuch*, 15 (1967), 81-94 (p. 81).

⁴ Greysky, *Bildnisse*, p. 82.

ergänzt seine Veröffentlichungen auf anderen wissenschaftlichen Gebieten innerhalb der *artes liberales* und seine philologischen Schriften zu den Werken von Cicero und Aristoteles.

Parallele biographische Züge im Werdegang von Gelehrten vermitteln uns Tolles Tätigkeit als Lehrer der Beredsamkeit und Smidestedts Wirken. Wie das Titelblatt der Schrift Smidestedts vermerkt, hatte auch er eine Professur für Beredsamkeit inne. Sind es bei Tolle Stationen wie das Studium der Philosophie und Theologie in Helmstedt, seine Tätigkeit als Hauslehrer in Hannover und die anschließende Lehrtätigkeit in Göttingen, so verschafft uns auch Smidestedts Biographie einen Überblick über Universitäten, an denen im 16. Jahrhundert Beredsamkeit in Norddeutschland gelehrt wurde.⁵ Der gebürtige Lüneburger läßt sich nach dem dortigen Schulbesuch im Jahre 1555 an der Universität Rostock immatrikulieren. Hier hört er bei dem Professor für Beredsamkeit Arnold Burenus Vorlesungen. 1563 erhält er nach seiner Anstellung als Privatdozent einen Ruf nach Königsberg als Professor für Beredsamkeit. Schließlich folgt er im Jahre 1578 einem weiteren Ruf an die neu gegründete Universität von Helmstedt, an der er bis zu seinem Tode tätig ist und ein Buch über die 'status' der Reden Ciceros im Jahre 1590 veröffentlicht.

Es ist nicht allein Dransfelds Bemühung gewesen, das Wirken seines Vorgängers der Nachwelt in Schrift und Bild zu vermitteln. Der Rahmen eines Gemäldes aus Göttingen trägt als Überschrift einen Sinnspruch in Form eines Satzes mit dem Wort *liber*, der sich vorwärts und rückwärts lesen läßt und so eine doppelte Bedeutung des Ausdrucks *intellectus liber* erschließt:

VERITATEM AMAT INTELLECTUS LIBER

Der Text der in zwei Hexametern abgefaßten Unterschrift lautet:

MAGNUS ERAT DOCTOR, QUEM PICTUM CERNIS, AMICE,
TOLLIUS: HOC MONSTRANT AVLAE FORA TEMPLA LYCEA.⁶

Für Tolles Grabstein verfaßte Dransfeld die folgende Inschrift:

VIR IN LINGUIS PRIMARIIS & IN OMNI FERE SCIENTIARUM
GENERE, MATHESI PRAESERTIM, PHYSICIS, ELOQUENTIA
SOLUTA AC LIGATA, INSIGNIS, THEOLOGUS DOCTRINA &

⁵ Zum Lebenslauf von Tolle und Smidestedt vgl. auch: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 31 (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 700-707, bzw. 38 (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 421-422.

⁶ Greysky, *Bildnisse*, p. 87.

VITAE SANCTITATE SUMMORUM THEOLOGICORUM IUDICIO EXCELLENS.⁷

Aus den zahlreichen Quellen antiker Rhetoriker, die Tolle für seine Rhetorik zur Verfügung standen, bevorzugte er Schriften von Aristoteles und Cicero. Bereits innerhalb des ersten Vorwortes befinden sich ihre Namen in einer Auflistung von antiken griechischen, römischen und zeitgenössischen deutschen und italienischen Autoren für die rhetorische Lehre. Während Cicero, der Verfasser der *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Pseudo-Longin, Demetrius und Quintilian als Lehrer der Redekunst (*dicendi artis magistri*) lediglich in einer Aufzählung erwähnt werden, hebt Dransfeld Aristoteles besonders hervor. Zur Ehrung des griechischen Wissenschaftlers, den auch Tolle als Autorität in seinen Abhandlungen zitiert, erwähnt Dransfeld sein *ingenium*, das ihm unter dem Menschengeschlecht eine besondere Stellung zukommen läßt und ihn in einem Vergleich mit der Sonne als eine kosmische Größe in zwei Hexametern auszeichnet:

Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, & omnes,
praestinxit stellas, exortus ut aetherius Sol.

Doch auch Tolles Titulaturen und Anreden von Personen in der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* sind aufschlußreiche Quellen für die Verfasser von rhetorischen Schriften, auf deren Vorarbeiten sein Werk zurückgreift. Bereits ihr Titelblatt enthält die Angabe, daß Schriften von Cicero und Aristoteles über die Redekunst (*ars dicendi*) als Quellen für seine Schrift herangezogen wurden. Ein Beispiel dieser Autorität von antiken Autoren in den Thesen seiner Schrift ist Tolles Definition der Rhetorik. Tolle definiert sie nach der Rhetorik von Aristoteles als eine Fähigkeit (*facultas*), das zu erblicken (*perspicere*), was man zum Ziele (*finis*) des Überzeugens (*persuadere*) in einer Rede (*oratio*) als geeignet (*idoneum*) für eine Angelegenheit (*res*) bedenken kann.⁸

Die traditionellen Lehrbereiche der Beredsamkeit bleiben bei Tolles Verfahren der Konstitution seiner Abhandlung erhalten: Die Lehre von der Aufteilung der rhetorischen Redegattungen in das *genus deliberativum*, *genus demonstrativum* und *genus iudiciale* wird von ihm in drei Abschnitten erörtert. Die Lehre vom sprachlichen Ausdruck (*elocutio*) wird in einem weiteren Abschnitt behandelt. Tolles Schrift läßt zur

⁷ Anonymus, *Zeit und Geschicht-Beschreibung*, p. 108.

⁸ Tolle, *Rhetorica Gottingensis*, pp. 1-2.

Belehrung über die Argumentation innerhalb der Teile einer Rede dem Bereich der Beweisführung eine besondere Funktion zukommen. Für die Aufgliederung von Beweismitteln wird dieser als *argumentatio* bezeichnete Redeteil den anderen Redeteilen zuordnet. Als sittliche Tugenden (*virtutes morales*) bezeichnet er im Abschnitt *De argumentis* die Justitia, Fortitudo, Temperantia, Liberalitas, Mansuetudo, Modestia, Candor, Humanitas und Urbanitas.⁹ Diese mit Allegorien konstruierte Topik, die Lehre von den Suchörtern und Gemeinplätzen, wird mittels bekannter Bestandteile aus dem rhetorischen System nach Eigenschaften des Menschens angeordnet und mit konkreten Beispielen für die Verwendung der Änderungskategorien des Beredsamkeit veranschaulicht.¹⁰ So werden ihre Orte (*loci*) nach einer Typologie von ethisch-gesellschaftlichen und psychologisch-individuellen Eigenschaften von einer Person in bestimmten Lebensabschnitten zusammengefaßt. Wie bereits Aristoteles in seiner *Rhetorik* die Beweisverfahren nach ihren Beweismitteln, der Wahrscheinlichkeit und den Indizien gliedert, greift auch Tolle auf diese Lehre zur Begründung von Aussagen nach den Prinzipien der Logik zurück: Für Aristoteles führt der Weg der Topik von der Vorstellung (προτάσεως) zum Syllogismus (συλλογισμός).¹¹ Nach den Kriterien von Wahrscheinlichkeit und Widerspruchsfreiheit von sprachlichen Sätzen unterscheidet Aristoteles zwischen richtigen Schlüssen und Trugschlüssen. Wie in der späteren Topik von Tolle die *loci* aufgezählt klassifiziert werden, wird bereits bei Aristoteles die Topik als Methode des Ableitens durch einen Syllogismus, der als Art der Rede (λόγος) in seiner Topik gilt.¹² Dient der Rückgriff Tolles auf die aristotelische Lehre den logischen Grundlagen zur Konstitution seiner Rhetorik, so verfolgt er mit der Übernahme von Ciceros Schriften andere Zwecke. In der römischen Rhetoriken werden mit der Topik Suchformeln nach ihren praktischen Verwendungsmöglichkeiten für die Argumentation zusammengefaßt. Bei Cicero wird mit dem Begriff *locus* der Sitz (*sedes*) bzw. die Quelle (*fons*) eines Arguments definiert. Cicero nennt in seiner *Topica*, die als Lehrbrief an einen zeitgenössischen Juristen auf den praktischen Bezug zum *genus iudicale* bei Tolle hinweist, Beispiele, um

⁹ Tolle, *Rhetorica Gottingensis*, p. 15.

¹⁰ Vgl. auch für die bildliche Struktur von Topoi in Handbüchern während der Renaissance, in deren Tradition Tolles Allegorien der Tugenden stehen: Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 98-111.

¹¹ Aristoteles, *Rhetorica*, 1359a5.

¹² Aristoteles, *Topica*, 100a.

Fälle aus dem Rechtswesen zu behandeln. Bei der Beweisführung gliedert er zwischen künstlichen und kunstlosen Methoden des Beweisens. Mit ihren Bestandteilen aus der Lehre von den Suchörtern, der Lehre von den *status* und den Fragen (*quaestiones*) zielt die *Rhetorica Gottingensis* auch auf diese Anwendung der Redekunst bei juristischen Belangen ab. Tolles Verfahren der Gliederung einer rhetorischen Schrift nach Thesen empfiehlt bereits Cicero in seiner Topik. Tolle adaptiert so Termini nach Ciceros Methode der Beweisführung durch das Verknüpfen eines Spezialthemas (*causa*) mit einem Hauptthema (*propositum*), in dem ein Spezialfall durch die *loci* Person, Ort, Handlung und Beschäftigung behandelt wird. Ein Beispiel der Übernahme dieser Begriffe aus die Topik entnehmen wir Tolles Ausführungen im 16. Kapitel über die Verwendung von Örtern zur Vergrößerung (*amplificatio*) und Verkleinerung (*imminutio*). Tolles Verfahren, auf eine Hauptthese mit einer Definition eines dieser Begriffe die Beispiele für seine Anwendung und Bedingungen folgen zu lassen, ist für den Aufbau seiner Schrift kennzeichnend.¹³

Der innovative Wert der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* ist hinsichtlich ihres Beitrags zur Tradierung und Aktualisierung von antiker rhetorischer Terminologie in der Neuzeit sicherlich geringer einzuschätzen als der aus ihrer praktischen Anordnung erzielte Nutzen für die Lehre. Es handelt sich um eine antike Quellen zusammengetragene Lehrschrift mit einer Zusammenfassung rhetorischer Begriffe. Jedoch birgt das von Tolle als Lehrschrift zusammengefaßte Inventar Neuerungen bei der Vermittlung von rhetorischen Begriffen. Zu den grammatikalischen Besonderheiten in der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* zählt ein vereinheitlichendes Verfahren der Wiedergabe von Begriffen: Ein Großteil der griechischen Begriffen wird in lateinischen Typen dargestellt. Einen Überblick dieser Begriffe vermittelt die Wörterliste aus dem *Index sectionum et capitum* und dem *Index memorabilium*. Zu den aus dem Griechischen stammenden latinisierten Nomen zählen Begriffe wie *epiphora*, *anthypophora*, *anaphora*, *epanodos* oder *antirheton*, *asyndeton* und *polysyndeton*. Vertreter von lateinischen Begriffen sind die Termini *memoria*, *testimonia*, *retinentia* und *sententia* bzw. *figura*, *fabula* und *caussa* oder *ordo*, *numerus*, und *modus*. Für die Lehre von der Erfindung der Rede (*inventio*) bildet Tolle Verbindungen mit dem Begriff *locus* für die Vergrößerung (*amplificatio*) und Verkleinerung (*imminutio*) einer Sache oder Person. Das gleiche Verfahren gilt für die Statuslehre, deren Kategorien aus den Verbindungen

¹³ Tolle, *Rhetorica Gottingensis*, pp. 41-43.

mit dem Begriff *status* entwickelt werden, und die Sittenlehre, für die zur Veranschaulichung von ethischen Eigenschaften von Menschen der Begriff *mos* verwendet wird.

***De locis amplificationum et imminutionum.
Magno & Parvo***

Th. I

Amplificatio est, quando quippiam magnum esse dicitur.

Imminutio est, cum quid parvum esse & exiguum ostenditur.

Potest autem amplificatio fieri:

1. *A Persona facientis.*
2. *A Persona, cui quid fit.*
3. *A re ipsa.*

Th. II.

A Persona facientis ita fieri potest amplificatio:

1. *Si quis solus quippiam fecit.*
2. *Si primus.*
3. *Si cum paucis.*
4. *Si praecipue & prae caeteris.*
5. *Si sponte & deliberato animo.*
6. *Si saepe.*
7. *Si praeter omnem expectationem & supra quam facturus putabatur.*
8. *Si quis fecit ut conveniebat.*
9. *Si facies in magna dignitate constitutus est.*

Th. III

A persona, cui quid factum est.

1. *Si soli, cum paucis & praecipue quid factum est.*
2. *Si quid valde indigenti.*
3. *Si absenti.*
4. *Si mortuo.*
5. *Et omnino ei, a quo expectari compensatio non potest.*
6. *Si praeclaro & dignitate constituto.*
7. *Si bene merito.*
8. *Si peregrino.*
9. *Si & inimico.*

*Th. IV**Ex ipsa re fit amplificatio*

1. *Magnum est, cui par laus & poena reperiri non potest.*
2. *Cujus causa novum genus honoris vel poena inventum est.*
3. *Quod tolli & mutari non potest & cui datur nullum remedium.*
4. *Quod est in praestantioribus, valde bonum est.*
5. *Quod in turpioribus, valde malum est.*
6. *Quod convenienti fit tempore.*
7. *Quod est diuturnius.*
8. *Quod convenienti fit loco.*
9. *Immo quod tempore & loco fit non convenienti, saepe magnum est.*
10. *Magnum est id, quod & inimici magnum existimant.*
11. *Magnum est & illud, quod tantum amicis tribuitur & praestantissimis.*
12. *Magnum quoque est, quod plerumque vel sapientissimorum hominum judicio tale habetur.*
13. *Magnum est, quod neque est in illustribus tale.*
14. *Majus est, quo quid est utilius vel inutilius.*
15. *Et quo quid honestius vel turpius.*
16. *Et quo quid magis necessarium.*
17. *Et quo quid justius vel iniustius.*
18. *Et quo quid est judicius.*
19. *Omne bonum quo difficilius est, eo majus est.*
20. *Omne malum quo jucundius, eo majus.*

Um auch mit einem Blick auf die Vielfalt von Werken dieses Gelehrten die anerkennenden Worte von Zeitgenossen über ihn einzuschätzen, darf man Tolles Wirken als Dichter von Schäferspielen nicht unerwähnt lassen, die er im Gegensatz zu den wissenschaftlichen Schriften nach seinen Vorbildern Opitz und Harsdörffer in deutscher Sprache verfaßte. Betrachtet man vielmehr das Gesamtwerk Tolles, so kommt man bereits bei einem ersten Überblick zu einem Schluß: Den seit der Antike bestehende Zusammenhalt der drei Künste des Triviums der Freien Künste berücksichtigt Tolle noch im 17. Jahrhundert und wirkt mit seinen Schriften auch auf die Erhaltung dieses Bildungsideals in der Aufklärung. Darüber hinaus zeigen sich in Tolles Gesamtwerk die Einflüsse der Rhetorik bei der Verwendung ihrer terminologischen Begriffe auch

in Schriften anderer Disziplinen.¹⁴ Diese fachlichen Einflüsse aus der Rhetorik sind insbesondere beim Aufbau seiner Schriften hinsichtlich der stringenten Gliederung von Begriffen nach aristotelischen Schriften in den in einem Bande veröffentlichten Schriften *Ethica* und *Politica* zu erkennen. Beide Abhandlungen erscheinen zusammen mit Tolles lateinischer Übersetzung einer Rede von Dion Chrysostomos mit dem Titel *De felicitate* in den Jahren 1681 und 1708.¹⁵ Der Verfasser der *Rhetorica Gottingensis* hatte bereits im Jahre 1680 zur Benutzung am *Paedagogicum Gottingense* eine 85 Seiten umfassende Schrift mit dem Titel *Brevissimum logicae compendium* im Verlag von Joachim Henrik Schmidt herausgegeben. Rhetorische Begriffe beinhaltet auch dieses Kompendium über die Logik aus dem Jahre 1680 in den Abschnitten über die Sophismata der Rede (*dictio*) und die Örter (*loci*). So spricht Tolle von einer Figur (*figura*) der topischen Syllogismen (*sylogismi topici*). Aus der Affektenlehre der Rhetorik verwendet Tolle den Begriff *affectatio* in seiner Abhandlung *Propaedia mathematica* aus dem Jahre 1681.

Als Lehrstoff zur Schulung im Fache Beredsamkeit weist bereits die Überlieferung von antiken Schriftquellen in Tolles Schrift auf die Relevanz der lateinischen Terminologie für die Göttinger Rhetoriken der neu gegründeten Universität zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts hin. Johann Matthias Gesner (1691-1761) setzt seit dem Gründungsjahr der Universität 1734 diese Tradition der Göttinger Rhetorik an der Universität als Inhaber des ersten Lehrstuhl für Beredsamkeit und Poesie fort. In Hinblick auf ihre Berufung auf antike Quellen läßt sich eine Schrift wie die

¹⁴ Derartige interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen fehlen. Als ein Beitrag zur Beziehung zwischen Dichtung und Logik ist zu nennen: Klaus Petrus, *Logik und Lyrik um 1700. Philosophie in Literatur*, ed. by Christiane Schildknecht - Dieter Teichert (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1996), pp. 153-176. Als noch im 18. Jahrhundert erhaltene Handschriften Tolles werden ein *Logicum*, *Physicum*, *Chronologicum*, *Geographicum*, *Astronomicum* und *Politicum* genannt. Vgl. Anonymus, *Zeit und Geschicht-Beschreibung*, p. 111.

¹⁵ Vgl. als Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion von Rhetoriken aus dieser Zeit auch: Manfred Beetz, *Rhetorisches Textherstellen als Problemlösen. Ansätze zu einer linguistisch orientierten Rekonstruktion von Rhetoriken des 17. u. 18. Jh'*, tr. by Josef Kopperschmidt (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), pp. 155-193; Helmut Schanze, 'Transformationen der Rhetorik. Wege der Rhetorikgeschichte um 1800', *Rhetorik*, 12 (1993), 60-72. Untersuchungen zum Einfluß des Neulateins auf die deutschsprachige Rhetorikliteratur in dieser Zeit stehen aus. Aus dem Bereich der Dichtung sei hier genannt Erich Trunz, 'Der Übergang der Neulateiner zur deutschen Dichtung', in Id., *Deutsche Literatur zwischen Späthumanismus und Barock: Acht Studien* (München: Beck, 1995), pp. 207-227.

Initia rhetorica Johann August Ernestis mit Tolles *Rhetorica Gottingensis* vergleichen und den deutschsprachigen Rhetoriken ihrer Zeit gegenüber stellen. Dies ist insbesondere dort unübersehbar, wo sie nach der Vorlage von Quintilians Ausführungen in der *Institutio oratoria* im Abschnitt *de orationis objecto* in das *genus deliberativum*, *genus demonstrativum* und *genus iudiciale* für die Lob-, Beratungs- und Gerichtsrede untergliedert.¹⁶ In seiner Lehre von der Erfindung unterscheidet Quintilian als Quellen für die Beweisführung in diesen drei *genera rhetorices* bei einer Sache (*res*) und Person (*persona*) nach der jeweiligen Ursache (*causa*), Zeit (*tempus*), Ort (*locus*), Gelegenheit (*occasio*), Mittel (*instrumentum*) und Methode (*modus*).¹⁷ Ein Bereich dieser Lehre in der Rhetorik Ernestis, mit dem sich Veränderungen der Anwendung des Begriffs *genus* im 18. Jahrhundert andeuten, ist die besonderen Erfindung (*inventione speciali*) für den schriftlichen Brief (*epistola*) und die mündliche Rede (*oratio*). Das Streitgespräch (*disputatio*) ist nach antikem Vorbild in seine Einleitung (*exordium*), Erzählung (*narratio*), Vorstellung (*propositio*), Aufteilung (*partitio*), Bestätigung (*confirmatio*), Zurückweisung (*refutatio*) und die Schlußrede (*peroratio*) unterteilt. Auch hier sind die Orte (*loci*) Bestandteile in einer Topik für die allgemeine Erfindung (*inventio universa*) der erwähnten drei bereits für die antike Rhetorik vorbildlichen Redegattungen. Auch von Ernesti wird eine Aufgliederung der Reden nach Gattungen übernommen, wenn er für die Aussprache (*elocutio*) die *genera dicendi* nach den jeweiligen *loci* des *genus demonstrativum*, *genus deliberativum* und *genus iudiciale* untergliedert. Nach dem von Ernesti aufgezeigten Verfahren der *inventio universa* sind — ganz wie bei Tolle — die entsprechenden Orte nach ihrer jeweiligen Gattung hinsichtlich der Kategorien Affekt (*affectus*) und Sitten (*mores*) eines Menschen aufgegliedert.

Untergliederungen von Literatur nach *genera* verwenden auch die Nachlaßverzeichnisse von Gelehrtenbibliotheken, deren zeitgenössische lateinische Schlagworte für Sachgebiete der Schriften nach dem jeweiligen *doctrinarum genus* dienen. Diese Anwendung von rhetorischen Begriffen auf neue wissenschaftliche Bereiche scheint die Methoden und das Selbstverständnis von Wissenschaftlern in der Aufklärung zu dokumentieren. Die von Manfred Fuhrmann sicherlich für die Rhetorik als Einzeldisziplin zurecht geltend gemachte Bemerkung über ihren

¹⁶ Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria*, 3, 3, 14-15.

¹⁷ Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria*, 5, 10, 23.

Niedergang im 18. Jahrhundert läßt sich von einer anderen Seite, der interdisziplinär 'rhetorisierten' Sprache der Wissenschaftsliteratur, relativieren.¹⁸ In den jeweiligen Anwendungen von Gattungslehren der *genera dicendi* in Tolles *Rhetorica Gottingensis* wird sowohl die Varianz ihrer Bedeutungen als auch die Vielzahl ihrer Anwendungsbereich sichtlich. Die Schriften, die andere Disziplinen hervorbringen, haben eine große Bedeutung für den Fortbestand der Beredsamkeit. Bei Tolles Werk ist schon durch die Trennung einzelner Disziplinen der *artes liberales* wie Rhetorik und Logik ein solcher Austausch der Terminologie von Fachdisziplinen vorhanden. Die Rhetorikterminologie hat als Bestandteil für die Konstitution von Ordnungssystemen wissenschaftlicher Disziplinen eine grundlegende Autorität. Ihre Übernahme in der Fachterminologie anderer Disziplinen geht dabei mit einem Wissenschaftsideal einher, das im 17. Jahrhundert nach der antiken Ausbildung in den Freien Künsten realisiert wird.

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¹⁸ Manfred Fuhrmann, *Rhetorik und öffentliche Rede: Über die Ursachen des Verfalls der Rhetorik im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz: Universitäts-Verlag, 1983), pp. 22-24; Id., 'Rehabilitierung der Beredsamkeit und der Rhetorik. Dankrede', *Jahrbuch Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1990), pp. 59-62. Vgl. auch zur Entwicklung der Publikationsorgane der Gelehrtenrepublik in Deutschland Herbert Jaumann, 'Ratio clausa: Die Trennung von Erkenntnis und Kommunikation in gelehrten Abhandlungen um 1700 und der europäische Kontext', in *Res publica litteraria. Die Institution der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Sebastian Neumeister - Conrad Wiedemann, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), vol. 2, 409-30.

EIN NEUER VERGILKOMMENTAR DES 17. JAHRHUNDERTS?*

In der Mannheimer Universitätsbibliothek¹ befindet sich eine Ausgabe von Vergils Werken, gedruckt in Heidelberg im Jahre 1599, die wie der überwiegende Teil der dort vorhandenen alten Drucke, der Bibliothek des französischen Jesuitenpater François Joseph Terrasse Desbillons² entstammt.

Desbillons mußte im Zuge der Auflösung des Jesuitenordens in Frankreich im Jahre 1764 das Land verlassen und fand Aufnahme am Hofe des Kurfürsten Karl Theodor. Seine damals bereits etwa 9000 Bände umfassende Bibliothek wuchs bis zu seinem Tode auf etwa 17000 Bände an. Er vermachte sie teils der kurfürstlichen Bibliothek, teils dem Orden («Prêtres de la mission»), in dessen Konvent er lebte, und sie kam auf Umwegen an ihren heutigen Ort, kaum 250 m von ihrem einstigen Standort entfernt.³

Es handelt sich bei dem Vergiltext um eine nicht sehr spektakuläre Ausgabe im Okavformat, mit einem Vorwort des Judas Bonutius an Paulus Melissus Schedius (Schede) und einem Index versehen, nach Aussage des Herausgebers nach dem Vergilcodex der Bibliotheca Palatina.⁴ Ein Besitzervermerk weist es als Band aus der Bibliothek des François Guyet aus. Später geriet der Band dann, wie übrigens wohl fast alle Bücher aus dem Besitz eben dieses Guyet, zunächst in die Bibliothek

* Ich danke Wolfgang Schibel, der mich auf den Band aufmerksam gemacht hat, und von dem ich viel lernen konnte.

¹ Signatur L 324 D 91 a; vgl. *Katalog der Bibliothek Desbillons*, hrsg. von der Universitätsbibliothek Mannheim (Mannheim, 1986), Bd. 2, p. 1325.

² Des Billons laut Biographie des Prälaten Maillot de LaTreille: Maillot de LaTreille, *Notice de la vie et des ouvrages du Père Des Billons* (Strasbourg, 1790), p. 44. Maillot de LaTreille glaubt das Buch verloren; er berichtet ausführlich über Desbillons Besitzerstolz.

³ Vgl. W. Schibel, 'Mannheim 1', in *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*, hrsg. von B. Fabian, Bd. 8, 2: *Baden-Württemberg und Saarland I-S* (Hildesheim: Olms/Weidmann, 1994), pp. 132-140 und im Vorwort zum Katalog der Bibliothek (wie Anm. 1).

⁴ Vat. Pal. lat. 1631, Palatinus, aus dem 4. oder 5. Jahrhundert.

des Aegidius Menagius (Gilles Ménage) und dann an das Jesuitenkolleg in Paris. Dafür zeugt das Exlibris auf dem linken und ein weiterer Besitzervermerk auf dem rechten Vorblatt. Daß dieser Gelehrte die Hinterlassenschaft Guyets übernahm, wissen wir aber auch aus anderen Quellen. Desbillons hat neben dem vorliegenden Band zahlreiche weitere aus diesem Bestand erworben.⁵

Der Name François Guyet begegnet demjenigen, der sich für die humanistischen Klassikerausgaben und -kommentare interessiert, zwar nicht gerade sonderlich häufig. Einigen späthumanistischen Editionen aus der Mitte und dem Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts jedoch sind seine 'adnotationes' beigegeben, dem Terenz des Johann Heinrich Boekler (Straßburg 1657) und dem Phaedrus des Joh. Scheffer (1. Aufl. 1599, dann nachgedruckt). Es gibt ferner Ausgaben des Hesiod, Aesop, Sueton, Plautus, Achilles Tatius, Tibull, Statius, Persius und Juvenal und des Stephanus von Byzanz, die, sämtlich postum, seine Kommentare abdrucken.⁶

Im Druck existieren offenbar nur sein von ihm selbst im Jahre 1602 herausgegebenes Werk, dessen Titel 'Monobiblos' nicht ohne weiteres vermuten läßt, daß es sich um eine Sammlung von insgesamt vier kürzeren Gedichten nebst Vorspruch handelt, zwei davon in französischer Sprache. Einige wenige andere Gedichte werden in Briefen von Zeitgenossen zitiert. Außerdem gibt es ein Werk mit dem Titel 'Superstitio furens' auf den Tod Heinrichs des Großen aus dem Jahre 1610. Das ist alles, was gedruckt von François Guyet vorliegt, einem Mann, der in den einschlägigen Biographien⁷ als 'poète estimable, mais critique plus ingénieux que solide' bezeichnet wird. Über seine Lebensumstände sind wir durch zahlreiche Bemerkungen in den 'Historiettes des Tallemant' des Réaux informiert, durch Erwähnungen in Briefen von Zeitgenossen, sowie

⁵ Erwähnungen des Buches in Desbillons Vita des Jesuiten Postel: J. Desbillons, *Nouveaux Eclaircissements sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Guillaume Postel* (Liège, 1773), pp. 70-71. In Desbillons handschriftlichem Nachlaß, der sich ebenfalls im Besitz der Mannheimer Universitätsbibliothek befindet, sind Exzerpte aus den Noten überliefert.

⁶ Eine Ausgabe des Lukian habe ich noch nicht verifizieren können. Eine von Maillard (wie Anm. 7, p. 226) angeführte Vergilausgabe konnte ich nicht nachweisen. Die Zuschreibung eines satirischen Romans mit zeitkritischen Untertönen, *Gaeomemphion*, an ihn durch J. Desjardins (s. u. Anm. 8) wäre zu überprüfen.

⁷ *Biographie universelle ou dictionnaire de tous les hommes...d'après la biographie universelle ancienne et moderne de Michaud*, 18 (Bruxelles: Ode, 1857), p. 280. Vgl. J.-F. Maillard, *L'Europe des Humanistes: XIVe-XVIIe siècles* (Paris - Turnhout: CNRS Editions, 1995), pp. 226-7.

durch die umfangreiche *Vita*, die Portner (Periander Rhaetus) 1657, also zwei Jahre nach seinem Tod, für die Terenzausgabe verfaßt hat. Auf Portners Lebensbeschreibungen und auf aus Briefen gewonnenem Material basiert die umfängliche Biographie von Isaac Uri.⁸ Der Kreis um die Brüder Pierre (1582-1651) und Jacques (1586-1656) Du Puy (Puteanus), zu dem neben Guyet Literaten und Gelehrte wie Jacques-Auguste du Thou, Guez de Balzac, Jean Chapelain, Gilles Ménage gehörten, bildete unter dem Namen Cabinet eine feste Größe des Pariser Geisteslebens. Angesichts von Guyets Notizen zu Vergil wird zu fragen zu sein, ob es sich dabei tatsächlich um Notizen, also um bloße Lese Früchte, um zufällig hingeworfene Gedanken bei der Lektüre handelt oder um irgendwie systematische oder systematisierbare Bemerkungen, mit denen der Gelehrte seinen Text versehen hat, und die als Kommentar bezeichnet werden könnten.⁹

Zunächst zum äußeren Befund:

Die Annotierung erfolgt weitgehend gleichmäßig über die 412 Seiten des gedruckten Textes, also *Eklogen*, *Georgica* und *Aeneis*. Es gibt also keine Passagen des Textes, die von der Kommentierung ausgenommen wären. In den *Georgica* ist eine höhere Dichte der Randbemerkungen festzustellen.

Die Notizen sind mit Tinte und Feder angebracht. Anscheinend ist Guyet den Text mehrfach durchgegangen; das lassen Farb- und Strichunterschiede einzelner Anmerkungen vermuten. Er schreibt teils längere Bemerkungen auf Ober- und Unterrand einzelner Seiten, nutzt auch Einband und Vorblätter für grundsätzlichere Beobachtungen, teils versieht er den gedruckten Text mit Noten, selten interlinear, häufiger in margine oder auch durch ein System von verschiedenen Verweiszeichen der gemeinten Stelle des Textes zugeordnet. Fast immer schreibt er lateinisch, einzelne Wörter auch französisch.

Hinter einigen Anmerkungen sind Paraphen angebracht, feine 'G'. Die Paraphen stammen von Guyets eigener Hand und sind offenbar auch nicht nachträglich angebracht. Vermutlich hat der Gelehrte seine geistige

⁸ Isaac Uri, *Un cercle savant au XVII^e siècle: François Guyet (1575-1655)* (Paris: Hachette, 1886). Seine Lebensumstände sind erneut in der Übersetzung des *Gaeomemphion* von Juliette Desjardins zusammengetragen: François Guyet (?), *Le Roman Satirique de Gaeomemphion du Cantal*, trad. par J. Desjardins (Genève: Slatkine, 1972).

⁹ Vgl. dazu meine allgemeineren Ausführungen in 'Randnote, Glosse, Kommentar?: Der Vergiltext des François Guyet' in *Wechsel des Mediums*, hrsg. von W. Bernard (Rostock, 2001), und die dort angeführte Literatur.

Urheberschaft auf diese Weise dokumentiert, im Gegensatz zu Bemerkungen, die er aus vergleichend herangezogenen Manuskripten, Ausgaben oder Kommentaren, und zwar durchaus kritisch¹⁰ entnommen hat.

Auf 5 der hinteren Umschlagseiten sind einige längere Bemerkungen angebracht, teilweise Nachträge mit Verweis auf frühere Noten, teils unter Überschriften zusammengefaßt, wie 'loci insolubiles' und τὰ ἀπεικότα.

Der Umfang der Noten dürfte dem des annotierten Textes etwa gleichkommen.

Es soll nun versucht werden, einen Eindruck von der Qualität und Zielsetzung der Anmerkungen zu vermitteln. Es werden im folgenden überwiegend Beispiele aus dem 10. Buch der *Aeneis* gewählt; der durchgängige Vergleich mit einem beispielhaft ausgewählten modernen Kommentar¹¹ erweist sich als hilfreich für die Einordnung der Guyetschen Noten. Aufschlußreich ist auch der Vergleich mit etwa gleichzeitiger Kommentarliteratur, jedoch anders als vielleicht zunächst zu erwarten.¹² Mit Blick auf eine vorläufige Kategorisierung der verschiedenen Anmerkungen lassen sich bei Guyet folgende verschiedene Arten von Bemerkungen unterscheiden:

1. Ohne weiteres verständlich sind Anmerkungen, die der Verdeutlichung des Sinnes durch eine Paraphrase dienen (z.B. 10, 15: 'sinite: desinite' [genauso Harrison]) oder auch durch eine der Prosa näher stehende Umstellung der Worte eines Satzes oder der Satzperiode dienen. Diese Art der Erklärung begegnet auch bei den antiken Vergilkommentatoren, meist mit dem verdeutlichenden Zusatz 'ordo'. Hierher gehören auch Stellen, an denen der Kommentator ein ὕστερον-πρότερον notiert. Als Beispiel kann seine Paraphrase von V. 187f dienen:

10, 187: '(Cupavo) cuius olorinae surgunt de vertice pennae, crimen, Amor, vestrum, formaeque insigne paternae. namque ferunt...' (es folgt eine mythologische Digression). In der explicatio umschreibt auch La Cerda den Zusammenhang und erläutert durch eine Wiedergabe in lateinischer Prosa die erzählerische Funktion des Passus.

¹⁰ Vgl. die Kritik an Servius, z.B. zu 10, 107: 'secat. sequitur Serv., sed vocabulum nullius pretii et indignum Vergilio videtur'.

¹¹ Stephen Harrison, *Vergil: Aeneid 10* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

¹² Beispielhaft herangezogen wurde Juan Luis de la Cerda, *P. Virgilii Maronis Posteriores Sex Libri Aeneidos: Argumentis: Explicationibus Notis Illustrati* (Leiden: Cardon, 1617).

Guyet notiert: 'ordo: cuius pennae cristarum sunt insigne formae paternae, et vestrum crimen, o Amor; namque ferunt etc. Notandum est ὕστερον-πρότερον in illo versu; crimen Amor vestrum'. 'Die Federn auf dem Helm sind Zeichen der väterlichen Gestalt und deines Verbrechens, Amor'.

2. Zum Stil nimmt er Stellung mit der anschließenden Bemerkung: 'τὸ vestrum pro tuum positum est'. 'vestrum steht für tuum'. Generell notiert er Stilfiguren wie Metapher, Hypallage u.ä. (z.B. Metapher zu 10, 64, genau wie Harrison, und Hypallage, zu 10, 785, wobei er mehr zum Verständnis beiträgt als Harrisons Erläuterung) und erläutert mitunter auch metrische Fragen (z.B. zu 10, 862: welchen Einfluß hätte eine - auch von Harrison erwogene - Konjektur auf die Prosodie?).¹³

3. Auch das Heranziehen von Parallelstellen, seien es mögliche Vorbilder oder hilfreiche Bemerkungen zum sachlichen und sprachlichen Verständnis, ist übliche Kommentierungspraxis. So zitiert Guyet Pausanias anläßlich der Erwähnung des Volkes der Ligerer in V. 185. La Cerda verweist auf die Cynusgeschichte bei Ovid, ohne die Stelle zu zitieren. Auch der moderne Kommentator zieht hier Parallelstellen heran, um den Bekanntheitsgrad dieses Volksstammes im Rom der Zeit Vergils zu dokumentieren, allerdings nicht den griechischen Geographen, sondern anderes Material.

Die Breite der antiken Literatur, aus der der französische Gelehrte zitiert, ist erstaunlich. Leider lassen sich wegen seiner Zitierweise nicht immer alle Zitate verifizieren, denn Guyet verweist nur selten auf Buch- und Verszahlen, sondern auf die Seitenzahlen der ihm vorliegenden Textausgaben. Meist kann man die Parallele nachvollziehen, aber es ist mir noch nicht überall gelungen. So wäre es interessant herauszufinden, welche Stellen der *Anthologia Palatina*, die zu seiner Zeit in wissenschaftlichen Kreisen lebhaft diskutiert wurde,¹⁴ er zu Vers 38 ('nubibus') beibringt. Andere Kommentatoren kennen diese Parallele nicht. Jedenfalls

¹³ Generell hängt Guyet strengen metrischen Prinzipien an. So wird etwa aus den Anmerkungen zu Terenz deutlich, daß er Hiatus und Jambenkürzung im Senar und Septenar nicht zuläßt.

¹⁴ Nach der Auffindung des Manuskripts durch Claude Saumaise im Jahre 1607 wurde Guyet dessen Abschrift als einem der ersten Gelehrten bekannt und von ihm kopiert. Diese Kopie scheint mit einem Exemplar identisch zu sein, das sich heute in der Bibliothèque Nationale befindet (Fonds grec 2742, vgl. Uri, *Un cercle savant au XVIIe siècle: François Guyet (1575-1655)*, p. 122).

verfügte der Gelehrte des 17. Jahrhunderts offenbar über ausgezeichnete Griechischkenntnisse. Die letzte Arbeit, die ihn beschäftigte, soll Hesiod gewesen sein, und er zitiert diesen Autor ebenso geläufig wie Homer, aber, wie wir gesehen haben, auch Prosaautoren.

Guyet verweist für sprachliche, formale und inhaltliche Fragen aber nicht nur auf andere Autoren, sondern häufig innerhalb des Vergiltextes selbst, so z.B. gleich zu Beginn des Buches (10, 9) auf *Georg.*, 4, 84-85. Dieselbe Parallele für die Gliederung eines Satzgefüges durch 'aut hos - aut hos' bringt übrigens auch Harrison bei.

4. Diese letztgenannte Note Guyets endet mit der lakonischen Bemerkung: 'sed utrique spurii', er hält also sowohl *Aen.*, 10, 9-10 wie *Georg.*, 4, 84-85 für unecht. Dieses Urteil, das nicht weiter begründet wird, leitet über zu einem anderen Bereich, der Textkritik. Bereits den Zeitgenossen Guyets ist nicht entgangen, daß er sowohl mit Konjekturen als auch mit Athetesen auch für seine Epoche nicht gerade zurückhaltend war. Die Charakterisierung Desbillons' lautet: 'audacieux censeur, il condamne une infinité d'autres endroits des ouvrages de Virgile, et lui enleve plus d'un quart de ses vers...'.¹⁵ Zu dieser Einstellung bekennt er sich selbst freimütig.

5. Hier sind jetzt die ausführlicheren Notizen außerhalb des eigentlichen Textes hilfreich. Nach S. 412 unserer Vergiledition beschreibt er sein kritisches Prinzip: 'sola detractio Virgilio medicinam fecimus, de nostro nihil addimus'. 'Nur durch Wegnehmen haben wir den Vergil geheilt, nichts von uns hinzugefügt'. Dieses Verhalten, so betont er, steht im Gegensatz zu dem seiner Vorgänger. Er fühlt sich nämlich zu seinem Vorgehen um so mehr berechtigt, als ihm einerseits der unvollkommene Zustand des *Aeneistextes* und die antiken Zeugnisse dafür bekannt sind. Andererseits leitet ihn auch sein literarisches Gefühl bei der Einschätzung des Textzustands. Dafür geben Urteile Zeugnis wie wenn er sich an Wortwiederholungen stößt, z.B. zu 10, 27, wo er sich an der Wiederholung des Wortes 'nascentis' stößt. Beispielhaft erwähnt seinen neben dem sachlichen Anstoß an dem oben genannten Vers 10, 9 auch die Verurteilung des Gebrauchs des Verbums 'coruscare': zu 10, 651 führt er zunächst die Parallele *Aen.*, 8, 661 an, entscheidet dann aber: 'sed spurium utrumque versum... τὸ coruscare Vergilianum non verbum'.

¹⁵ Notiz im handschriftlichen Nachlaß (Universitätsbibliothek Mannheim).

Zum 5. Buch notiert er (6. Seite nach 412): 'Liber V omnium imperfectissimus videtur'. Das Vorhandensein zahlreicher Interpolationen im Vergiltext wird so erklärt: 'Aeneidos opus totum pedestri Sermone a Virgilio adumbratum fuisse videtur, antequam versibus scribendis operam daret. Ex illa operis designatione Tucca et Varius multa imperfecta relictta passim supplevisse videntur, in V et VI praecipue'. 'Die *Aeneis* als ganze wurde von Vergil zunächst in Prosa vorschattiert, bevor er sich ans Verseschreiben machte. Angesichts dieses Befundes haben offenbar die antiken Herausgeber und Kommentatoren das unvollendet Hinterlassene Werk ergänzt...' Diese Nachricht findet, so Guyet, ihre Bestätigung bei Servius: 'Tucca et Varius quaedam in Virgillii carminibus immutarunt: Servius ad 7. Aen. versum 464 (exultantque aestu latices...)'. 'Die antiken Kommentatoren hätten etliches verändert'. Und weiter erläutert er das Vorgehen der antiken Interpolatoren: 'Inter supposititios versus quidam boni reperiuntur, quos pseudomarones (e Virgillii schediis collectos) tamquam gemmas suis inseruerunt ut fidem astruerent suis emblematis'. 'Wenn man denn unter den interpolierten Versen gelungene findet, dann sind das wohl solche aus dem Nachlaß (pseudomarones), die sie wie Edelsteine eingefügt haben, um ihre Fälschungen glaubhafter zu machen'.

Das Bemühen der zeitgenössischen und vorangegangenen Kritiker hält er für fruchtlos, obwohl er ihnen immerhin eine gewisse Raffinesse bei der Texterstellung zuerkennt: 'interpretatores, ut Virgilium cautius simularent etiam versus quosdam imperfectos reliquerunt'. 'Sie hätten um vorsichtigerer Nachahmung willen einige unvollendete Verse belassen'. Jedenfalls führen diese prinzipiellen Erwägungen Guyet dazu, seinen Text offenbar nicht nur anhand anderer Editionen, sondern auch an Manuskripten zu überprüfen. Er nennt den Romanus, also den Kodex R, Vaticanus latinus 3867; dieser befand sich zeitweise in St. Denis und eine von ihm abstammende Handschrift befindet sich nach wie vor in Paris. Möglicherweise hatte er auch Zugang zu Handschriften während seines Aufenthaltes in Rom im Jahre 1609.

Er notiert abweichende Lesarten und auch bereits vorgeschlagene Konjekturen (z.B. des Pierius¹⁶) und schlägt selbst zahlreiche Verbesserungen des Textes vor. Darüber hinaus erklärt er zahlreiche Verse für

¹⁶ Pierius Valerianus (1477-1558), vgl. Maillard, *L'Europe des Humanistes*, pp. 415-16; und jetzt Julia Haig Gaisser, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men. A Renaissance Humanist and his World*, Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

nicht vergilisch, 'spurii, suppositiui' oder zumindest für verdächtig (z.B. 'locus examinandus'), und nicht nur einzelne Verse, sondern größere Passagen. So hält er die ganze 4. und die 7. *Ekloge* für unecht, und auch der Text des 10. Gesanges der *Aeneis* beginnt für ihn authentisch erst in 10, 146: 'hic liber X incipere videtur'. Nun wird man sich einer derart radikalen Methode natürlich heute noch weniger als damals anschließen.¹⁷ Aber Eingriffe in den Text deuten in aller Regel auf eine Verständnisschwierigkeit hin. Betrachtet man Guyets sezierende Maßnahmen unter diesem Gesichtspunkt, wird man feststellen, daß er tatsächlich an den meisten Stellen seinen Finger auf auch von modernen Herausgebern nicht geheilte Schwierigkeiten oder gar Korruptelen gelegt hat, und daß auch die größeren Eingriffe, also die Athetesen, häufig an Stellen geschehen, an denen auch der moderne Kommentator Anlaß sah, Überlegungen zur Struktur und zum gedanklichem Aufbau anzubringen. Natürlich schlägt Harrison nichts vor, was einer Athetese etwa der gesamten Götterversammlung zu Beginn des 10. Buches gleichkäme. Aber auch er muß konstatieren, daß diese Götterversammlung ein Unikum in der ganzen *Aeneis* darstellt gegenüber fünf vergleichbaren Szenen in der *Ilias*, daß der Passus 10, 146-162, also nach der Götterversammlung und vor Beginn des Rutulerkatalogs, Übergangscharakter besitzt ('bridge-passage'), während die Verse 10, 118-145 Ereignisse schildern, die zeitgleich mit dem Götterrat zu denken sind. Die Athetese Guyets ist also sicherlich nicht willkürlich, sondern greift an einer Stelle in den Text ein, an der sich dem Leser eine Reihe von interpretatorischen Schwierigkeiten stellen. Ich denke, die Vorschläge Guyets zur Textherstellung werden sich in der Zusammenschau nicht als bloße Kuriosität, als Zeugnis der Launen eines verschrobenen Gelehrten erweisen, sondern Anstöße zu strukturellen Fragen vermitteln.¹⁸

6. Ähnliches gilt für die Bemerkungen, die Guyet zu inhaltlichen Fragen anbringt. Als Beispiel für den Scharfsinn, mit dem er tatsächlich Ungeheimtheiten oder wenigstens Schwierigkeiten des von uns häufig als sakrosankt betrachteten Textes aufspießt, diene seine Bemerkung zu V. 10, 638. Es geht um das Trugbild, das Juno von Aeneas herstellt, um

¹⁷ Sie scheint schon den Zeitgenossen extrem. Du Puys Ausspruch, Guyet möge sich doch nicht nur dem Vergil, sondern auch seinem Brevier mit demselben 'impetus' widmen, das würde ihm das Leben sehr erleichtern, wird in der *Vita* zitiert.

¹⁸ Vgl. etwa die Bemerkungen E. Courtney's von 1981 zum Vergiltext 'The formation of the Text of Virgil', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 28 (1981), pp. 13-19.

die finale Begegnung zwischen Aeneas und Turnus aufzuschieben. Turnus unterliegt dem Trug, läßt sich ablenken und ist somit vorerst in Sicherheit. Ungeachtet der offensichtlichen Homernachahmung hat doch die Vergilkritik ein gewisses Unbehagen über den dramatischen Trick nicht ganz unterdrücken können, mit dem hier in einem Augenblick emotionaler Hochspannung gewissermaßen die Luft herausgelassen wird. Guyet schreibt: 'figmentum istud et Aeneae virtute indignum est et stylo Virgiliano'. 'Diese Erfindung ist sowohl Aeneas' Tapferkeit als auch Vergils Stiles unwürdig'. Unwahrscheinlich scheint ihm etwa auch in der das Buch abschließenden kämpferischen Auseinandersetzung die Tatsache, daß ein schwer Verwundeter sein Pferd besteigt und weiterkämpft (zu 868), oder er kritisiert in derselben Szene die verkürzte Ausdrucksweise des Dichters (zu 858: 'quae vis? doloris scil. Sed hoc exprimi debuit!'). Eine ganze Reihe von ähnlichen Kritikpunkten faßt er gesondert unter der Überschrift 'τὰ ἀπεικότα' zusammen.

7. Eine letzte Gruppe von Bemerkungen sei noch kurz vorgestellt. An zahlreichen Stellen macht Guyet Bemerkungen zur Etymologie eines Wortes, insbesondere von Namen. Hier bietet der Truppenkatalog natürlich viel Material. Guyet verweist nicht nur für Namen wie Menestheus (10, 129, vgl. Harrison zur St.) auf Homer, er stellt auch seine eigenen Überlegungen an. So versucht er zu 10, 173 den Namen *Ilva* aus dem Griechischen (*ἰλβα, ὕλβα) abzuleiten. Ähnlich wird *Chalybum* (174) von κυπῆ abgeleitet; zu *Graviscæ* (184) zieht er ebenso wie sein moderner Kollege eine etymologische Erklärung bei. Beide zitieren wohl aus Servius, der seinerseits auf die bereits von Cato unternommene etymologische Deutung verweist ('ideo Graviscæ dictæ sunt, quod gravem aerem sustineant'). Dieser Ableitung läßt Guyet aber noch mehrere Analogien folgen ('A gravis Graviscus...sic a Romanus Romaniscus...levis, leviscus'). Zahlreiche andere Beispiele für Guyets sprachliches Interesse könnte man noch anführen. Dieses Interesse erscheint in einem deutlicheren Licht, wenn wir die Nachricht aus seiner *Vita* daneben halten, er habe lebenslang an einem Werk über den Ursprung der lateinischen Sprache gearbeitet. Der Biograph Portner bedauert, daß er über eine Materialsammlung nicht hinausgekommen sei. Das Ziel seiner Arbeiten sei es gewesen nachzuweisen, daß die lateinische Sprache aus der griechischen hervorgegangen sei. Mit einer solchen Auffassung befindet sich Guyet ganz auf der Höhe seiner Zeit, in der diese Art genetische Sprachgeschichte die Norm war. Es läßt sich also aus dem dem

Vergil beigegebenen Material einiges von der geplanten Schrift rekonstruieren. Sein linguistisches Interesse wird auch deutlich aus seiner Beschäftigung mit Hesych und vor allem einem Traktat über die 'conversion des lettres', die Entwicklung der Laute, das Ménage später seinem eigenen Werk zu den Ursprüngen der französischen Sprache ('Les origines de la langue française' von 1650, 1694 als 'Dictionnaire étymologique' herausgegeben) vorangestellt hat.

Diese kurzen Beispiele aus den Bemerkungen Guyets zum Vergiltexst sollen genügen, um die verschiedenen Fragestellungen zu illustrieren. Zusammenfassend läßt sich bereits anhand dieser wenigen Beispiele das Urteil fällen, daß wir es hier mit den Früchten der Arbeit eines genauen Kenners der lateinischen Sprache und des kommentierten Autors zu tun haben. Seine Noten zeugen von Scharfsinn, Unerschrockenheit und Originalität. Erstaunlich ist die Tatsache, daß die von Guyet aufgeworfenen Fragestellungen mehr Nähe zu modernen als zum zeitgenössischen Kommentar aufweisen. Guyet hat nicht ihm vorliegendes Kommentarmaterial exzerpiert, sondern eigenständig gearbeitet.

Es ist vorgesehen, die Noten in näherer Zukunft schrittweise ganz zu edieren. Dabei wird es nicht nur darum gehen, dem heutigen Leser die Resultate der Arbeit eines Gelehrten, in diesem Falle die Früchte von Guyets intensiver Auseinandersetzung mit der antiken Literatur zu präsentieren. Die sorgfältige Analyse dieser und anderer annotierter Ausgaben¹⁹ dient auch allgemeineren Anliegen²⁰, denn sie trägt einerseits dazu bei, die Klassikerrezeption einer bestimmten Epoche konkret werden zu lassen. Im vorliegenden Fall liegen Zusatzinformationen durch die *Vita* und die erhaltenen Briefe vor; ferner bieten die Aufzeichnungen Desbillons zu Guyets philologischen Arbeiten ein weiterführendes Dokument der Wirkungsgeschichte. Andererseits lassen sich aus dem Material weiterführende Erkenntnisse über die Gattung des Kommentars und die Kommentierungspraxis gewinnen. Insofern wird eine Edition auch beitragen zu den Versuchen, zu einer Definition des Kommentars und zu einer erschöpfenderen Beschreibung der Kommentarformen zu gelangen.²¹

¹⁹ Leider ist der Klage A. Graftons, 'Printed books with marginal annotations... fall into a black hole among the bright constellations of the modern philological disciplines...' nach wie vor berechtigt: Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 142-3.

²⁰ Dazu ausführlicher in Verf., Randnote, s.o. Anm. 9.

²¹ Zur Thematik vgl. bereits A. Buck in der Einführung in den Band *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, hrsg. von A. Buck und O. Herding, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft,

Gattungsgeschichtliche Einsichten also, genauere Kenntnis von der Klassikerlektüre im Paris der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts und bisweilen überraschende und anregende Sichtweisen von Vergil lassen die Beschäftigung mit Guyets Noten lohnend erscheinen.

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Kommission für Humanismus Mitteilung 1, (Bonn: Boldt, 1975), pp. 7-19. Wichtige Beiträge aus jüngerer Zeit: P. Zumthor, 'La glose créatrice', in *Les commentaires et la naissance de la critique littéraire: France/Italie (XIVe-XVIe siècles): Actes du Colloque international sur le Commentaire* <Paris, 1988>, prés. par G. Mathieu-Castellani et M. Plaisance (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1990), pp. 11-18 und Karlheinz Stierle, 'Les lieux du commentaire', ebda. pp. 19-29. Vgl. auch die in dem Band *Kommentierungsverfahren und Kommentarformen* angestellten Überlegungen (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), hrsg. von G. Martens (= editio Beihefte, 5) und jetzt G. Most, 'Preface' zu: *Commentaries - Kommentare*, hrsg. von G. Most (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999) (=Aporemata, 4) und die dort gesammelten Beiträge.

Dries VANYSACKER

THE IMPACT OF HUMANISTS ON WITCHCRAFT PROSECUTIONS IN 16th AND 17th-CENTURY BRUGES*

1. Introduction

Like most European regions, the Southern Netherlands experienced witch-hunts during the 16th and 17th centuries.¹ Recent research has shown that the intensity of these witch-hunts (number of prosecutions / total number of population) was not as high as is often assumed, and that the central authorities rather prohibited than stimulated witchcraft prosecutions. The essential difference between the Southern Netherlands and the so-called witch-free Northern Republic is chronological. Whereas the witch-hunts in the Dutch Republic ended around 1600, most of the Southern witches were trialed after 1600.²

* I wish to express my gratitude towards several persons who contributed in a considerable way to improve my text. Marcel Haverals, Prof. Dr. Dirk Sacré and Prof. Dr. Gilbert Tournoy helped me to assure the quality of the Latin extracts, while Dr. Steven Vanden Broecke and Prof. Dr. R. Young improved the translation of my article into English. I am grateful to Dr. Jan Papy for his information on the relations between Lipsius and Delrio.

¹ For general overviews with bibliographical references, see, among others, Willem de Blécourt – Hans de Waardt, 'Das Vordringen der Zaubereiverfolgungen in die Niederlande: Rhein, Maas und Schelde entlang', in *Ketzer, Zauberer, Hexen: Die Anfänge der europäischen Hexenverfolgungen*, ed. by A. Blauert (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1990), pp. 182-216; Jos Monballyu, *Van hekserij beschuldigd: Heksenprocessen in Vlaanderen tijdens de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Heule: UGA, 1996); *La sorcellerie dans les Pays-Bas: De hekserij in de Nederlanden*, ed. by S. Dupont-Bouchat, Anciens Pays et Assemblées d'États, Standen en Landen, 86 (Heule: UGA, 1987); Fernand Vanhemelryck, *Het gevecht met de duivel: Heksen in Vlaanderen* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1999).

² The Northern Netherlands had around 160 witches prosecuted between 1450 and 1800; see Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra, 'Hoofdlijnen en interpretaties van Nederlandse toverij en hekserij', in *Nederland betoverd: Toverij en Hekserij van de veertiende tot in de twintigste eeuw*, ed. M. Gijswijt-Hofstra – W. Frijhoff (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987), pp. 256-279 (pp. 274-275). The Southern Netherlands (with Roermond, Namur, Luxemburg, Limburg, Hainault, and Cambray) probably had 922 victims. The Flemish-speaking part (with ca. 314 executions) was less contaminated than the French- and German-speaking part (ca. 608 executions); see Dries Vanyssacker, 'Het aandeel van

In this article we concentrate on witchcraft prosecutions in the city of Bruges. The available source material stretches roughly from the mid-fifteenth century to the 1680's.³ Our choice for the city of Bruges is not an accidental one. Notwithstanding recent counter examples,⁴ witchcraft is too often considered by some historians as a rural phenomenon. The fact that a medium-sized city as Bruges also knew witch-hunts strongly questions the supposed opposition between the cultural life of a city and that of rural communities. This contribution mainly intends to show that the so-called progressive humanists who ruled at the end of the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th century the city of Bruges, often stimulated the witchcraft prosecutions. Before we start our case-study, we need to clarify the meaning of the word witchcraft.

2. The Definition of witchcraft

This is no simple task, since contemporaries themselves assigned different meanings to the word, and since they also used many other terms as equivalents.⁵ When early modern Europeans used the word 'witchcraft' (in Dutch: *tooverye*), they were almost always referring to either or both of two types of activity.⁶

de Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de Europese heksenvervolging (1450-1685). Een status quaestionis', *Trajecta*, 9 (2000), 329-349. Flanders had ca. 260 witch-trials with 202 witches burnt at the stake. The last execution dates from 1684; see J. Monballyu, 'Die Hexenprozesse in der Grafschaft Flandern, 1495-1692: Chronologie, Geographie und Verfahren', (to appear) in *Hexenprozesse und Gerichtspraxis*, ed. H. Eiden – G. Franz – F. Irsigler – R. Voltmer, *Trierer Hexenprozesse: Quellen und Darstellungen*, 7 (Trier: Spee, 2001).

³ Dries Vanysacker, *Hekserij in Brugge: De magische leefwereld van een stadsbevolking, 16de-17de eeuw*, Vlaamse Historische Studies uitgegeven door het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis "Société d'Émulation" te Brugge, 5 (Brugge: Van de Wiele-Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, 1988) and Id., *Heksenprocessen in de stad Brugge (XVIde-XVIIde eeuw)*, 2 vols. (unpublished doctoral diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1985).

⁴ Johannes Dillinger, 'Hexenverfolgungen in Städten', in *Methoden und Konzepte der historischen Hexenforschung*, ed. by G. Franz – F. Irsigler – H. Eiden – R. Voltmer, *Trierer Hexenprozesse: Quellen und Darstellungen*, 4 (Trier: Spee, 1998), pp. 129-165.

⁵ Besides the terms *tooveresse* and *tooveraer*, Bruges inhabitants also used the term *olievlecke* (oil stain). We found the term *beheksen* only once. The fact that the person who used this term quickly added the current equivalent *betoveren*, proves that the nowadays currently used Dutch term *heks* was not yet generally adopted in those days (witness Betkin De Grave dd. 20 May 1634, Bruges, State Archives, *Stad Brugge*, Criminele Examinatieboucken, 666, fol. 150v-151r).

⁶ Brian P. Levack, *The witch-hunt in early modern Europe* (London - New York: Longman, 1988), pp. 4-10.

Popular or universal witchcraft

The first was the practice of harmful, black or maleficent magic, the performance of harmful deeds by means of some sort of extraordinary, mysterious, occult, preternatural or supernatural power. The Dutch equivalent of this kind of witchcraft is *schadelijke toverij*. This type of witchcraft, also known by the historians as popular or universal witchcraft, would include the killing of a person by piercing a doll made in his image, inflicting sickness on a child by touching it, bringing down hail on crops, causing impotence in a bridegroom... These acts were usually referred to in Latin as *maleficia*. The agents of these deeds were usually referred to as *malefici* or *maleficae*, words that were commonly used to identify witches during the late medieval and early modern periods. It was in the performance of *maleficia* that European witchcraft most closely resembled the practice of witchcraft in primitive and non-European societies today. In all witch-believing societies witches are regarded as individuals who possess some sort of extraordinary or mysterious power to perform evil deeds.

The cumulative concept of witchcraft

The performance of *maleficium* is only one of the two types of activity contained in the early modern European definition of witchcraft. The second concerned the relationship that existed between a secret, conspiratorial body of witches and the Devil, the supernatural foe of the Christian God. This notion of witchcraft, called the cumulative concept of witchcraft or demonological witchcraft, was unique to Western Latin Christian civilization and its derivative cultures. It was chronologically limited to 1450-1800, with 1560-1650 as a peak of real witch-craze. Essential elements of that type of witchcraft are, besides the harmful performance of *maleficium*, the Pact with the Devil, the copulation (sexual intercourse) with the Devil, the witches' sabbath and the witches' membership of a secret, conspiratorial body organized and headed by Satan. These witches were believed to be almost exclusively women.

We will encounter these two types of witchcraft during the following overview of witchcraft prosecutions in Bruges. Which type of witchcraft emerged at what trial was dependent upon the Aldermen, their familiarity with the demonological theories and upon their final interpretation of the witch-crime.

3. Witchcraft Prosecutions in Bruges (1468-1687)

Facts and Numbers

Without going into detail, we can state that during the early modern history of Bruges, stretching from 1468 to 1687, 66 persons were tried by the secular city bench of Aldermen for the crime of witchcraft.⁷ Eighteen of these individuals were executed: sixteen women were burnt at the stake, fifteen of them as a demonological witch, one as a harmful *maleficia*, since she had poisoned a person to death. Two other individuals got the death sentence for crimes related to witchcraft: a female child-killer was garroted at the stake and a counterfeiter-alchemist was thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil. The other 48 persons concerned were exposed or banished for popular witchcraft.

A closer look at the evolution of the witchcraft prosecutions within the city of Bruges enables us to discern some periods of intensive hunts, especially in the years 1468, 1532-38, 1543-47, 1589-96, 1605, 1612, 1618-20, 1629, 1633-36 and 1638-44. Still, we should not regard these trials in monolithic terms. As was stated before, the popular witchcraft concept was used at one time, the cumulative concept at another. An overview of witchcraft prosecutions implicates that a researcher may and can not pass over the judges' attitude, since they got the last word in the final interpretation of the witch-crime. But who were these judges in Bruges?

The Aldermen of the city of Bruges

While going through the existing literature on the competence of the Aldermen during Modern Age (ca. 1500-1800), it may be striking that a university degree of lawyer was not a prerequisite. The Aldermen belonged to the category of popular magistrates and had to learn their judicial task on the field. This was the case for the majority of the twelve, yearly chosen, Aldermen of Bruges.⁸ During the second half of

⁷ Vanyssacker, *Hekserij in Brugge*, pp. 69-81.

⁸ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Ukkelse schepenen en Universitaire Studies in de xvi^e eeuw', *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, 59 (1976), 200-226; Ead., 'De universitaire vorming van de Brabantse stadsmagistraat en stadsfunctionarissen – Leuven en Antwerpen, 1430-1580', in *Verslagboek Vijfde Colloquium De Brabantse Stad* ('s-Hertogenbosch,

the 16th century only twenty percent of the magistrate had a university degree. Compared to the magistrate of Louvain and Antwerp this average was remarkable low. The shortage of academic staff was met by trained legal advisors (*pensionarissen*), among whom the first *pensionaris*, who constantly gave verbal and written assistance to the magistrate and signed every document sent to higher courts, and the *pensionaris van den vangenisse* (prison, jail), responsible for tracking criminals and for assisting the Aldermen during the cross-examinations.⁹

Besides this, we have to take into account the fact that the judges were popular magistrates who had their seat in the benches of Aldermen. This court also regularly altered composition — in Bruges every year. This city-court thus often changed its opinion on the prosecution of witchcraft, since decisions about the final penalty in criminal trials had to be taken by the majority of the twelve aldermen. One cannot discern a linear evolution in their position towards the witch-crime... Periods of demonological obsession (1532, 1589-96, 1605, 1612 and 1633-36) alternated with periods of incomprehension or scepticism (1550-88, 1612-30). Only after 1642, traces of a certain change of mentality appear among the Aldermen of Bruges. From that moment on, they apparently did not believe any more in the cumulative concept of witchcraft.

It is striking that nine members of the bench of Aldermen from the years 1642-44 previously were members of the city court in the years when four women were burnt at the stake as demonological witches (1633-35). During this witchcraze, the same judges helped to decide upon a death sentence because of a Pact with the Devil, while ten years later they seemed to cast doubt on the reality of such a diabolical Pact...

Witchcraft prosecution within the city of Bruges did not know a linear development, but on the contrary jerked along. This phenomenon of course raises many questions: why such an evolution? Why this continuously changing attitude of the Bench of Aldermen towards witch-crimes? Why did the judges now consider their 'victim' as a popular *malefica*, but as an attendant of the Devil at other times? Particular

1978), pp. 21-125; Peter A. Vandermeersch, *Een onderzoek naar de relatie stad-universiteit in de periode van het late humanisme: Bruggelingen te Leuven en aan buitenlandse Studia*, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral diss., Universiteit Gent, 1983).

⁹ On the magistrate of Bruges and its jurisdictional competention, see Joost de Damhouder, *De Magnificentia Politiae civitatis Brugarum* (Antwerp, 1564); Id., *Vande Grootdadigheyt der Brughsche Stadts-Regeringhe* (Amsterdam, 1684); Jan A. Van Houtte, *De geschiedenis van Brugge* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1982), pp. 289-324 and Vanysacker, *Heksenprocessen*, pp. 15-21 and 263-267.

cases, like that of a certain Magdaleene Ledau, illustrate this equivocality. In 1592 she was sent away with a warning and with the order to foreswear her eventual pact with the Devil, after she had confessed on the rack to have contact with a mysterious white man. Four years later, during the witchcraze of 1596, she was burnt at the stake for the same facts.¹⁰

4. The Impact of the Humanists of Bruges on Witchcraft Prosecutions

The Athens of the Low Countries

Notwithstanding the decline of Bruges as a trade centre in the 15th century, and the wars and epidemics of plague which struck the city during the second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, the influence of humanism and the renewed interest in science upon the city should not be underestimated.¹¹ Did not Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam¹² and Justus Lipsius¹³ call Bruges the ‘Athens of the Low Countries’?

¹⁰ Bruges, State Archives, *Stad Brugge*, Criminele Examinatieboucken, 620 BIS, fol. 129v; Brussels, General State Archives, *Rekenkamer*, nr. 13.789, Schoutsrekening Brugge 1593-1596, f. 10r (see also Vanysacker, *Heksenprocessen*, pp. 145-146).

¹¹ A. Dewitte, ‘Het humanisme te Brugge: Een overtrokken begrip?’, *Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis. Handelingen*, 27 (1973), 5-26; Id., ‘Brugge in de 16de eeuw: Een cultuurhistorisch essay’, *Biekorf*, 92 (1992), 291-306; Noël Geirnaert – Ludo Vandamme, ‘Cultuur en mentaliteit’, in *Brugge en de Renaissance: Van Memling tot Pourbus*, ed. M.P.J. Martens (Brugge: Stichting Kunstboek/Ludion, 1998), pp. 33-42; Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, ‘Brugge en het Europees humanisme’, in *Brugge en Europa*, ed. V. Lambert – J. Van Keymeulen – V. Vermeersch (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 1992), pp. 253-265; Gilbert Tournoy, ‘Het humanisme in Vlaanderen, 15e – 17e eeuw’, in *Stad in Vlaanderen: Cultuur en maatschappij 1477-1787*, ed. Jan Van der Stock (Brussel, 1991), pp. 195-207; Jan Albrecht Van Houtte, *Bruges: Essai d'histoire urbaine*, Collection Notre Passé (Brussel, 1967), pp. 94-96; Id., *De geschiedenis van Brugge*, pp. 377-415; Peter Vandermeersch, ‘Revue des travaux sur l’humanisme dans les anciens Pays-Bas de 1969 à 1986’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 50 (1988), 125-140; André Vandewalle – Ludo Vandamme, ‘Het Spaanse Brugge, 1490-1600’, in *Brugge: De geschiedenis van een Europese stad*, ed. M. Ryckaert – A. Vandewalle – J. D’hondt – N. Geirnaert – L. Vandamme (Tielt: Lannoo, 1999), pp. 113-139 and (bibliography) pp. 219-220. For more bio-bibliographical information on the humanists in this chapter, see the abovementioned articles and books; Vanysacker, *Hekserij in Brugge*, pp. 182-185 (notes 105-113) and Id., *Heksenprocessen*, pp. 11-13 and 256-262.

¹² Letter from Erasmus to Leonard Casembroot (Basle, 4 october 1525): “Solent Brugae tuae gignere ingenia felicissima planeque Atticis simillima”. See P.S. Allen – H.M. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. VI (1525-1527) (Oxford: University Press, 1926), 190-191, no. 1626.

¹³ Lipsius wrote this in his *Lovanium* (Antwerp, 1605) and in his *Epistolicae Quaestiones* (Antwerp, 1577), II, 1 (Letter to Marcus and Guido Laurinus). See Jan Papy, *Justus*

From the late 15th century until the retake by Farnese in 1584, humanistic ideas were actively fostered in Bruges. Individuals like Jerome Laurin and Lodewijk van Gruuthuse (ca. 1422-1492) had initially supported the movement at the end of the century, while the chapterschools, and especially the school of St. Donatian, at that time taught the lecture and study of the Classics. The *bonae litterae* had their prime during the 16th century. The level of teaching within the schools of Bruges, the three chapterschools as well as the private schools, reached its summit. From the 1520's on, the chapterschools explicitly derived inspiration from the pedagogical handbooks of Erasmus. The principals of the schools and the dean of the Chapter of Sint-Donaas, Marc Laurin (1488-1540), were personal friends of the latter. Private teachers such as the Spanish educationalist Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), Jacques de Meyere (1491-1552), Joris Cassant (Cassander) (1514-1566) and Jacobus Crucquius, produced most reknown philosophical, theological, historical and philological work. These efforts were rewarded in 1541, when Jan de Witte (1475-1540) founded his *Illustre School* (the *gymnasium pietatis*), where Greek — after it had been taught for 20 years in the schools of Bruges — earned a place in the basic curriculum of the *bonae et sacrae litterae*. After their studies in Bruges, the talented students could continue at the universities of Louvain and Douai or at French universities.

Bruges got several personalities in Latin poetry and prose. In the first group we think of Jan Lernout (Lernutius) (1545-1619), Olivier de Wree (Vredius) (1596-1652) and Jan Ottho (†1581). In the second group, the prose-writers, we name bishop Pieter de Corte (Petrus Curtius) (1491-1567), Bonaventura de Smet (Vulcanius) (1538-1615), Jacques de Meyere, again Olivier de Wree, Antoon Scoonhove (Van Schoonhove) (ca. 1500-1557), Jacob Crucquius and Franciscus Modius (1556-1597), who each of them excelled in the field of history, philology and theology. Besides we think of the publications of Frans (Van) Cranevelt (1485-1564), Jacques de Corte (Jacobus Curtius) (1505-1567), Joost de Damhouder (1507-1581) and Jacobus Reyvaert (1534-1568); we mention Simon Stevin (1548-1620) in the field of the exact sciences and we do not forget physicians like Cornelis de Baersdorp, personal physician to Charles V, and William Pantin (†1582).

Lipsius, Leuven: Beschrijving van de stad en haar universiteit (Leuven: Universitaire Pers, 2000), p. 283, note 20 and A. Dewitte, 'Justus Lipsius en Brugge (1564-1606)', *Het Brugs Ommeland*, 1 (1961), 2-18.

After the intellectual rift of 1584, when several leading individuals of this humanistic movement went into exile, the high level of Bruges literacy and the scientific culture got a heavy blow. The ‘convulsions’ of the *Athenae Belgicae* lasted until the midst of the 17th century.

Important for the Bruges humanists was their involvement with the city. The humanistic ideal, from Cicero, which says that the essence of virtue exists of public spirit and civic sense, was realized. Indeed, several of the abovementioned humanists were a member of the magistrate as an alderman or above all as a *pensionaris*, a function seen as a springboard for their further career. The most important ones were Joost de Damhouder, Jacques de Corte, Jan de Wree (Vredius) (1567-1607), Jan Lernout, Olivier de Wree and the latter’s brother Jan de Wree (Vredius) Junior (†1634). These individuals were of great importance for the acquaintance of the magistrate of Bruges with the demonological tracts. They were open to the literature and sciences of their time, and most of them would have known, in their capacity as licentiate in both laws, the learned treatises on demonological witchcraft. One of them, Joost de Damhouder (Bruges, 25 November 1507 - Antwerp, 22 January 1581)¹⁴, lawyer and licentiate of both Laws after studies in Louvain and Orléans, composed a kind of witchcraft theory on the basis of literature and personal experiences.¹⁵

¹⁴ Damhouder was alderman of the City of Bruges from 2 September 1532 until 2 September 1533 (Bruges, Archives of the City, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing* 1503-1532, f. 252r); Head of ‘het Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe Zestendeel’ (= one of the six districts of Bruges) from 2 Sept. 1535 until 2 Sept. 1536 (Bruges, Archives of the City, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing* 1535-1571, f. 2v); *pensionaris* from 1537 until 1550; and registrar criminal (*griffiercrimineel*) from 1550 until 1552. On Damhouder, who presents himself as a Doctor of both Laws, and his function as member of the Financial Council since 1552, see, among others, Jos Monballyu – Jozef Dauwe, *Joos de Damhouder (1507-1581) en zijn “Practycke ende handbouck in criminele zaeken”*, *Practycke ende handbouck in criminele zaeken door Joos de Damhouder* (Roeselare, 1981) (Epilogue); E.I. Strubbe, ‘Joos De Damhouder als criminalist’, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 38 (1970), 1-65 (pp. 9-19) and L. Gilliodts-van Severen, ‘Notes et documents pour servir à la biographie de Josse de Damhouder, 1507-1581’, *Annales de la Société d’Émulation de Bruges*, 45 (1895), 147-209.

¹⁵ Damhouder’s *Praxis rerum criminalium* was mainly a translation into Latin of Philip Wielant (1441-1520)’s *Corte instructie omme de jonghe practisienen in materien criminelen*. His Paragraphs on witchcraft, however, originate from personal diligence. On Wielant and his theory on witchcraft and the differences with Damhouder, whose theory is studied only superficially without any references to the original Latin text, see J. Monballyu, ‘La théorie sur la sorcellerie chez Wielant et Damhouder’ in *“Houd voet bij stuk”: Xenia iuris historiae G. Van Dievoet oblata*, ed. F. Stevens – D. van den Auweele (Leuven, 1990), pp. 291-313 and Herman Beliën, ‘Rechtsgeleerde opvattingen

Joost de Damhouder and his Praxis rerum Criminalium (1554)

In his *Praxis rerum Criminalium*, first edited in 1554 and reworked in 1562, 1570 and after 1576-1581, Damhouder describes within Chapter LXI (on the crime of divine lèse-majesté), besides other offenses like blasphemy, prevarication, apostasy, heresy and simony, the crime of witchcraft. Damhouder justifies his considerable attention to witchcraft — 65 paragraphs (79-143)¹⁶ — by arguing that this horrible crime all too often remained unpunished in the Christian world, due to a lack of acquaintance with it, and that witchcraft was frequently exercised in his days:

Sortilegiorum materia amplius ac fusius nobis merito hic foret enarranda, quod ea inter Christianos (proh detestandum facinus) tam impune (eo quod multis incognita) dissimuletur, et passim tam frequens exercentur.

What follows is a very confusing and inconsistent elaboration of witchcraft. It seems to us that Damhouder not always distinguishes well the different demonological traditions. Very often he mixes the biblical, early christian, medieval and early modern concepts of demons, the Devil and Satan. Besides the quality of his Latin is not that good. Nevertheless, since Damhouder's Latin text hardly has been used by scholars we decide to follow as faithfully as possible his particular exposition.

Based upon *causa* 26 of the 12th century *Decretum Gratiani*, Damhouder provides a definition of the concept witchcraft (*sortilegium*) in paragraph 80: witchcraft is an imaginative and most harmful superstition which is exercised by human beings at the Devil's command:

over het misdrijf toverij', in *Nederland betoverd*, pp. 212-221 (pp. 215-217). For references to the original text, see Vanysacker, *Heksenprocessen*, pp. 88-90 and 287-290.

¹⁶ For this article we used the 1591 edition, printed in Cologne by Ioannes Gymnicus: *Praxis rerum criminalium, praetoribus, propaetoribus, consvlibus, proconsvlibus, magistratibus, reliquisque id genus Iustitiaris ac Officiariis, in quacunque Republica Forensem administrationem assummentibus, apprimè utilis et necessaria. Avctore clariss. viro D. Iodoco Damhouderio Brugensi, Equite aurato, I.V. Doctore, quondam Caesareo, nunc Hispaniarum Regis Philippi Consiliario, atq(ve) eiusdem Regis per totam Belgiam Financiarum Commissario. Editio vltima, Auctior et castigatior, ex postrema Auctoris recognitione, quod Epistola Nuncupatoria satis ostendit. Adiecta sunt Summaria, Indicesq(ve) tam Capitum ac Titulorum, quàm Rerum Sententiarumq(ve) locupletissimi (Coloniae Agrippinae, Apud Ioannem Gymnicum, sub Monocerote, Anno M. D. LXXXXI.). The paragraphs 79 to 143 of chapter LXI are on the pages 183-202. We adopted Damhouder's Latin text in the field of marks of punctuation, the use of capitals and we omitted all typographical peculiarities.*

Sortilegium est quaedam superstitio illusoria et summe noxia, qua utitur homo daemonis ministerio, ut habetur 26,q.5, in *Sum. et 26,q.2, cap. Qui sine salvatore* [= cap. 7].

This is the reason, Damhouder claims, why the actors of these diabolical deeds are believed to be the worst enemies of the human kind (paragraph 81):

Et ideo sortilegi, divinatores et malefici hanc diabolicam superstitionem professi, dicuntur hostes humanae salutis et humani generis inimici credendi sunt.

In the first *quaestio* of *causa* 26, the *Decretum Gratiani* introduces the definition by Isidore of Seville (ca. 570-636) of *sortilegi* and *diuinatores*: they are people who by means of certain practices, named “*sortes apostolorum*” or “*sortes sanctorum*” or also based on various prophecies, foresee or predict the future in the name of a false religion.¹⁷ These are mainly female *incantatores* who seduce and incite persons to recite prayers or psalms, to distribute alms, to go on pilgrimage, to fast, to castigate their body and to do all kind of pious actions, all to glorify one or another deity. In the end all these activities seem to be false, superstitious and diabolical (paragraphs 82-83):

Textus enim in *Capitolo* ‘*Sortilegi*’, 26,q.1, dicit, quod “sortilegi nempe proprie hi sunt, qui sub nomine fictae religionis, per quasdam (quas Sanctorum seu Apostolorum vocant) sortes, divinationis scientiam profitentur, aut quarumcunque scripturarum inspectione futura promittunt”; ex quo extense notatur, quod isti sortilegi et incantatores sub falso quodam et ficto religionis nomine, utpote Apostolorum vel aliorum Divorum autoritate, sua conficiunt sortilegia; et hinc est, quod isti incantatores, et maxime mulieres in suis sortilegiis et incantationibus (quas vulgo vocant) saepius dicere iubent eos, quos suis maleficiis seducere curant, aliquot orationes Dominicas, aliquot enarrare Psalmos, elargiri eleemosynam, aliquam subire peregrinationem, corporis macerationem et ieiunium, aut simile apertae pietatis officium, quo scilicet incautis, huiusmodi religionis ac pietatis specie, facilius imponant et ad suam perfidiam (deserta vera Christoque digna fide) nequiter seducant, aut certe aliquot oratiunculas legendas mandant in cultum, gloriam atque pro praesidio alicuius Divi, cui sese totos, suaeque vota apparenter nuncupare simulant, quasi istius Divi praesidio ac ope cuncta administrent, et tanquam omnia pia sint, sancta ac salutaria, quae per ipsos in tali negotio gerantur; quum

¹⁷ Raoul Manselli, *Magia e stregoneria nel medio evo* (Torino: Giappichelli, 1976), pp. 130-134.

tamen omnia ficta sint, falsa, superstitiosa, ac diabolica; nempe solius daemonis artificio omnia patrant, quae ficto cultu falsisque votis Sanctorum peragere simulant.

In paragraph 84, Damhouder estimates that the definition of witchcraft has to be interpreted broadly: the crime consists of superstitious deeds, which can be either harmful witchcraft, amatory magic or divination:

Hoc tamen, pie Lector, velim intelligas, me hoc vocabulum (Sortilegium) non stricte, sed largius hic accipere, nempe pro omni specie superstitiosa, sive ea malefica sive amatoria sive divinatoria fuerit.

Within this wide definition, a witch is a person who converts himself towards Satanism and executes her harmful, imaginative or superstitious deeds at the command of the Devil:

Et secundum hanc largam acceptionem, is dicitur sortilegus, qui diabolicam superstitionem professus, noxia quaeque superstitiosa ac elusoria, daemonis instructione, componit.

Here Damhouder begins a theoretical elaboration on the harmful (*noxia*) deeds which refer to the amatory magic and to poisoning practices, on the term 'imaginative' (*elusoria*), which refers to divination, and on the term 'superstitious', which refers to the curing of bewitched persons:

Uxor (noxia) continet species amatorias et veneficas. Particula (elusoria) continet speciem divinatoriam. Verbum (superstitiosa) complectitur sortilegia, quae fiunt ad sanandum maleficiatos ut lege *Eorum*, lege *Nemo* et lege *Multi*... [= Code of Justinian, VIII, 18 *De Malificis et Mathematicis et ceteris similibus*]

According to Damhouder, all these different forms of witchcraft originated in antique Persia and Chaldea: they were the first to try to explore the hidden secrets of nature, and since they had been not satisfied with the knowledge, reached by human activity, they passed the borders of the honest magic, and fell into diabolic illusion and imposture (paragraph 85):¹⁸

Hic autem sese offert quaestio, a quibus fuerunt inventa haec sortilegia, quique fuere primi authores, qui ea inter mortales invexerunt. Dic, quod Persae ac Chaldaei qui caeteris curiosiores, naturae etiam secreta

¹⁸ For an interesting overview, with bibliographical references, of the demonic arts of the *Magi*, the famous Chaldeo-Persian priests who represented the Chaldaic doctrine, and of other ancient divination practices, see Anastasia D. Vakaloudi, 'Demonic-Mantic Practices – the Implication of the Theurgists and their Power of Sub-Mission in the Early Byzantine Empire', *Byzantinoslavica*, 60 (1999), 87-113.

abditissima perrimari conati sunt; adeo ut ne hac quidem rerum notione contenti, quas humana industria pervestigare potest, honestae magiae limitibus transgressis, ad curiosam et impiam daemonum illusionem et imposturam prolapsi sint, *cap. Igitur genus, 26, q.4* [= *Decretum Gratiani, causa 26, quaestio 4, cap. 1*].

In his paragraphs 86 to 108 included, Damhouder speaks of the three principal forms of witchcraft, i.e. divination, amatory magic and harmful witchcraft:

Praecipuae vero et capitales species sunt tres: nempe Divinatoria, Amatoria et Venefica.

The first category, divination (paragraphs 86-87 and 99-108), comprises any deeds which involve predicting the future or explaining unknown present and past facts. This divination has three subdivisions, namely necromancy (*necromantia*), prediction or prophecy (*augurium*) and secret or occult divination (*occultum*). The first involves an explicit invocation of the Devil, the last two an implicit invocation of Satan:

Prima dicta est divinativa, quod per illam isti sortilegi usurparunt sibi nomen divinatoris, per quam futura quaedam praesentia, vel praeterita nobis ignota, vaticinari conantur, *cap. Non oportet, 26,q.5* [= *Decretum Gratiani, causa 26, quaestio 5, cap. 4*]... Divinationis aut species sunt variae. Prima est, quae fit per manifestam daemonum invocationem, pertinetque ad necromanticos. Secunda fit per solam considerationem dispositionis vel motus alterius rei. Haec augurium est. Tertia est, dum facimus aliquid, ut nobis manifestetur quiddam occultum, quod ad sortes pertinet: et ista duo ultima fiunt pcr tacitam daemonum invocationem.

Damhouder, based on the authority of Saint Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*¹⁹ and the *Decretum Gratiani*, also mentions other possible divisions of the category of divination — the most popular form of witchcraft, because of men's unsatisfied appetite for supernatural knowledge. One division distinguished four parts or species according to the four elements: geomancy (earth), hydromancy (water), pyromancy (fire) and aeromancy (air) (paragraph 101). Besides there are the species *divini, incantatores, arioli, haruspices, augures, pythonissae, astrologi, genethliaci, salitores*... (paragraphs 102-108).

¹⁹ On Augustine's influence, see Marcel Gielis, 'Toverij en duivelspact volgens theologen uit de Nederlanden', in *Nederland betoverd*, pp. 183-195 (pp. 184-185); Roland Götz, 'Der Dämonenpakt bei Augustinus', in *Teufelsglaube und Hexenprozesse*, ed. by G. Schwaiger (München, 1987), pp. 57-84.

The second category, amatory magic (paragraphs 87-90), is concentrated on acquiring libidinous love, perverting the prudish souls of both men and women, but especially of women:

Secunda vero species sortilegiorum dicitur amatoria, quia fit propter amorem libidinosum, et ut plurimum ad inflectendum pudicos animos ad libidinem, tam mulierum quam virorum, sed frequentius mulierum, lege *Eorum* [= Code of Justinian, VIII, 18 *De Malificis et Mathematicis et ceteris similibus*, lex 4].

The last category, harmful witchcraft (paragraphs 90-98), constitutes the worst and most dangerous sort of witchcraft: the witch leads human beings and animals to agonize unto death with infinite evil, diseases and disasters:

Tertia sortilegiorum species est venefica sive malefica, quae caeteris multis partibus est perniciosior, eoque magis execranda, per quam infinita mala suppullant; tot infirmitates, tam varii morbi, tot calamitates, humana pariter ac brutorum corpora excarnificantur; adeo, ut ad durissimam mortem non raro viventes adigantur, hi citius, illi vero tardius.

The witches kill very fast since their mixtures of *maleficia* have immediate results, and because they have a high dose of poison. By caution and prudence, Damhouder ships the reason of this phenomenon. Witches also inflict slow deaths, by prolonged torture. It is not erroneous to call this kind of witchcraft *malefica*, in view of the enormous malignity (*malitia*) it causes. Hence witches are called the enemies of the human breed, because of their continious eagerness to exterminate mankind:

Citius enim istiusmodi malefici perimunt, quotiescunque compositio malefica valde praesentanea est, et plurimum habet veneni. Qua ratione autem id fiat, cautus his prudensque, praetereo. Tardius vero mortem inflictant, quum longis cruciatibus corpora ita conficiunt, adeo exinaniunt, ut eorum universa virtute contabescente, tandem emori cogantur. Quocirca non perperam species isthaec malefica dicitur, ab enormitate scilicet malitiae, in quam directe perpetuo vergit lege *Eorum*, ad exordium et lege *Multi praeallegatis*. Hinc fit quod lex vocat istos humani generis inimicos, ut qui semper tendunt ad hominum internecionem.

Witches have various methods — always with God's consent — to kill human beings with their *maleficia*. Some of them proceed by reciting some magical formula without using any poison. Damhouder's source is a passage of Book X of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, *Nec mirum*, inserted in the *quaestio* 5 of *causa* 26 of the *Decretum Gratiani*. Others are able

to undo the aforementioned diseases and to cure the exhausted bodies in short time: thus, *maleficia* were chased by *maleficia*. Such activities can only be accomplished by knowledge of the *maleficia* used and with the instruction of the Devil. According to Saint Augustine these curing methods and medicaments did not belong to official medicine, since they did not originate in the natural sciences, but derive from the impostures from the Devil. The latter was the perfect doctor to cure secret diseases, but he did not reveal his knowledge but to his adherents. Referring to the Paragraph *De Maleficis et Mathematicis et ceteris similibus* of the Code of Justinian and to Thomas Aquinas, Damhouder adds that diseases inflicted by witches could not be cured by 'natural' physicians, but only by those magicians and *incantatores* assisted by the Devil:

Observandum praeterea hoc loco, variis modis istos maleficos, suo maleficio homines (divino semper permissu) adigere ad mortem. Sunt enim, qui sola carminis potentia homines aliquando interimunt, absque ullo veneni haustu, S. Augustino testante libr.10° *De Civitate Dei* cuius dictum insertum est cap. *Nec mirum*, §*Magi*, 26, q.5, l... Quidam vero reperiuntur, qui eadem arte, eademque professione magica instructi, supradictas infirmitates et maleficas pollutiones ab affectis languidisque corporibus eripiunt, corporaque maleficio infeliciter concussa brevi tempore sanant; ita maleficia maleficio propulsantes, quibus aut medelis, quibus remediis, hasce curationes suas conficiant et maleficas illas pollutiones removeant, referre nefas est. Neque putandum est curationes huiusmodi fieri posse, absque scientia ac notitia maleficae artis et daemonis instructione. Non enim maleficae illae pollutiones unquam destrui solent, nisi per eiusdem artis magistros, qui ista diabolica professione bene instructi ac quoque modo participes fuerint, quia maleficia ipsa absque demonis ministerio et suffragio (sive rebus ipsis, sive verbis fiant) communiter nec inferri corporibus solent, nec ab eis tolli. Et hoc est, quod ait S. Augustinus in libro *De Civitate Dei*, prout refertur in dicto *capitulo Nec mirum*, in fine, 26, q.5, quod huiusmodi remedia et medelas, ars non commendat medicorum; ut quae non ex arte, quam naturalis scientia profiteretur, proveniant, sed ex imposturis daemonum... Nec hoc mirandum: est enim daemon secretorum morborum ac rerum naturalium longe peritissimus, eoque ob cognitam omnium rerum vim, virtutem ac medendi efficaciam, medicus exactissimus; quam curandi artem nulli (quantum in se est) revelant, nisi sibi fidentibus, ac diabolicam hanc artem professis, atque hinc fit, ut vulgus dicat, morbos huiusmodi per nullos naturales medicos posse curari, sed per eosdem tantum magos et incantatores, aut per alios eiusdem professionis et artis; qua arte aliis et maleficia inferunt, eadem et illata denuo citius eripiunt, sed non nisi instructi tollunt daemonis ope, ut

habetur per S. Thom. in *Secunda 2ae*, q.95, art. 6^o [= Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, pars secunda secundae, quaestio 95 articulo 6] et *lege Eorum*, §finali cap. *De Maleficis et Mathematicis* [= Code of Justinian, VIII, 18, art. 4].

In the paragraphs 109 to 117 included, Damhouder deals with the Pact with the Devil (*sortilegiorum professio*), a concept that he, following Thomas Aquinas subdivides into a tacit Pact (*tacita professio*) and an explicit Pact (*expressa professio*).²⁰ The first pact was not made with the Demon, but with a minister of the latter, while an outspoken pact was made with the Demon himself:

Dicitur autem isthaec professio tacita, quod non fiat, nec pacta sit proprie cum ipso daemone, sed cum daemonis ministro... Altera vero dicitur professio expressa, nempe, quae fit expresse cum proprio daemone.

The tacit Pact involved keeping a promise made to someone else by doing what the other wanted to be done, in return of all kinds of advantages like all great and wonderful things that would happen and knowledge of future and similar rewards. This promise included the renunciation of Catholic Faith and Sacraments and the worship of his master the Devil as the Prince with all his power: this worship would happen by cults of idols and other pernicious pacts and all activities would be done in the name of and devoted to the Devil:

In genere intelligas, oportet, de cuiuscunque speciei professionibus. Tacita autem professio est promissio quaedam, quam quis facit alteri professo, de observando quae sibi mandaverit sub promissione, quod grandia facturus sit et mirabilia; quod in vita sua futura cognoscet et multa alia his non dissimilia; dummodo cum fidei Catholicae renunciatione et pertinaci Sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum contemptu. Unde pollicebitur, quod totis viribus cultui et obsequio adhaerebit sui magistri ipsumque ceu verum Principem adorabit. Ipsique omnem verae adorationis cultum sub idolorum forma exhibebit, et alia huiusmodi

²⁰ Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (Paladin-St. Albans, 1976), pp. 175-176; Manselli, *Magia e stregoneria*, pp. 151-161; Marcel Gielis, 'Een Leuvense heksenhamer: De leer van de theologieprofessor Johannes Beetz (†1476) over bijgeloof en duivelspact', in *Liber amicorum Dr. J. Scheerder: Tijdingen uit Leuven over de Spaanse Nederlanden, de Leuvense universiteit en Historiografie* (Leuven: Vereniging Historici Lovaniensis, 1987), pp. 165-187 (especially pp. 169-170); G.M. Manser, 'Thomas von Aquin und der Hexenwahn', *Divus Thomas*, 9 (1922), 17-49 and 81-110; Thomas Linsenmann, *Die Magie bei Thomas von Aquin*, Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes, 44 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000).

turpiora pacta, quod cuncta denique opera per ipsum facienda in illius nomine et devotione confecturus sit.

Within the explicit Pact, Damhouder distinguishes a private pact (*professio privata*) from a solemn or public ceremony (*professio sollemnis sive publica*):

Isthaec [= *professio expressa*] rursum est duplex: una dicitur sollemnis sive publica, altera vero privata.

The private Pact is concluded with the Devil himself, in an expressed way, with a vow, but without any solemnity and without the presence of any other human being:

Privata vero professio est illa, quae fit cum ipso daemone, pacto expresso, et cum iuramento, citra ulla tamen sollemnitates et extra omnium hominum coetum.

Like a monch denounces by his solemn vow the worldly life, the one who makes a private pact with the Devil renounces God, Christ, and his Faith, holding in contempt his baptism and all other ecclesial Sacraments. Instead he devotes himself totally to the Devil, to whom he adheres with spontaneous obedience. From this pact generates a vicious friendship between this human being and the Devil. The witch becomes the Devil's vassal, and at the latter's request — and with God's consent — agonises the human breed with painful misery and with pernicious activities:

Fit haec professio quandoque eisdem sollemnitatibus, quibus hodie fieri conspiciamus veras et sollemnes professiones monachorum in religione Christi, ubi ad vitam monasticam degendam abnegant mundum cum suis universis oblectamentis praestigiariis. Ita hi contra, abnegato Deo, deserto Christo servatore nostro, ac renunciata fide cum contemptu Baptismi ac cum contemptu reliquorum ecclesiae Sacramentorum, uni daemone adhaerescunt, cui se totos devovent et spontanea obedientia consecrant, cum arctissimo iuramenti sacramento. Adeo, ut hinc iure efficiantur ipsius subditi, et (ut ita loquar) daemonis vasalli coniunctissimi. Atque ex hac, homines scilicet et daemonis exitiali societate, nascitur et confirmatur tam arcta amicitia, ut ex ea homines (heu) miseri dolenda mala (permissu divino) et turpissima opera, relatu nequiora, conficiant.

The solemn or public ceremony somewhat reminds us the witches' sabbat. This kind of pact happens on a public meeting in the presence of the Devil, princelike seated on his majestic throne, and with a whole sect of female and male witches, necromancers and all kind of people who

made a pact, convocated around him. The nights, the hour, the place and the moments of such a public ceremony are decided by the Devil:

Solemnis autem et publica ea est, quae fit cum daemone publice, in maiestatis suae solio, Principum more residente, ad universales congregationes omnium strigarum et maleficorum, necromanticorum et cuiuscunque generis professorum, certis nocturnis horis, locis et temporibus, daemonis arbitrio, constitutis. Ubi coram universis adstantibus isthaec fit professio.

At such a ceremony, the worshippers constantly adore the Devil in a public cult and solemn offering, imitating in all their actions, preachings and orations the divine cult which Christians organize for Jesus Christ, God and the Holy Spirit:

Ii vero qui expressam professionem fecerunt, reddunt etiam expressum adorationis daemoni cultum per solemnia sacrificia, quae ipsi exhibent daemoni, imitantes in omnibus (quo magis nostram simplicitatem fallerent) divinum cultum cum caeremoniis ac paribus luminaribus, precibus etiam quibusdam et orationibus cum his aliis similibus, quibus instructi sunt et edocti, quibusque cacodaemonem, suum exitiale exitium, incessanter collaudant et adorant, haud aliter quam nos felices colimus et adoramus unice unicum Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum cum Patre ac cooperatore Spiritu Sancto, omnium visibilium pariter ac invisibilium omnium creatorem et rectorem maximum, 26, q.5, cap.º *Contra idolorum* [= *Decretum Gratiani, causa 26, quaestio 5*].

Then Damhouder brings up some topics from the demonological literature — without working them out in depth however. In the paragraphs 118 to 123 included he discusses, based on Saint Augustine, the *Canon Episcopi*²¹, and Thomas Aquinas, the places and moments which witches prefer for the training of their harmful activities:

Rogare autem posset quispiam curiosulus: quibus locis quibusve temporibus haec sortilegia fieri consueverunt?

The witches seem to prefer woods, hidden, subterrean, remoted, deserted and long deserted places, as well as ruinous castels, to reunite. The gatherings happened mostly in the darkness of night:

²¹ On the concept of witchcraft in the *Canon Episcopi*, see Werner Tschacher, 'Der Flug durch die Luft zwischen Illusionstheorie und Realitätsbeweis: Studien zum sog. Kanon Episcopi und zum Hexenflug', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 116: *Kanonistische Abteilung*, 85 (1999), 225-276.

Deinde, ubi sortilegi huiusque similes alii convenire soleant? Huic paucis respondeatur: huiusmodi sortilegia plerunque in locis silvestribus, occultis, subterraneis et ab hominum conversatione remotis: In locis longe dissitis, caducis castellis, et desertis: semperque intempestae noctis tenebris fieri solere, ut notatur in *cap.º Episcopi*, 26, q. 5 [= *Decretum Gratiani*, *causa* 26, *quaestio* 5, cap. 12].

In Paragraph 124 he deals with the kind of objects, signs, instruments, mixtures, compositions, ligatures, characters and figures which the witches wield on that occasion. Damhouder does not examine the matter further and refers here explicitly to the *quaestiones* 3 and 5 of Paolo Grillando's *De sortilegiis eorumque pœnis*, which extensively discussed this confusing and diffuse topic:

Quibus rebus, signis, instrumentis, mixturis, compositionibus, ligaturis, characteribus atque figuris utuntur sortilegi ad sua sortilegia et maleficia, secundum diversas hominum opiniones, quas persequi intendunt, conficienda? Respondendum, quod variis atque diversis, quorum ad satietatem meminit D. Paulus Grillandus in suo tractato *De Sortilegiis*, quaestione 3 et 5 quem petendum, materia occurrente, nec dissuasero; materia enim praesens non minus est confusa, quam diffusa.

In reality, Damhouder already had plagiarized in his Chapters 84-85, 86-108 and 109-117 the Tuscan lawyer Grillando.²²

From paragraph 125 to 127 included Damhouder questions why emprisoned witches are unable to escape and thus cannot (with the help of the Devil) escape their death-sentence²³:

Postremo non hoc praetereundum putavi, cur malefici in manibus publicae iustitiae existentes et incarcerati, non faciant se deferri ac inde liberari per ministerium daemonis ad mortem evitandam?

According to the Canons and the theologians, there are two answers. First of all, the Devil finally wants to reap as many as possible souls, to bring them to the darkness of the hell. The Devil therefore did everything

²² On Grillando da Castiglion Fiorentino and his original tract in 5 books, which have been edited separately from 1525 to 1534, see Giuseppe Bonomo, *Caccia alle streghe: La credenza nelle streghe dal secolo XIII al XIX con particolare riferimento all'Italia* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1959), pp. 321-330; Bernard Heurtebize, 'Grillando Paul', in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 6-II (1914), col. 1878 and Henry Charles Lea, *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft*, ed. Arthur C. Howland (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 395-412. Damhouder's Chapters 84-85, 86-108, and 109-117, respectively, are literal copies of Grillando's *De sortilegiis*, chapter 1, chapter 2, and the first part of chapter 3 (see also J. Monballyu, 'La théorie sur la sorcellerie', 300-301).

²³ Once again Damhouder plagiarizes Grillando's *De sortilegiis* (chapter 9).

to have his prey dead as soon as possible. That is the reason why he does not want at all to help the witch escape. Secondly, as Saint Augustine and Thomas Aquinas state, that the witches are not able to escape, since divine justice does not permit the devil to exercise his natural power, nor does it allow witches to seduce curious and easily tempted judges, when confronted with such manifest liberations, to join their pact with the Devil:

Attamen (ut aliquid afferamus) duas causas huius rei nobis explicant Canones, et sacri Theologi in saepe allegato cap. *Numerum* [= *Nec Mirum*]: 26,q.5 [= *Decretum Gratiani, causa 26, quaestio 5*]. Prior est, quod daemon qui nil avidius cupit, quam multarum animarum lucra, quique ad tenebras inferni variis illusionibus et dolis homines protrahere studet simulatque, viderit professum suum appraehensum, illiusque animam sub sua potestate subiectam, nil magis anxie quaerit, nihil expectat avidius, quam animae a corpore demigrationem; ut quam adhuc sub pacto retinet, certam lucretur, priusquam per pœnitentiam sua nassa praeter expectationem elabatur, fidelium gregi denuo connumeranda. Quocirca ut irretitam praedam certo possideat, incunctanter mortem ipsius machinatur; tantum abest, ut liberationem ferat. Posterior ratio, cur evadere incarcerationi nequeant, est, quod tum divina iustitia non permittat daemonem in eos suam naturalem exercere potentiam, ne qui iudices et officiales curiosi, animique pellicibilis, levis ac sequacis, videntes aliquod signa manifesta liberationis eorum, invitarentur ad amplectendam eorum professionem et hoc est quod dicit S. Augustinus in libro 3 *De Trinitate*, in 10 [libro] *De Civitate Dei* et S. Thomas in tractato 44^o primae partis [= Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, pars prima].

In the paragraphs 128 to 139 included, Damhouder puts the question to the origin of the supernatural power of the witches, that permits them to accomplish that much, that various and that marvelous in one hour, a good person never could perform in his whole life:

Torquet alios, unde potestas maleficis, qua patrare tam multa, varia et miranda possunt, etiam una hora? Qualia quantaque bonorum toto suae vitae tempore facere possent unquam?

The answer is very clear: all power originates from God, without whose help no creature can do anything. That is why there can be no doubt that the power of the witches who do most horrible things with the help of the Devil, is allowed by God. The Church Fathers agree that the devils nor the witches can do anything (do neither harm to human beings, nor to beasts of burden) unless with the permission of God Almighty, who concedes them power to do what their perverse mind already had

decided to. Hence one has to ascribe all realisations by the witches, not to human power, nor to the power of the Devil, but to God's permission:

Verum iis aperte respondetur, quod omnis potestas a Domino Deo est, sine quo nihil potest omnis creatura, sicut in Evangelio Christus ait: «Sine me nihil potestis facere...» [= John 15, 5] Quamobrem nequaquam est dubitandum, quin potestas illa maleficarum, in qua mirandos (cooperatione daemonum) horrendosque producant effectus, a Domino Deo concedatur, cuius voluntati nemo potest obsistere ut sine cuius ope ac numine inefficax est omnis humana opera, adeo ut ne manum quidem ulli rei tentandae sine ipso admovere possibile sit. In hoc enim Sancti doctores consentiunt, quod neque daemones, neque maleficae quicquam facere possunt, nec hominem laedere, nec iumentum, nisi omnipotens Deus permittens consentiat, potestatemque faciendi concedat, quod iam perversa voluntate facere decreverunt... Quocirca quicquid maleficae moliuntur, non hominis daemonisque potentiae id solum adscribendum, sed divino permissu id totum peragi credendum est...

The witches do not perform all these evil things of their own accord: they are assisted – with God's consent — by the Devil. Thus they are able to change delicate things into wonderful, strong and nimble ones through the heads of dead people, toads, snakes, characters and images. Similar to the Sacraments which God Almighty installed in his Church, and which have a beneficial effect by worthy use, the Devil, in his eagerness to be God's equal, installed at his turn certain signs for witches to apply in order to invoke him. In this way he could assist the witch as much as possible to perform her pernicious activities. Without God's permission, the devil however remained unable to realize anything. When necromancers and witches accomplish some effects they do this with the power of the Devil who had given them some means to do it: one time the effect was real, another time only apparent:

Verum enimvero non ex se, sed cooperatione ac ope daemonum (Deo semper permittente) maleficae cuncta mala operantur, quos ut natura subtiles, ita et experientia longa fecit ad producendum miranda et fortes et agiles. Neque etiam putandum est tam prodigiosos effectus maleficarum ab huiusmodi rebus, quibus utuntur ad maleficandum, oriri (quales sunt capita mortuorum, bufones, serpentes, characteres, imagines hisque similia) sed ab instituyente, haec signa diabolo, qui cum sit superbissimus, Deo cupit in omnibus quam simillimus esse. Quemadmodum enim omnipotens Deus quaedam in Ecclesia sua Sacramenta instituit, quae digne utentibus (ipso aspirante) salutarem designant et producant effectum, ita et diabolus qui nihil impensius appetit, quam in precio haberi et Deo aequalis videri, signa quaedam

tanquam Sacramenta instituit, quibus invocatus ab his, quibus confederatus est pactis, operator malignus assistit; et quoties Deus permiserit, quod rogatur malum perficit, Deo vero non permittente, nihil is quoque poterit efficere. Omnium tamen effectuum necromanticorum et maleficarum operator eatenus diabolus est, quatenus per applicationem mediorum (quae prius ipse instituit in materia subiecta) opus producit optatum; quod fit alias realiter, aliquando solum apparenter.

The female witches, with their abusive and credulous minds, allied with demons by a pact, had received these signs and symbolic characters to summon the demons as quick as possible. The moments of their alienation from the Devil are so painful for the witches, that they fly into a temper. When the demons notice that they are invoked, they come flying to help — only with God's permission — the tormented women. Damhouder refers to Plato's *De furore poetico*, where the latter mentions female *Bacchantes* who drink a large quantity of honey and milk in moments of insanity, while in normal conditions they were unable to drink at all. Damhouder compares this to personal experiences he had with witches who drunk 'canals and flows' of butter when angered, while in normal conditions they were not able to drink. That was a motive to think this only could happen with the aid of the Devil. It was in such similar moments of hate and anger that witches demolish or kill everything they find on their way: cattle, fields, vineyards, meadows and fruits. To perform their maleficium, they apply their familiar means. The witches summon their demons, they show them the signs and the characters they had received from them, and what they can not achieve on their own, they perform with the help of those demons:

Mulieres autem maleficae, quae iam voluntate depravata, et consensu in consortium daemonum per pacta transierunt, notas quasdam et signa symbolica ab ipsis recipiunt, quibus exciti daemones mox prosiliunt. Quocirca in his perniciosis operationibus daemonum, nihil efficacius stulta maleficarum credulitate, quae pactis augetur et votis. Nam quanto vel daemonibus, vel eorum signis firmiorem adhibuerint fidem, tanto velociorem assequuntur, cooperantibus ipsis, effectum; voluntatis enim maleficarum tam est dolenda alienatio, ut ipsas quodammodo redigat in furorem, quo percitis, iisque furentibus, mox daemones advolant, subserviunt et effectum petitionis pactis invitati et signis, Deo permittente, insanientibus praestant. Simile quiddam commemorat Plato in libro *De furore poetico*, dicens: Bacchantes foeminas mente non sana, mel et lac exhaurire fluminibus, mente autem sana, haurire non posse; id autem effecit earum animus sui impos, et in consortium daemonis extra se raptus. Idem nos exploratum habemus, maleficas in puteis aut fluminibus agitatis hausisse butyrum furoris sui temporibus,

quod alio tempore efficere non potuissent. Quare id solum ministerio daemonis fieri credendum. Similiter odio alicuius flagrantem nihilque quam vindictam in animo concipientes, totae in illius interitum incumbunt; et ut ipsum aut perdant, aut iumentis ipsius mala inferant, agris, vineis, segetibus, aliisque fructibus incommodent. Rebus utuntur ad maleficium sibi notis et familiaribus. Invocant daemones, ostendunt signa ab illis instituta, simul et characteres, et quod propria virtute perficere nequeunt, illorum ministerio consequuntur.

Besides the witches, Damhouder warns for a similar use of symbols and signs by magicians, who had no Pact with the Devil. Although the Devil does not number these magicians among his friends and does not initiate them into his secrets, this very pernicious kind of people does much harm. As their activities are intolerable, Damhouder, based on *Exodus* 22 and *Deuteronomy* 12, urges to exterminate these practitioners of *maleficium*. In their eagerness to please the Devil, they do very scandalous sacrifices and want to make an explicit Pact with the Devil himself. They circulate many books full of villain lies and indecent stories, with false names of known philosophers and learned men and false titles to abuse many simple and inquisitive persons and to make them fall into the trap of the Devil. This category of magicians wishes to force and manipulate demons to appear visible in a circle, ring, crystal or another meeting point through statutes, images, exorcisms, conjurations and similar signs, they also attempt to answer them personally and in a distinctive way. Fortunately God, with His upmost sense of justice, obstructs the demons and the Devil to obey the magicians, since He does not want them to despise the Christian religion and to put their faith into the hands of the Devil:

Alius vero, qui non est daemonibus pacto et deditioe devinctus, etiamsi res convenientes ad maleficium noverit, simul et operandi modum, signa omnia exhibeat, rarissime tamen tentanti succedet effectus; propterea quod eum inter suos familiares daemon non connumeret, ut suis mysteriis non initiatum. Quanta autem mala hoc perniciosissimum genus hominum nusquam non regionum faciat, cuius hominum id est notissimum. Amplius enim hi pernitiosissimi homines mendaciis superstitionibusque plenissimi, sua malignitate obsunt, quam boni quivis aut precibus aut pietate prosunt. Plus incommodi reipublicae Christianae illi inferunt, quam hi commodi conferunt, nisi Deus obstitit. Ideoque non sunt uspiam tolerandi, sed ubivis locorum potius tollendi funditus, omnium creatore Deo sic praecipiente, *Exod.* 22 [18] et *Deut.* 12: “maleficos non patieris vivere”. Nam, ut in obsequium sibi daemones alliciant, sacrificiis turpissimis plerumque utuntur et expressum cum eis ineunt (ut dictum est) pactum. Multos variosque libellos circumferunt spurcitiis, impietate ac mendacio

plenos, veterumque philosophorum et sapientum nominibus falso inscriptos, quorum ementitis titulis, invocatis simplicibus et curiosis multis imponunt et in foveam daemonum secum pertrahunt. Promittunt magna et penitus incredibilia, quibus auditis, homines in admirationem mendaciorum suspenduntur. Statuis, imaginibus, exorcismis, coniurationibus similibusque signis iactant se daemones posse cogere ac coarctare malignos, adeo ut in circulo, annulo et crystallo, seu alio receptaculo visibiles appareant et ad singula interrogata distincte respondeant. Hoc omnes quidem promittunt, sed eorum paucissimi nostris temporibus inveniuntur, quibus maligni spiritus etiam malis per hunc modum obediant, Deo id iustissima ratione non permittente, ne curiositas hominum novitatis avidissima, religione contempta Christi suffragia paulatim in necessariis postularet a daemone.

Finally, Damhouder describes a kind of human beings who are equally to be avoided. Although they do not have any connection with demons, the means used for their activities are idle, typical of demons, stupid, superstitious and futile, and therefore totally illegitimate. Several of those superstitious contemporaries are reviewed by Damhouder: the astrologers and bird-watchers (*augures*) who predict the future; the offering hunters; those who wear a written extract of John's Gospel around their neck, or a parchment with other characters;²⁴ priests who say Mass with un-consecrated hosts, do criminal offerings or say pernicious and unworthy prayers with a malicious intent (such priests had to be degraded and deprived of their benefice); those who abuse signs or crosses, thinking these symbols have an interest secret power. All of these make various errors against God and the Christian faith:

Est denique aliud hominum genus non minus fatuum, quam superstiosum, aequè item ut superiores fugiendum. Nempe, qui nullum cum daemonibus commercium ineunt, nihilominus tamen rebus utuntur in operationibus, vanis, daemonibus appropriatis, stultis, superstitiosis et futilibus, et ob id quoque penitus illicitis. Veluti, qui dies ad quid agendum observant, qui ex avium garritu aut volatu sibi quid futurum pollicentur. Venatores, qui ob alicuius fraterculi, aut sacrifici occursum sibi quid infaustum, aut infelicem venationem spondent. Qui scriptum Evangelium Ioannis ex collo suspendunt, aut alios characteres membranulis inscriptos. Sacerdotes denique qui missificant super hostiam non consecrantes, aut oblationes nefarias in missis offerunt, aut preces nefarias et turpes et indignas, ad malum finem offerunt et legunt, qui merito degradatione et beneficio sunt privandi.

²⁴ On the written amulets (pieces of parchment or paper) and their apotropaic texts that served as protective devices, see Don C. Skemer, 'Written amulets and the medieval book', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 23 (1999), 253-305.

Caeteri vero qui characteribus aut crucibus abutuntur, putant huiusmodi characteribus magnam et occultam inesse virtutem, et ideo varios contra Deum et fidem Christi committunt errores.

In the paragraphs 139 to 142 included, Damhouder mentions a series of questions that were of interest to scholars. Why are women more apt to witchcraft than men? Why are they usually virgins rather than women who had sexual intercourse? Why are there more female witches than male witches? Without any comment he refers to Martin of Arles²⁵ and Paolo Grillando. Damhouder further gives an overview of paragraphs he is not able to work out in his *Praxis*: on the various categories or genii of demons, who are present at different places, different grades and distances (into the sky, into fire, into water, into the earth, subterrean, in the darkness, in specific places), all bearing a name in accordance with their malign nature. Neither will he deal with an overview of descriptions and activities of demons, with whom the witches may have contact:

Possem hic explicare caussam cur mulieres sint magis idoneae ad maleficia conficienda quam viri. Deinde, cur potius virgines quam corruptae. Postremo, cur plures mulieres sint maleficae quam viri malefici, sed pro huiusmodi explicationibus lectorem transmitto ad D. Martinum de Arles, in suo tractatu insigni *De superstitionibus*. Et ad D. Paulum Grillandum in suo utilissimo libro *De Sortilegiis*. Possem hic quoque obiter recensere multa daemonum genera, qui locorum intercapedine certis gradibus certisque inter se passibus absunt, alii enim aërei, alii ignei, aquatici alii, alii terrestres, alii subterranei, alii lucifugi, a locis quibus sunt addicti, aut a malitiae natura appellationes eas habentes. Quorum descriptiones, operationes, et quibuscum maleficae commercium habeant, et cum quibus non, compendio studens, praetereo.

In his concluding paragraph 143, Damhouder writes that the reader must bear in mind the fact that God conceded power to the witches to do such wonderful things. Thus, they are able to do harmful activities, only when He wants it; witches cannot do anything when God does not want them to. Finally Damhouder refers for more information on

²⁵ On Martin of Arles and Andosilla, French of origin and Canon at Pamplona (Spain), and his *Tractatus de superstitionibus, contra maleficia seu sortilegia quae hodie vigent in orbe terrarum*, written around 1450-1460, see, among others, Joseph Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1901), pp. 308-310 and Lea, *Materials*, pp. 297-298. Based on Johann Nider's *Formicarius* and on the *Canon Episcopi*, Martin of Arles mentions in chapter 7 that the female witches (*broxae*) are not physically transported by the Devil to the sabbat, but only 'mentaliter et fantastice'.

these and other items of demonology to the treatises of the learned scholars-demonologists as Paolo Grillando, Troilo Malvezzi²⁶, Martin of Arles, Giovanni Francesco Ponzonibio²⁷, the *Malleus Maleficarum*²⁸, and Johannes Trithemius²⁹:

Tantum hoc memineris maleficarum potestatem in totam, qua tam miranda conficiunt, daemonibus a Domino Deo limitatam concedi; ita ut ipso permittente noceant, eo vero non permittente, nihil eas quoque operari posse... Quamobrem caetera huius materiae cognoscere cupientem (quandoquidem hic exactiora perscribere mea vetant negotia) remitto ad clarissimos dominos, Paulum Grillandum, criminalium causarum Romae quondam auditorem, in suo tractato utilissimo, De

²⁶ On Malvezzi (Malvetius), a 15th-century lawyer from Bologna and his *Libellus de sortibus*, see M.E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, vol. III (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1962), 2095-2096.

²⁷ In his short tract (12 pp.) *Tractatus subtilis, et elegans, de lamijs, et excellentia vtriusque iuris, cum nonnullis conclusionibus ad materiam haeresis in practica vitilibus*, written in 1519/20, this lawyer from Piacenza denies the reality of the flight of the witches through the air, of the nightly reunions and all effects of magic, which he attributes to the fantasies and illusions of ignorant people of the lower social class. According to Ponzonibio the civil law had the same authority as the canon law to discuss theological questions. He was very critical concerning the lawsuit in witch-trials and urged the judges to control the genuineness of the confessions and the testimonies as well as to renounce the belief in the existence of the sabbat and transportation in the air of witches. Ponzonibio was vehemently criticised by the Dominican Bartolomeo Spina who accused him of heresy (Bonomo, *Caccia*, pp. 366-370, 372-373 and Lea, *Materials*, pp. 377-382).

²⁸ On the *Malleus*, which was attributed only recently to Heinrich Kramer (Institoris), see, among others, *Der Hexenhammer: Entstehung und Umfeld des Malleus maleficarum von 1487*, ed. P. Segl, Bayreuther Historische Kolloquien, 2 (Cologne-Vienna: Böhlau, 1988); *The Malleus maleficarum of Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger: Translated with an Introduction, bibliography and notes*, ed. M. Summers (New York: Dover Publications, 1971); *Nürnberger Hexenhammer 1491 von Heinrich Kramer (Institoris): Faksimile der Handschrift von 1491 aus dem Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Nr. D.251*, ed. G. Jeroushek [mit Vorwort, Transkription des deutschen Textes und Glossar, Rechtsgeschichte, Zivilisationsprozess, Psychohistorie], Quellen und Studien, 2 (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: G. Olms, 1992); Tschacher, 'Der Flug durch die Luft', 272-275. On Kramer, see Peter Segl, 'Heinrich Institoris: Persönlichkeit und literarisches Werk', in *Der Hexenhammer*, ed. P. Segl, pp. 103-126.

²⁹ In his *Liber octo quaestionum quas illi dissolvendas proposuit Maximilianus Caesar* (first edition Cologne, 1511) Trithemius (1462-1516), abbot of the Benedictine Abbey Sponheim and Counsellor of Emperor Maximilian I of Brandenburg, elaborates among others the questions Damhouder cites in his Paragraphs 128 to 139 included (see Klaus Arnold, *Johannes Trithemius 1462-1516*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg, 29 (Würzburg, 1971); Id., 'Hexenglaube und Humanismus bei Johannes Trithemius', in *Der Hexenhammer*, ed. P. Segl, pp. 217-240 and P. Sejourne, 'Trithème Jean', in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1950), vol. 15-2, col. 1862-1867).

sortilegiis, maleficis, et poculis venenosis, ac daemonum inuocatione, atque eorundem poenis, Troilum Malvetium iurisperitum indubitatum in suo tractato *De sortibus*, Martinum de Arles sacrae Theologiae professorem meritissimum in suo insigni et exquisitissimo tractato *De superstitionibus*, Ioannem Franciscum spectabilem Iuris utriusque Doctorem in suo subtili et eleganti tractato *De Lamiis et excellentia, Malleum maleficarum*, et Ioannem Trithemium Abbatem Spanhemensem, in suo *Libro 8 quaestionum, quas illi dissolvendas proposuit Maximilianus Caesar quaestione 5, de reprobis atque maleficis, et quaestione 6, de potestate maleficarum*. Quorum opiniones et dogmata et interpretamenta, hac in materia omnes passim sequuntur, laudant et asserunt, nec est, meo iudicio, etsi tenui, ulla materia, in qua adeo Paulo, Troilo, Martino, Ioanni Francisco, *Malleo maleficarum*, ac Ioanni Trithemio assentiantur, et tribuant scriptores, non solum speculativi, sed etiam et practici; ita recepta est in hoc scribendi genere, eorum auctoritas, ut pro lege (quamvis utique nullis corroboretur legibus) apud omnes habeatur.

Note that Damhouder only worked out his demonology in the Latin version of his *Praxis*. He explains his motives in his French version of 1554:

Sortileges, divinations, incantations et enchanteries...et de quelles causes, enseignements, instrumens...ilz usent en ce et employent, seront icy pour cause obmis et delaissez attendu qu'il est mieulx les ignorer que les scavoir...Et qui de ce desire, mieulx estre instruit, pregne son secours, et reffuge, ad ce que est plus largement et amplement touché au latin. (Damhouder, *La pratique et enchiridion des causes criminelles...illustrée et enrichie des ordonnances, statuts et coutumes de France* (Louvain, 1554), p. 104)

As Strubbe indicates, Damhouder had the works of the abovementioned demonologists in his library. The tracts of Grillando, Malvezzi, Ponzonibio and Martin d'Arles he possessed as parts of the *Oceanus Iuris*, an anthology of juridical tracts edited in 1535 in Lyon.³⁰ Which editions of the *Malleus Maleficarum* and of Trithemius' *Liber octo quaestionum*, Damhouder had, is not clear.

Damhouder's 'demonology' is a theoretical amalgam of — especially via Grillando — extracts from Saint Augustine, *Decretum Gratiani* and Thomas Aquinas. On the one hand, he remains faithful to the theories of these medieval theologians. Unlike the *Malleus Maleficarum* — a tract

³⁰ Strubbe, 'Joos de Damhouder als criminalist', 21-22. Monballyu confuses this anthology with the *Tractatus universi iuris* (Venice, 1584), 28 vols (Monballyu, 'La théorie', pp. 300-301, notes 27 et 30-32).

he mentions and possesses — he does not elaborate upon the core of the cumulative concept of witchcraft, i.e. the Pact with the Devil combined with sexual intercourse, the continuous source of the evil activities of the witch.³¹ On the other hand he does mention a kind of sabbat and speaks of the ‘*notas et signa symbolica*’ which witches receive on the occasion of their Pact with the Devil, which remind us of the *Punctum diabolicum*. Still, one cannot deny Damhouder to be well informed about the innovating demonological literature of his time. We refer to the following passage by Levack:

The *Malleus*, while not directly inspiring a frenzy of witchcraft prosecutions, nevertheless did make an important contribution to the development of the entire European witch-hunt. Like the cumulative concept of witchcraft that it helped to transmit, it served as a precondition of intensive witch-hunting. It is important to note, however, that the *Malleus* was only one of many influential witchcraft treatises that were published during the hunt. Many of those that followed it into print were much more complete in their description of the cumulative concept of witchcraft, especially in dealing with the sabbath, and a few of these works achieved even greater popularity than the *Malleus*. In 1524 Paulus Grillandus, a papal judge who presided at a number of witchcraft trials in the vicinity of Rome, published *Tractatus de Hereticis et Sortilegiis*. This widely read treatise became one of the main sources of information regarding the sabbath, in which Grillandus fully believed. After the appearance of Grillandus’s book in 1524 there was a forty-year lull in the production of witchcraft literature. (Levack, *The witch-hunt*, 50).

Especially the *Malleus*, and tracts of Martin of Arles, Grillando, Ponzonibio and Trithemius (mainly based on concrete experiences in witchcraft prosecutions) questioned whether witches had carnal copulation with their devils (in the form of *succubi* or *incubi*); whether children can be generated by *incubi* and *succubi*; whether witches were really physically transported through the air by a goat to the sabbats. Why did Damhouder fail to address these topics? Did he not understand them well? Or was he careful not to frighten potential readers with the ‘modern’ cumulative concept of witchcraft? This reminds us strongly of the reason why he published his demonology only in the Latin version of his *Praxis*.

³¹ See also Gijswijt-Hofstra, ‘Hoofdlijnen en interpretaties’, p. 267.

Other signs and indications of acquaintance of the Magistrate of Bruges with demonological tracts

Damhouder's signs of interest in the demonology of his time was not an isolated phenomenon in the history of the magistrate of Bruges. From a letter — written in Dutch³² — directed by the Aldermen of Bruges to their colleagues of Courtrai, dated 3 October 1596 regarding witchcraft (*nopende Toverye*), we can derive that the magistrate of Bruges was well acquainted with the 'new' demonology. Besides the *Malleus maleficarum* and the *Tractatus de Sortilegiis* of Grillando, they inform their 'ignorant' colleagues from Courtrai on the tract *De magorum daemonomania libri IV* by Jean Bodin (Francfort, 1590) and on the new *Daemonolatriae libri tres* (Lyon, 1595) by Nicolas Remy. Bodin (1529/30-1596) stated that the crime of witchcraft, the most horrible crime ever, had to be exterminated mercilessly. This famous economist, scientist, philosopher and judge was convinced of the existence of witches, of the reality of their transportation by demons to the sabbat and of their metamorphosis. Due to the extreme exceptionality of the crimes committed by those witches, an extraordinary lawsuit and very severe penalties were justified. Bodin urged to burn the Devilworshippers alive and to put even little children to torture.³³ Remy (1525/30-1612) reported on his murderous witch trials in Lorraine, where he — according to his own sayings — burnt more than 800 witches at the stake in a timespan of 15 years. In his tract, Remy states that witches receive three different powders to harm everyone, excepted the judges; the flight of the witches can be imaginary or real, but certainly not pleasant and comfortable. Nor was the sabbat very pleasing: the banquet was disgusting, the dances fatiguing, the Devil demanding and hot-tempered. The witches even had to infect their own children with the diabolical wickedness. Therefore they had to be tortured and killed.³⁴ The letter in question clearly shows

³² This letter has been edited by Monballyu, 'Toverij en hekserij te Kortrijk en te Brugge in het jaar 1596', *Volkskunde*, 81 (1980), 183-195 (pp. 194-195).

³³ H. Baudrillart, *Jean Bodin et son temps: Tableau des théories politiques et des idées économiques au seizième siècle* (Paris, 1853), pp. 111-145, 183-189; Lea, *Materials*, pp. 554-574; Robert Mandrou, *Magistrats et sorciers en France au XVIIe siècle: Une analyse de psychologie historique* (Paris: Seuil, 1980), pp. 88-89, 98, 117, 126, 128-134.

³⁴ Elisabeth Biesel, *Hexenjustiz, Volksmagie und soziale Konflikte im lothringischen Raum, Trierer Hexenprozesse: Quellen und Darstellungen*, 3 (Trier: Spee, 1997) (especially pp. 92-100 with bibliography); Lea, *Materials*, pp. 604-624; Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Harmondsworth: Peregrine Books, 1984²), pp. 77-80.

the acquaintance of the Aldermen of Bruges with the learned concept of the sabbath: they inform their colleagues that the witches attend banquets and dances, where they renounce God and the Sacraments, and pay homage to the Devil in the shape of a male goat. They also refer to a case of a fourteen year old girl they had interrogated in 1596, who had told them about a sabbath with banquets, dances and sexual intercourse with the Devil. The letter also provides advice on the lawsuit to be followed and gives some valuable tips. Thus, according to the magistrate of Bruges, one had to be alert for the witch and attentive to every gesture and word by her, since witches were used to deny stubbornly everything, but once confronted with witnesses, they had to own up. At this stage, the interrogator had to pay attention to odd gestures («vremde gestalten») and words. What's more, the fact that witches did not shed a tear or did not bleed during the torture, was an indication that they were assisted by the Devil. Every scar was a potential *punctum diabolicum* or the symbol of the Pact between the Devil and the witch. Especially when that spot seemed to be numb.

Another indication of the acquaintance of the Magistrate of Bruges with demonological tracts is to be found in the book collection of Jan de Wree senior (†1607).³⁵ This humanist, advisor (*taalman*) from the bench of Aldermen from 1596 until his death, had a very rich library. Besides the *Enchiridion rerum Criminalium* [= *Praxis rerum Criminalium*] by Damhouder and Grillando's *De hereticis*, he possessed some tracts from medieval Italian lawyers on maleficia, e.g. Angelo Carletti (ca. 1414-1495) (*Angelus de maleficiis*)³⁶, Alberto Gandino (1240/50-after 1311) (*Libellus super maleficiis et causis criminalibus et statutis loquentibus de maleficiis et questionibus dependentibus a statutis*)³⁷ and Baldo Bonifacio (†1450) (*De maleficiis*)³⁸. In the category 'heresy' we find Alfonso de Castro's *Adversus omnes haereses libri XIV* (first edited in 1534) in which the author dedicates some pages to the *diabolus*. In his other book *De iusta haereticorum punitione* (1546), this Spanish theologian (ca. 1495-1558) treats from chapter 13 to chapter 16 the topics of magic and witchcraft.

³⁵ A. De Poorter, 'De bibliotheek van Meester Jan de Wree, vader van Olivarius', *Annales de Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, 56 (1923), 69-86.

³⁶ Sosio Pezzella, 'Carletti, Angelo', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 20 (Rome, 1977), pp. 136-138.

³⁷ Diego Quaglioni, 'Gandino, Alberto', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 52 (Rome, 1999), pp. 147-152.

³⁸ *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: Bio-bibliographie*, ed. U. Chevalier, I (A-I) (Paris: Picard, 1905), col. 655.

Especially in chapter 16 he responds affirmatively the question 'De lamiis et strigibus, an sint haeretici censendi' and he subscribes to the reality of the flight of the witches. Both tracts were reprinted several times and in 1571 and 1578 the complete work of de Castro was edited.³⁹ De Wree's showpiece concerning demonology was without any doubt the *Disquisitionum Magicarum libri sex* by the Jesuit Martin Delrio (1551-1608). This so-called catholic encyclopaedia — first edited in 1599 at Louvain — had a widespread influence. Especially Book 2 on diabolic or black magic (*De Magia Daemoniaca et eius efficitate*) with the elaborations on demonological topics such as the Pact with the Devil, sexual intercourse between witches and *succubi* and *incubi* (*quaestio* 15), and physical transport of witches through the air (*quaestio* 16) has to be mentioned. Book 5 on the lawsuit to be followed in witch trials (*De Iudicis officio et ordine iudicario in hoc crimine*), was a still more elaborated manual than the *Malleus*. The theories of the *Malleus* most probably received their first real distribution within the Southern Netherlands through Delrio's tract (which appeared more than hundred years later!).⁴⁰ Delrio — a close friend of the famous humanist Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), who suggested him the Latin title of his tract⁴¹ — considers the sexual clinch of the Pact with the Devil as the basis of this disgusting offence, where apostasy, heresy, blasphemy, murder, and even patricide are combined with sexually deviant actions. In an addendum Delrio completes his vision on the transportation of witches through the air. The Jesuit refers to well-known medieval authors (Caesarius of Heisterbach, Jacques de Vitry, Peter the Venerable, Thomas of Cantimpré and Vincent of Beauvais), as well as reports from Jesuits and hagiographical collections, especially the demonologists Peter Binsfeld⁴², Bartolomeo Spina (ca. 1475-1546)⁴³, Bernardo

³⁹ *Bibliotheca Lamiarum: Documenti e immagini della stregoneria dal Medio Evo all'Età Moderna* (Ospedaletto: Pacini, 1994), p. 136; Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, pp. 343-344.

⁴⁰ Gielis, 'Toverij en duivelspact', p. 195.

⁴¹ Jan Papy, 'Giusto Lipsio e la superstizione', in *L'uomo e la natura nel Rinascimento*, ed. L. Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milan: Nuovi Orizzonti, 1996), pp. 445-456 (especially p. 450).

⁴² On Binsfeld and his *Tractatus de confessionibus maleficorum et sagarum* (first Edition: Trier, 1589), see Lea, *Materials*, pp. 576-600; P.C. van der Eerden, 'Der Teufelspakt bei Petrus Binsfeld und Cornelius Loos', in *Hexenglaube und Hexenprozesse im Raum Rhein-Mosel-Saar*, ed. G. Franz – F. Irsigler, *Trierer Hexenprozesse: Quellen und Darstellungen*, 1 (Trier: Spee, 1996), pp. 51-71.

⁴³ On Spina and his *Novus Malleus Maleficarum* (1581), see Bonomo, *Caccia*, pp. 339-341; Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, pp. 326-337; Lea, *Materials*, pp. 385-395; *La stregoneria: Diavoli, streghe, inquisitori dal Trecento al Settecento*, ed. S. Abbiati – A. Agnoletto – M.R. Lazzati (Milan, 1984), pp. 254-269 and 366-368.

Rategno da Como (†ca. 1510)⁴⁴, Grillando, Nicolas Jacquier (†1472)⁴⁵, Nicolas Remy, Johannes Nider (ca. 1380-1438)⁴⁶ and the *Malleus*.⁴⁷

A last important indication of the presence of the learned witchcraft concept in Bruges, is found in the torturing sessions during the several witch crazes themselves and in the formulation of the verdicts by the magistrate. Unfortunately, serious gaps in the available source material prevent us to illustrate all cases of demonological witchcraft in Bruges.⁴⁸ In 1532 Ghileyn Wouters and Amplonie Coopman were burnt at the stake, with the argumentation that they had delivered themselves to the Evil One from Hell, that they had renounced the crucified God and that they as members of a diabolical sect, had killed and robbed people.⁴⁹ Concerning the witchcraze of 1596, we refer to the abovementioned letter from the magistrate of Bruges to the aldermen of Courtrai. The witch-trial against a certain Jehanne Couvel in 1612 informs us better. Typical of that trial is that the 'witch' without any torture already gave an amount of demonological information: she had sexual intercourse with the Devil, who had horse's feet and sperm as cold as ice. Jehanne also hinted at some aspects of sabbat-like reunions. As she answered, the devil was seated on her shoulders and prevented her from telling more. When the judges threatened her torture, she answered the demonological questionnaire smoothly. Yes, the Devil had taught her how to work

⁴⁴ Bonomo, *Caccia*, pp. 254-258; Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, pp. 279-284; Lea, *Materials*, pp. 370-373.

⁴⁵ Tschacher, 'Der Flug durch die Luft', 268-271.

⁴⁶ On Nider and his *Formicarius*, where he underscribes the illusion of the flight of the witches, see Bonomo, *Caccia*, pp. 144-151; Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, pp. 88-99; T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* (Rome, 1975), pp. 500-515; Lea, *Materials*, pp. 260-265; Tschacher, 'Der Flug durch die Luft', 261-262 and Id., 'Der Formicarius des Johannes Nider von 1437/38: Studien zu den Anfängen der europäischen Hexenverfolgungen im Spätmittelalter', 2 vols (unpublished diss., University of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1997).

⁴⁷ Edda Fischer, 'Die "Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex" von Martin Delrio als gegenreformatorische Exempel-Quelle' (unpublished diss., Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 1975); Othon Scholer, 'Die Trierer und Luxemburger Hexenprozesse in der dämonologischen Literatur', in *Methoden und Konzepte*, ed. G. Franz, pp. 303-327; W. Shumaker, 'Martin Delrio, Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex', in W. Shumaker, *Natural Magic and Modern Science: Four Treatises 1590-1657*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 63 (Binghamton, NY: State University, 1989), pp. 70-93.

⁴⁸ Such is the case with the trials of 1468, 1589-96, and 1605.

⁴⁹ Brussels, General State Archives, *Rekenkamer*, nr. 13.784, Schoutsrekening Brugge, 1533-1534, fol. 17r-18v and Bruges, Archives of the City, *Verluydboec* 1490-1537, fol. 231v.

magic. Yes, she had renounced God. Yes, she worshipped the Devil and she had even kissed him on the anus while he had taken the form of a pig or a shaggy dog. She had bewitched many persons, and three of them to death. With the help of the Devil she could undo her bewitchments. On the back of her crown she had received her 'punctum diabolicum' after she had been sodomised by the Devil. Finally Jehanne gave away the names of other witches she had seen on the banquets. In the argumentation of the verdict all these demonological topics were explicitly enumerated.⁵⁰

On the last witch craze of 1633-36 we are particularly well documented.⁵¹ We limit ourselves by evoking only the ever recurring standard demonological questions the Aldermen asked the potential witches Mayken Karrebrouck, Mayken Luucx, Calle Besems and Catheline Ide while they tortured them:

- 1 Who taught you to bewitch?
- 2 On the Devil:
 - 1 when did you first meet him?
 - 2 what was his name?
 - 3 which form did he take?
 - 4 what did he promise?
- 3 On the dances:
 - 1 where?
 - 2 whom did you see?
 - 3 frequency?
 - 4 what did happen?
 - 5 how did you get there? how did you return?
 - 6 renouncements?
- 4 Punctum diabolicum:
 - 1 where?
 - 2 when?
- 5 Bewitchments:
 - 1 who?
 - 2 how?
- 6 Again on the Devil and the dances:
 - 1 promises and deceit by Devil
 - 2 dances:
 - 1 where?
 - 2 frequency?

⁵⁰ Bruges, State Archives, *Stad Brugge*, Criminele Examinatieboucken, 621, fol. 117r-122v; Bruges, Archives of the City, *Verluydboec* 1611-1676, fol. 12v-13r. See also Vany-sacker, *Heksenprocessen*, pp. 92-96.

⁵¹ Vany-sacker, *Heksenprocessen*, pp. 97-117, 293-294 and Id., *Hekserij in Brugge*, pp. 117-145, 191-192 (with references to archival sources).

- 3 how did you get there?
- 4 what did happen?
- 5 shape of Devil?
- 6 homage to the Devil?
- 3 copulation with Devil?
- 4 presence of Devil in jail?
- 5 do you know the other detained witches?

The combination of suggestive questions with interminable torturing sessions finally led to the 'confession' by the four women. They were all burnt at the stake because of their pernicious pact with the Devil. In 1638 the magistrate of Bruges still believed in demonological witchcraft: a 86 year old Janneken de Vos was tortured for twelve hours and bombarded with the classic demonological questions. Only because she persisted in denying her potential pact with the Devil, was she not burnt, but banished for 20 years from the city and within a radius of eight miles around Bruges.⁵²

5. The mixed Magistrate of popular judges and learned humanists and its impact on witchcraft prosecution

As a general view one can state that the magistrate of the city of Bruges formed an assembly of men of the people and scholars, each with their own cultural baggage and interpretation of witchcraft. The proportion men of the people / scholars will play a part in the ultimate interpretation by the magistrate of the crime of witchcraft, since every decision required an unanimity of seven Aldermen.

A marvellous case to underline the importance of abovementioned proportion within the magistrate and the underlying discussions during a witchtrial, is the one of a certain Catheline Onbaerts, who was condemned on August 26, 1538 to be publicly exposed with a flaxen wig that was burned on her shaved head, whereafter she was bannished out of the county of Flanders for 50 years on penalty of death.⁵³ Three years later she would be burnt alive by the Aldermen of Vlissingen in Zeeland as a demonological witch, since she had had sexual intercourse

⁵² Bruges, State Archives, *Stad Brugge*, Criminele Examinatieboucken, 625, fol. 30v-31v; Bruges, Archives of the City, *Verluydboec* 1611-1667, fol. 163r-164r.

⁵³ Bruges, Archives of the City, *Verluydboec* 1538-1555, fol. 11r-11v; Brussels, General State Archives, *Rekenkamer*, 13785, fol. 16v.

with the Devil.⁵⁴ In Bruges, she had also been considered to be a demonological witch, but the majority of the Alderman had, in view of her age and her sex, opted for the second most severe penalty. Thanks to Damhouder, who describes this case in his *Praxis rerum Criminalium*, we have a clear look on how a citybench of Aldermen, with all its different members, popular and learned magistrates, could react during the examination of a potential witch (see the appendix “Malefica cuiusdam exemplum Brugis pro Sancta habita”).⁵⁵ The information is first hand, since Damhouder was *pensionaris* at the time. He tells the story of an aged woman who at that time was considered to be a saint or an Apostle of Christ since she was able to cure in a miraculous way all kinds of diseases and ailments. She didn’t use any medicines, but asked the patient, like the Apostles, to engage in all kinds of religious activities, such as fasting, reciting prayers, a Pilgrimage to Saint-Arnold in Oudenburg or to Saint-Hubert in the Ardennes, and getting said Mass. One day, aware of these suspicious activities, the Aldermen of Bruges, had her arrested at midnight and imprisoned. The morning after they inquired her for the real nature of her methods. She claimed to use only honorable methods and was accused wrongly. The magistrate decided to put her to torture. During that examination she persisted in her affirmation that she was not helped in any way by the Devil. All the while, the mayor (who was in terrible pain of arthritis) was moaning. When the aged woman remarked this, she proposed to cure him. The mayor believed her and was disposed to pay her 2000 gold coins if she succeeded. The registrar and the two *pensionarissen* of the city, also present, opposed the mayor’s offer and they asked and obtained the woman to be put in an isolated room. They urged the mayor to be careful and to be sure she indeed used the methods of the Apostles before he would let her treat him... When the aged woman again was convoked before the magistrate, one of the *pensionarissen* inquired her about her methods. She answered that is was enough for the mayor to be convinced she could cure him and to declare this publicly. This was considered a clear

⁵⁴ W. Geldolf, *Volkverhalen uit Zeeland en de Zuidhollandse eilanden* (Utrecht-Antwerp, 1979), pp. 26-27; Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra, ‘Toverij in Zeeland, een status quaestionis’, *Volkkundig bulletin*, 12 (1986), 110, 114-115, 128; J. Sinninghe, ‘Een onbekend Zeeuws heksenproces’, *Neerlands Volksleven*, 10 (1960), 265-266.

⁵⁵ In the 1591 Cologne Edition, one finds this case mentioned on the pages 114-118. See also Vanysacker, *Heksenprocessen*, pp. 143-144, 184-186 and Id., *Hekserij in Brugge*, pp. 75 and 92-93. Monballyu, who adopted this case, stresses the influence of the ‘shaving story’ on other witch-trials in Flanders (Monballyu, ‘La théorie’, 302-307).

indication the aged women had contacts with the Devil. The mayor and the Aldermen informed about it, decided to put her again to torture. She persisted in her denial of contact with the Devil. At the end the Aldermen incarcerated her. Based on new information, she was put to torture for the third time. Although tormented dreadfully, she hardly gave in. At a certain moment she started to shout to be released from the rack, under the threat of relieving herself on all persons present. Part of the magistrate wanted to release her to give her some rest, another part wanted the torture to be continued in a merciless way. The first group won the day. The woman was released and led to the toilet. After she had been there at least half an hour and after she had been urged twice or three times to leave the toilet, she was tied up again on the rack. She did not confess anything, complained nor gave a cry; on the contrary, she started to smile, to play with her fingers and to insult the mayor, aldermen, pensionarissen, and executioner present: "Whatsoever you want to do, what torture you want to impose on me, your cruelties cannot touch me!" According to Damhouder, after hearing these words, the 'sensible part' of the Aldermen considered the woman to be insensitive to pain, by the intervention of the Devil ('His auditis sanior senatorum pars existimabat illam daemonis ope factam impassibilem'). Finally she even fell asleep on the rack. After one had gathered new incriminating statements, the magistrate decided to put the woman for the fourth time to torture. Before that, she was totally shaved. But once again she did not confess. All of a sudden someone present remarked that the genitalia, armpits and anus were not shaved yet. While doing so, one found in her anus and vagina a piece of parchment with strange diabolic words, discerned by some crosses. Encouraged by this discovery, the magistrate continued the examination and after a few moments the woman confessed all she had withheld during the past interrogations. She even believed that, had she not been completely shaved and had the parchment not been found, she would never have been forced to confess, since that parchment made her insensible to pain with the help of a malicious spirit.

Then the moment came for the magistrate to discuss the penalty. Here Damhouder gives us very precious information on how the bench of aldermen interpreted the crime of witchcraft. One part of the magistrate wanted her burned as a demonological witch, but the majority showed mercy, in view of her age and sex. Damhouder stresses that the woman (according to the criminal jurisdiction and the customary law of Bruges) had to be burned alive. It is clear that the *pensionaris* had preferred

(along with what he would call the ‘sanior senatorium pars’) this penalty. We should bear in mind that six years earlier, when Damhouder was an alderman of the city, two people were burnt for the same facts. Although the majority had judged otherwise, the opinion of the other Aldermen was not that easily put aside. That is the reason why they burned symbolically the flaxen wig on the head of that Catheline Onbaerts.

The case indicates that the determination of the penalty is the final stage of a continuous discussion between different members of the bench of aldermen, all of them with their particular curriculum, theoretical baggage and experience in the field. The verdict does not tell us the whole story of the trial. This is clear from the contrary attitudes towards the potential witch of the mayor, suffering of arthritis, and Damhouder. Besides, we have to keep in mind the yearly renewal of the magistrate in the city of Bruges. It could help explain the discontinuity in the attitude of that institute towards witchcraft. Different people, different interpretation: the bench of aldermen of 1532 was not the one of 1538. The reasoning “once in favour of the cumulative concept of witchcraft, always in favour of it” certainly cannot be applied to a magistrate, and probably not even to an individual alderman. Thus nine persons who had been member of the magistrate during the witchcraze of 1633-35, were alderman again in the years 1642-44 when a certain Jooris de Lay admitted that he had concluded a pact with the Devil, and was spared. The judges did not even mention, let alone inquire about standard demonological topics such as sabbat, homages to the Devil, or names of other witches. Jooris was released after he paid the legal costs.⁵⁶

All these elements can help us to understand why periods of witch-crazes did alternate with periods of scepticism towards the witch-crime.

6. The influence of individuals

The influence of individuals should not be overlooked either. The yearly renewal of the magistrate, an element of discontinuity, however

⁵⁶ Bruges, State Archives, *Stad Brugge*, Criminele Examinatieboucken, 625, fol. 68r-70r; Vanyacker, *Heksenprocessen*, pp. 130-132, 149 and 303 (note 60). The 9 Aldermen concerned: Hendrik Anchemant, Alexander de Muelenaere, Engelbert Faignaert, Jacob Van Marievoorde, Lodewijk De Meyere, Frans D’Aranda, Mattheus Botsaert and Antoon D’Hooghe (Bruges, Archives of the City, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing*, 1606-1634, 1634-1667 and *Stadsrekening* 1643).

paradoxical it may sound, sometimes was an element of continuity, at least concerning the verdict in witch trials. The system of rotation again appointed 14 aldermen and *pensionarissen* from 1595-1596 to the magistrate of 1604-1605.⁵⁷ Four of them returned in the magistrate of 1612⁵⁸ and even one member of 1612 was to be encountered in the bench of aldermen of the years 1633-1635.⁵⁹ In other words, four individuals, namely Adolf van Maldegehem, Filips Doignies, Herman van Volden and Frans Pardo, were alderman or pensionaris during the years 1595-1596, 1604-1605 and 1612-1613, incidentally (?) three demonological witchcraft years in Bruges. At least these four men knew exactly what happened to the former victims. These were men of influence,⁶⁰ just like the aldermen Hendrik Anchemant and Alexander de Muele-naere, who participated actively in the examinations and tortures of witches in the years 1634-1635.⁶¹ Both were also member of the magistrate in 1638, when Janneken De Vos was accused as a demonological witch, but for want of evidences was only bannished. Anchemant, by the way, was mayor in that year.⁶²

Still, we have to stress again the fact that these judges could change their attitude towards witchcraft. But is it really a lucky coincidence that in the witchcraft years of Bruges, to know 1596, 1605, 1612 and 1633-35,

⁵⁷ To know Matthias Dagua, Frans Pardo, Filips Van Steelandt, Jacob De Jonghe, Filips Doignies, Lucas Strymeersch, Jacob Wynckelman, Jan Van Nieuwenhove, Nikolaas De Schietere, Alex Dassonneville, Herman Van Volden, Adolf Van Maldeghem, Jan Breydele and Paulus Sproncholf; see Bruges, Archives of the City, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing*, 1572-1605, fol. 227v-228r and f. 239r (renewal magistrate 1595-96) and fol. 281v (renewal magistrate 2 Sept. 1604).

⁵⁸ To know Adolf Van Maldeghem, Filips Doignies, Herman Van Volden and Frans Pardo; see Bruges, Archives of the City, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing*, 1606-1634, f. 72r (2 September 1612).

⁵⁹ To know Bernard Van Der Strate; see Bruges, Archives of the City, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing*, 1606-1634, f. 180r (2 Sept. 1633) and f. 72r (2 Sept. 1612).

⁶⁰ H. van Volden (†29 August 1633) was in 1601 owner of the so-called "Hof van Zevecote". He founded in 1614 the Sint-Hubrechtshuis, and from that year until 1633 he was custodian of the Hospital of St John (Sint-Janshospitaal). See J.L. Muelemeester, *Jacob van Oost de Oudere en het zeventiende-eeuwse Brugge* (Bruges, 1984), p. 255.

⁶¹ H. Anchemant (1611-1669) after a military career acquired by inheritance the manor of Ponsele. From 1660 until 1668 he was custodian of the Hospital of St John. On 2 Jan. 1634 he arrested the potential witches Mayken Karrebrouck and Jan Coese. In his function of custodian of the Hospital, he succeeded A. de Muelenaere (1587-1660), who had been custodian from 1634 until 1660. The latter since 1609 had also held several functions within the magistrate of the city; see Muelemeester, *Jacob van Oost*, pp. 336 and 257.

⁶² Bruges, Archives of the City, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing*, 1634-1667, f. 28r.

humanists as Jan de Wree senior⁶³, Jan Lernout⁶⁴, Olivier de Wree⁶⁵ and Jan de Wree junior⁶⁶, were alderman or *pensionaris*? What's more, Olivier de Wree again was *pensionaris* from 1641 until 1643 included, years of intensive hearing of witnesses concerning witchcraft in Bruges.⁶⁷

7. Conclusion

In this article we have tried to demonstrate that while studying witchcraft prosecutions in a city, one cannot overlook the role of important individuals within the magistrate. Far from attributing the witchcraft prosecutions in 16th and 17th century Bruges entirely to certain aldermen or humanists, nevertheless one can imagine their potential influence on the phenomenon. They, after all, were the ones who were open to the demonological theories of their time. Through individuals such as Joost de Damhouder (who wrote on witchcraft) Bruges had a certain tradition in that area. A tradition that even goes back to the 15th century. In 1460-1470, Lodewijk van Gruuthuse held in his library in Bruges an illuminated manuscript with a French translation of the Sermon of Johannes Tincor (†1469) against the Waldensians (*Sermon contre les Vaudois*).⁶⁸

⁶³ Jan de Wree sr. was advisor (*raad*) in 1593 and *taelman* van 1596 tot 1607; see Vandermeeersch, 'Een onderzoek', II, 216 and 228.

⁶⁴ Lernout was advisor (*raad*) in 1578; see Bruges, Archives of the City, manuscript P. Ledoulx, *Levens der Geleerde en Vermaerde mannen der stad van Brugge*, ca. 1800, I, ff. 197-202; he was alderman from 2 Sept. 1612 until 2 Sept. 1613 (Bruges, Archives of the City, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing* 1606-1634, f. 72).

⁶⁵ Olivier de Wree was *raad* in 1624, alderman in 1626, treasurer in 1629-30 (Bruges, Archives of the City, manuscript P. Ledoulx, I, ff. 408-410); alderman from 2 Sept. 1631 until 2 Sept. 1633 (Bruges, Archives of the City, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing* 1606-1634, ff. 163r, 171v), *raad* from 2 Oct. 1641 until 2 Sept. 1643 (*ibidem*, *Registers der Wetsvernieuwing* 1634-1667, ff. 61r and 68-69) and mayor *van de commune* in 1643 (*ibidem*, manuscript P. Ledoulx, I, ff. 408-410).

⁶⁶ Jan de Wree jr. was *taelman* from 1620 until 1623, *pensionaris* in 1631 (L. Gilliodts-Vanseveren, 'Documents judiciaires concernant Olivier De Wree (Vredius) et sa famille', *Annales de Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, 52 (1902), 91-92). Again he was *pensionaris* from 2 Sept. 1632 until his death on 14 May 1634 (Bruges, Archives of the City, *Stadsrekening* 1633, f. 39r and *Stadsrekening* 1634, f. 38v).

⁶⁷ Vanysacker, *Heksenprocessen*, pp.149-151.

⁶⁸ On Tincor, Rector and Dean of the Faculty of Arts in Cologne and since 1456 Canon at the Cathedral Notre Dame of Tournai, and his tract, see G.-R. Tewes, 'Frühhumanismus in Köln: Neue Beobachtungen zu den thomistischen Theologen Johannes Tincoris von Tournai', in *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert: Festschrift für Erich Meuthen*, ed. J. Helmraath – H. Müller – H. Wolff (München, 1994), II, 667-695.

This manuscript contained a miniature on which one can discern some demonological topics: a man in a kneeling position kisses the arse of a mail goat and on the background of the miniature we discern flying men and women seated on monstrous beasts.⁶⁹ Some years later the famous printer of Bruges, Colard Mansion, edited this tract in a printing. Possibly this had influence on the intellectual milieu of Bruges. In 1475 the same Colard Mansion printed the anonymous *Les Évangiles des Quenouilles*, a kind of ethnographical study avant-la-lettre on popular witchcraft in Picardy.⁷⁰ Thus, in the city of Bruges of the late 15th century were already some germs of the two-fold witchcraft concept. A century later, with Damhouder as intermediary, this double concept would become reality. The magistrate, with famous humanists in its ranks, after all, sentenced in 1596, 1605, 1612 and in 1634, 13 women to be burned at the stake for having a Pact with the Devil. The demonological literature of the 16th century, which continued earlier theories, had been adopted and tried out in the city of Bruges!

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⁶⁹ On this manuscript and Gruuthuuse's collection, see C. Lemaire, 'De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruuthuuse', in *Vlaamse kunst op perkament: Handschriften en miniaturen te Brugge van de 12de tot de 16de eeuw* (Brugge, 1981), pp. 217-218. For an illustration of the miniature in question, see, among others, Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, illustration 1 (between pp. 128 and 129).

⁷⁰ In this frame story, six women reunite at six consecutive nights to tell stories and to spin. Their stories have different topics: children, sexuality and love, diseases, witchcraft, good and wrong, and ways to become rich. For a critical edition, see *Les évangiles des Quenouilles: Édition critique, introduction et notes*, ed. M. Jeay, Études médiévales (Montréal: Presses de l'Université, 1985).

Appendix

Maleficae cuiusdam exemplum Brugis pro Sancta habita (cf. pp. 425-428)

Quibusdam vero ad torturam applicandis, non temere, priusquam dicta tormenta aut partim aut collectim omnia intentarentur, omnes capillos crinesque omnes novacula abrasos conspexi, facto scilicet per hoc periculo num quae adminicula haberent pro impassibilitate, qua nulla tormentorum genera persentiscerent. Id enim magicis artibus, sortilegiis, incantationibus, aut execranda dirarum devotione, plerunque efficere solent, uti saepe ipse vidi quum Civitati Brugensi essem a consiliis, potissimum in muliercula admodum anu, quae tum habitu, tum victu, tum incessu, tum moribus, et fucata sanctimoniae specie ab omnibus venerabatur, habebatur in precio, et plurimi fiebat, veluti vera Christi Apostola, quod multarum matronarum filios ac filias, quasi miraculose curaret, gibbis liberaret, crura tibiasque confractas ilico restitueret, idque non arte, aut externo medicamine aliquo adhibito, verum (ut olim Apostoli) pietatis aliquo exercitamento iniuncto: nempe, ut uno, duobus, aut tribus diebus ieiunarent in pane et aqua, vel ut ter legerent orationem dominicam, aut inviserent S. Mariam Ardenburgensem, aut sanctum Arnoldum Audenburgensem, aut sanctum Iodocum, aut sanctum Hubertum in Arduenna. Vel ut sacrum unum aut alterum religiose audirent, aut aliquot preculas persolverent aegri. His rebus iniunctis rite expletis, ilico aut certe intra pauculos dies ab incommodis et morbis liberabantur, et firmas valetudini restituebantur, ob eam, quam in ipsam mulierculam spem conceperant. Quum istius mulierculae ea facta in vulgus latius spargerentur, a senatoribus (quibus mens, ut aequum erat, fuit altior et sanior) intempesta nocte iussa fuit ex lecto comprehendi et carceri mancipari. Postridie, quum ab iisdem senatoribus in carcere leni praevioque examine perquireretur, quomodo, quibus mediis, quo foedere quaque fiducia freta suas curas perageret ea intrepide semper respondit se pie cuncta exercuisse et bonis piisque rationibus; atque ideo sese non debuisse tam ignominiose comprehendi. His non obstantibus, ex certis manifestisque indiciis, per senatum adiudicabatur torturae, ad quam cum venisset et verbis persuatoriis examinaretur, constanti vultu et animo semper perduravit in ea sententia, qua asseverabat se nihil eorum quae fecerat daemonis alicuius ope peregissee, sed omnia pio et licito medio. Aderat hoc tempore ipse quoque burgimagister (ut dicunt) misere tunc (nam podagricus fuit) afflictus et cruciatus podagra, cuius gratia subinde inter examinandum tristitia edidit suspiria et singultus miserabiles. Ad quem haec anicula conversa sic orsa est: "Vis", inquit, "mi D. Burgimagister, feliciter ab hoc podagrae cruciatu liberari? Ego hoc malum, si voles, ilico et feliciter in te curavero". Ad quam ille: "Curares", inquit, "Optarem ab hoc morbo", ait, "penitus curari posse duobus milibus ducatorum, quos tibi iamiam etiam numeravero, si quod verbis promittis, re praestare poteris". Ad quem tum graphiarii et consiliarii praesentes: "Domine" (inquiunt) "Burgimagister, etiam atque etiam dispice quid dicas, quidque factururus sis: Nobis quaesumus potius ausculta, et istam maleficam in aliam cameram seduci iube, nosque patienter audi". Et ita seorsum abducta, rursum dicti iidem consiliarii in hunc modum burgimagistram alloquebantur: "Ah", inquit, "Burgimagister, vide diligenter quid dicas aut quid facias, quantoque periculo temet exponas ex vana persuasionem, qua arbitraris hanc tanquam Christi

quandam Apostolam, te ab hac tua podagra posse licitis modis curare, tametsi cuncta secundum speciem videantur pia et divina. Si enim penitus ipsius potestatem perscrutari libeat, age eandem denuq̄ ad nos revoca; modum curandi perquiramus (non est abbreviata manus Domini) si Apostolico remedio te curaturum promiserit, ipsorumque viis et mediis institerit non refragabimur. Sin aliis illicitis mediis utatur quibus fidat, omnia ipsius et tibi et nobis omnibus merito suspecta esse debent". Haec itaque reducta ab uno consiliariorum rogabatur: "Si", inquit, "Burgimagistrum nostrum morbo quo laborat, levare curareque praesumas, quo", inquit, "remedio adhibito et quibus rationibus id praestabis?" Tum illa: "Nullo (inquit) alio remedio quam hoc: Credat Burgimagister, et sibi persuadeat me eam habere potestatem, ut ipsum cures ilico et valens curabitur". Quibus auditis, et intellectis, iussa est denuo abduci et in locum priorem seorsum recipi. Tum uno ore parique consensu dicti Concilarii: "Vides", inquiunt, "et audis mi D. Burgimagister vosque omnes Senatores praesentes quid ista malefica responderit. Ex cuius verbis aperte constat ipsam omnia perverse atque adeo diabolice peragere, teque Burgimagistrum illicitè curare praesumpsisse. In sua enim cura Apostolorum vestigiis minime insistit. Illi enim in fide et virtute Dei sanabant, dicentes claudio: 'In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi surge, et ambula' [= *The Acts of the Apostles* 3, 6]. Caeco dicebant: 'In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi [= *Acts* 3, 6] suscipe', ille ad gressum restitutus est [= *Acts* 3, 6], hic visum recepit [= *Acts* 9, 18] non quidem ope humana sed potentia divina in nomine et fide Christi. Haec autem malefica se curaturam iactitat, si quis duntaxat ipsi fidat ipsamque hoc facturam credat. Quae quidem fides (imo perfidia) prorsus contraria est cum fide Apostolorum". Hac itaque responsione percepta, et rebus melius pensculatis, burgimagister poenitudine ductus ab ea curari noluit, quem dum vixit ad supremum usque spiritum tam facilis credulitatis non mediocriter poenituit. Malefica interim isthaec ob constantem negationem eorum quae ipsi imponebantur, torturae tradebatur; acriter autem contorta nonnulla delicta confitebatur eaque leviuscula. Insignia vero maleficia fortiter negavit, ab hac itaque tortura levabatur, et utcunque purgata rursum in carcerem recepta est. Postea, novis indiciis gravata iterum torturae addicitur. In qua (ut prius) paucula quaedam eaque minutiora tantum confitebatur. Ob cruciatum tamen clamare coepit: "Abripite me ex hoc torturae scamno, aut permerdabo vos quotquot adestis omnes, nam diutius naturae pondus continere non possum." Erant autem iuxta torturae locum latrinae, ad quas adeundas quibusdam senatorum eam relaxari placuit. Alii quibus mens erat sagacior, nullo modo relaxandam esse statuerunt, ne fortassis hinc gravius quoddam incommodum oriri posset. Verum vicit hic affirmantium maior numerus, quorum iudicio e scamno relaxatur, et ad latrinas deducitur. Ubi postquam aequo diutius haesisset, nempe ad semihoram, et amplius, neque bis, terve vocata rediret, tandem redire cogitur, scamno imponitur, novaeque torturae destinatur, ligatur, et ex iussu praetoris, consulis et senatorum torqueri occipit. Illa non lamentationes aut clamores edidit, sed horum loco subridere coepit, et quamvis ligata, digitorum tamen complosionibus iudicibus ipsis insultabat, dicens: "Vos Praetor, Consul, caeterique Domini, et tu quoque nepharie tortor, agite, facite, posthac quod vobis libitum fuerit, nihil nunc in mei tortura profeceritis, nihil in me valebit vestra crudelitas." His auditis sanior senatorum pars

existimabat illam daemonis ope factam impassibilem. Ex eo namque tempore nihil fere fateri voluit ex iis, quae secunda informatione producta fuerant, sed scamno patienter innixa aut risit, aut dormivit. Hinc factum, ut secundo e scamno et tortura relaxaretur et iterum in carcerem reciperetur. Postea, alii quoque testes auditi sunt, et nova indicia habita, ob quae iam tertio torturae adjudicatur. Verum priusquam scamno imponeretur totius corporis pilos et crines abradi curavimus, postea scamno imponitur, acerrime torquetur, nihil tamen fateri voluit. Tandem quibusdam astantibus succurrit eam non esse tonsam in pudendis, sub axillis, et in culo, ubi per tonstrices illi quoque crines abrasi fuerunt, et inter radendum reperta fuit pergamena culo cunnoque inserta, cui inscripta fuerunt aliquot peregrina vocabula daemonum, crucibus aliquot inter se distincta. Haec pergamena senatoribus exhibita occasionem prae-buit, ut rursum scamno torquenda traderetur, ubi facta plane passibilis, omnia nude fatebatur quaecunque tribus prioribus informationibus fuerant proposita. Cum autem rogaretur, cur prius fateri noluit, ait: "Nisi a me", inquit, "omnes crines, atque etiam hanc schedulam abstulissetis, nunquam a me perquirere quicquam potuissetis, ut quae per illa, ob maligni spiritus operam, facta eram impassibilis", quod haud dubie verissimum fuerat. Postquam vero res eo pervenisset, ut inter senatores discuteretur, qua poena haec malefica plectenda foret, aliis placuit eam igne plectendam et occidendam esse. Alii (quibus animus ad sexum muliebrem, et ad aetatem tam provectam fuit mitior) censuerunt eam non igne nec morte conficiendam, sed puniendam poena morti proxima, nempe ut in theatro consuetis vestibus omni populo ostenderetur, deinde caput commodatitiis capillis vestiretur, quos carnifex iniecta flamma exureret, hoc signo indicans, magistratum eam non punire iuxta rigorem iuris, et pro consuetudine patriae (iuxta quam deberet comburi viva) sed in eam usum fuisse summa clementia. Hoc facto censebant eam exilio damnandam esse ad annos perpetuos, sub poena ignis, etiamsi nihil similium postea perpetrasset. Et si banno suo obediens, extra Flandriam similia perpetrare praesumeret, ob ea et tunc etiam ob praecedentia omnia, tanquam suam secum sententiam conferens, viva combureretur. Haec itaque posterior, et etiam mitior sententia pluralitate vocum prevaluit. Malefica igitur haec ita punita, bannoque suo obedire se velle declarans, a duobus senatoribus et pensionario extra terminos territorii Brugensis producta fuit. Unde statim convolvavit in Zelandiam, et aliquot hebdomadibus resedit Middelburgi, ubi statim ad intermissa maleficia redire non destitit. Praetor autem ibi Florentius Dammaeus a nobis de hac muliercula edoctus, per exemplaria omnia nostrae informationis torturae et sententiae ad ipsum in favorem iustitiae transmissa, eam observare incoepit, quam, ubi ad consueta maleficia rediisse certo cognovit, eam comprehendit, et ob confessionem et sententiam previam, vivam incendi curavit, et huius iustitiae executionem senatui Brugensi ilico rescripsit mihi-que fideliter narravit. Sed de his plus satis.

Karl August NEUHAUSEN

LUSUS QUIDAM WESTMONASTERIENSES AB OBLIVIONE NUNC VINDICANDI*

1. Exordium

Ludens homo faber unde coortus esset, qualis evasisset omnino quamque egregia praestare posset, cum alii comprobaverunt tum uberima fontium copia nixus ostendit Ioannes ille Huizinga, qui Batavus omnem etiam cultum humanum atque civilem esse profectum demonstrare temptavit a *ludo*¹. Etenim quantam eiusdem *ludi*, *lusus lusionis*ve notionibus reliquisque vocibus a *ludendi* verbo derivandis² oporteat vim tribui quantumque momenti, vel tum facillime quisque perspiciet, cum totius antiquitatis documenta collustraverit tradita.³ Sed (etsi *tenerorum*

* En integra fere praelectio die 4^o m. Aug. a. 2000^o inter eum habita conventum, quem undecimum Societas Internationalis Studiis Neolatinis Provehendis Cantabrigiae apud Britannos celebrandum curavit. Non enim mihimet arbitratus recusandum, quin illius acroasis ductus sineretur idem manere, textum eiusdem quidem orationis meae malui hic immutatum, quoad fieri posset, repetere (exceptis nimirum fontibus nonnullis et adnotationibus suo loco deinceps addendis), sed lusus ipsos Westmonasterienses a me tum enucleaturo palam distributos, quibus auscultantium animos vel maxime rebar esse permultos, eosdem quam creberrimos relegendos altiusque evolvendos in Cantabrigiensis illius Acta conventus, etiamsi triennio demum postea veri simile est eadem impressum iri, tamen distuli. Quantopere vero Theodoricus Sacré praestans cum editor tum arbiter elegantiae pro singulari sua humanitate doctrinaque effecerit, ut illa praelectio ne naevulis quidem neglectis in commentationem velut transformaretur aliquatenus perpolitam, vereor equidem, ne Latinis etiam, quibus deceat, vix vocibus exprimi possit. Dedicatas autem hasce symbolas ambas esse duabus volo feminis, quarum utrique excellenti de Neolatinis omnibus studiis fovendis singulariter merita nemo nostrum non maximam gratiam debet, tam Linae Usewijn-Jacobs quam Rhodae Schnur.

¹ In meum ipsius usum converti vernaculam eam editionem, quae *Homo Ludens - Vom Ursprung der Kultur im Spiel* inscripta notisque adaucta dilucidis Hamburgi (apud Rowohlt = rde, vol. 21) a. 1956^o facta est publici iuris.

² Omnes has notiones enodatas praebet ThLL, vol. VII,2, fasc. XI-XII, 1754 (*ludarius*) - 1892 (*lusus*).

³ Dum typographis relationem hancce committo, recentis eius encyclopaediae, cui titulus est *Der Neue Pauly*, octavum quidem volumen est editum, sed desideratur id, quod litteram "s" complexurum videtur (ideoque Germanicas voces lusui verbisque similibus

lusor amorum Naso quidem tot incitavit ingenia vel *ludibundus* tantum Propertius valuit, ut admiratus eundem vatem ipse Goetheus Germanicorum ille princeps poetarum aliquamdiu semet esse confessus sit imitatum⁴), nihil videtur antiquis temporibus esse conscriptum, cuius operis Latini titulus sive *ludi* prae se ferret nomen sive simillimum *lusus*. Namque *Troiae* vel *Troicus lusus*, quod solum lemma speciale lexicis fere exhibendum⁵ forsitan possit hic comparari, non ad libri cuiusdam spectat inscriptionem, verum ad pueriles tantummodo *lusus* illos ita referatur, ut equestria denotentur ea certamina, quae pueri Romanorum nobilissimis e gentibus oriundi, priusquam viriles togas sumerent, consueverint singulas edere, ut urbis conditae memoria rite revocaretur.

Eo magis igitur nuper obstupui, cum in id incidissem volumen, quod inscriptum *Lusus alteri Westmonasterienses* ante hos nonaginta quattuor annos Londinii prodiiit.⁶ Augebatur stupor vehementer, cum deinde percepi, quidnam sibi vellent quosque fines ac scopos haberent illi *lusus Westmonasterienses* comprehensi tomo locuplete plus quadringentas paginas continente; eiusdem enim frons simul alterius instar tituli praebet hancce subscriptionem: *sive Prologi et Epilogi ad fabulas in St. Petri Collegio actas collecti et iusta annorum serie ordinati. Quibus accedit Epigrammatum et Carminum delectus. Pars tertia (1866-1905).*

2. Tractatio

2.1. Generalia, quae quidem ad Westmonasterienses *lusus* pertinere videantur

Itaque, cum hunc librum nactus investigavissem, quis inventor esset existimandus fuisse generis illius litterarum, quibus Latina concepti lingua *lusus* in eximio Britannorum capitis tractu procrearentur, certior factus sum primum talem viguisse Robertum Priorem, qui Matthaei Prioris poetae satirarumque scriptoris sagacissimi (1664-1721) frater patruelis

responsuras Latinis). Inter typhothetarum moras parallelum haeret id quoque volumen, quod ad illius lexi pertinet alteram seriem eandemque antiquitati dicatam posterioribus receptae saeculis recentissimisque potissimum litteris cultae.

⁴ In totam hanc materiem inquirendi fundamenta iecit E. Grumach, *Goethe und die Antike* (Berolini, 1949).

⁵ Cf. (ut omittantur alia) *Der Kleine Pauly*, vol. V (1975), col. 983.

⁶ *Curantibus Reginaldo Iacobo Mure, Ioanne Sargeaunt, Iacobo Gow, Westmonasterii in domo Ashburnhamiana MCMVI.*

ducentos septuaginta abhinc annos (a. 1730°) Westmonasterii in Londinii regione celeberrima carminum quorundam collectionem sibi publicandam tam concise quam efficaciter inscriberet *Lusus Westmonasterienses*.⁷ Quaerentibus autem nobis, quibus commotus rationibus quaeque aemulatus exemplaria Robertus ille Prior, cum poeticum suum ipsius florilegium curaret edendum, eius indici nullum aliud nomen imposuerit nisi lusus notionem, consulendum nunc imprimis est id compendium Neolatinis studiis unice destinatum, cuius retractati funditus priorem partem clarissimus ipse Iosephus IJsewijn, posteriorem idem praematura morte abripiendus⁸ eiusque successor Lovaniensis Theodoricus Sacré tam feliciter emisere.⁹

Qui quidem Neolatinis peritiores peritissimis lusus generaliter perinde atque eos carminum libros, quorum tituli sint *Elegiae* vel *Epigrammata*, statuunt attribui poesi fere lyricae, qualis moderno sensu sit eoque latiore scilicet intellegenda.¹⁰ Versuum ergo metrum lusibus istius generis aptum accommodatumque idem esse atque illud, quo soleant elegorum esse composita disticha. Atque ut illustretur exemplis, quam late pateat iste carminum campus, in eorundem numero monet uterque compendii illius auctor eos etiam par esse *Lusus pastorales* reponi, quos decimo sexto saeculo singulos Andreas Naugerius Marcusque Antonius Flaminii Veneti poetae condidisse traduntur; Flaminii quidem *Carminum libri VIII* pastorales quoque offerunt lusus, qui quantopere bucolicam redoleant auram, ex iis potest colligi distichis, quae tria laudantur excerpta (Ibid., p. 82). Iam vero praeter huiusmodi lusus pastorales ne IJsewijn quidem *Westmonasterienses* aut alios tales lusus, qui commemorarentur, censuit esse dignos. Eo melius igitur de omni Neolatina notione litterarii lusus ludive quam exactissime definienda meritis est eruditissimus Th. ille Sacré, qui, cum ipse mirum quam lepidos novi cuiusdam generis lusus Latinos a semet aliisque poetis compositos publicavisset¹¹, in epistula mihi missa, cum specimina significavit,

⁷ Siquidem inspiciendi huius exemplaris adhuc nemo nisi David Money collega benignus Cantabrigiensem inter conventum mihi conciliavit facultatem, de Roberti Prioris indole ceterisque poetis, quorum ille Latina carmina collegit, equidem in praesentia certi quicquam expromere nondum queo.

⁸ Singularis huius viri memoriae perenni providit egregie W. Ludwig, 'Zum Gedenken an Jozef IJsewijn', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 2 (2000), 5-11.

⁹ *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies...*, partes I/II (Lovanii, 1990/1998).

¹⁰ *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, II, pp. 79-85.

¹¹ (a) *HAICV DVM LVDO – Een bloemlezing van Latijnse haiku's* (Lovanii, 1998); (b) *Tonight They All Dance – 92 Latin and English Haiku* (Vaucondae (= Wauconda, Illinois), 1999).

qualia sunt et Petri Iusti Sautel *Lusus allegorici* et Iusti Lipsii *Somnium, sive lusus*, eadem esse satis idonea confirmavit, e quibus generalis deduceretur haec conclusio: «*Lusuum* titulos prae se saepe ferebant scriptiones sive soluta sive astricta oratione ad auctorum animos vel etiam ad animos legentium oblectandos exaratae.»

Quae cum ita sint, ut Westmonasteriensis istiusmodi quaedam traditio reveletur Latina, revertendum nobis est ad opus illud perquam utile, quod inscribitur *Musae Anglicanae* quodque Leicester Bradner doctissimus sex decenniis ante¹² porrexit quasi clavem ad reperiendos omnes paene poeseos textus in Britannia plus quattuor per saecula litteris usque mandatos. Consentaneum enim est evenisse, ut imprimis hoc *Musarum Anglicanarum* fundamento fultum caput de Neolatinitate Britannicum per orbem diffusa conscriberet IJsewijn ille¹³ eodemque instrumento quattuor quoque inniterentur homines docti, quos sectione speciali quadam coniunctos inter Cantabrigiensem illum Societatis Internationalis Studiis Neolatinis Provehendis conventum eruendae Latinitati inde a XVI^o saeculo mediis in ipsius Cantabrigiae finibus excultae navavisse operam vel plurimum refert. Atqui neque hac Cantabrigiensi quadriga¹⁴ Westmonasteriensis ullius loci mentio facta est et inter bis sescentos paene libros, quorum inscriptiones Latinas Bradner diligenter enumeratas congessit in operis illius appendice copiosissima, unum dumtaxat invenitur exemplar, cuius saltem titulus ad Westmonasterienses lusus hac relatione expediendos proxime videatur accedere. Centum enim annis septemdecimque, antequam Robertus Prior primus *Lusus Westmonasterienses* prelis subici iussit, lucem aspexerunt Oxonii quaedam, quae inscribebantur *Epithalamia sive Lusus Palatini in nuptias Celsissimi Principis Domini Friderici Comitis Palatini ad Rhenum etc. et Serenissimae Elisabethae Iacobi potentissimi Britanniae regis filiae primogenitae*.¹⁵ Verumtamen, quatenus breves isti quoque varique *Lusus Palatini* differant ab iis lusibus, quos postea Robertus Prior

¹² *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin poetry, 1500-1925* (Novi Eboraci, 1940) (quod volumen ibidem reimpressum est a. 1966^o).

¹³ *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, I, 164-176.

¹⁴ Ut eiusdem personas hic singulas non convenit nominare, ita simul e re est animadvertere collegas illos suas ipsorum symbolas singulas quam celerrime daturus se foras promississe.

¹⁵ Excudebat Iosephus Barnesius et Londini vaeneunt (sic) apud Johannem Barnesium prope aquaeductum Holborniensem, 1613. Adiciendis igitur his omnibus indigent, quae Bradner (p. 353) communicavit nimis decurtata. Aliorum spectant, quae sexies inde ab a. 1841^o apparuerunt, *Arundines Cami sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium Lusus Canori*, quales commemoravit idem ille Bradner p. 300 (omissa altera tituli parte).

Westmonasteriensis quater divulgavit¹⁶, si nos eorundem alteram seriem eandemque largiter amplificatam perlustraverimus, erit profecto facillimum cognitu.

2.2. *Plauti Terentiique fabulae quemadmodum quamque peculiariter Westmonasterii sint agi solitae*

Nam primum quidem liquet hancce carminum anthologiam, quae vocatur proprie *Lusus alteri Westmonasterienses*, esse divisam in partes tres, quarum iam prima tam Cantabrigiae quam Oxonii Londiniique a. 1863^o edita¹⁷ tantum ambitus requisivit, ut collectis centum quindecim annorum (1704-1819) carminibus trecentas triginta quattuor paginas complectatur; accedit, quod secunda huius florilegii pars quadriennio post (a. 1867^o) tribus eisdem et auctoribus et locis emissa¹⁸, qua poemata novem lustrorum (1820-1865) in unum corpus velut conglobantur, sedecim plures, tertia denique pars eademque post longius decenniorum quattuor intervallum — ut iam animadvertimus¹⁹ — ineunte vicesimo saeculo foras data plus etiam quadringentas viginti paginas complet. Deinde innumerabiles lusus trinis eisdem voluminibus comprehensi non ad pastorales potissimum locos spectant, ut aliquando *Flaminii lusus*, neque ad nuptiales caerimonias pertinent, qualibus quondam *Palatinos lusus* constat inservivisse, nedum agatur de equestribus ludis, quibus olim Romanorum pueros accepimus inter se iuvisse contendere. Immo vero Westmonasteriensis lusus patet adeo non quibuslibet circumscriptos esse limitibus, ut ipsorum via ac ratione propria decursu temporum non Londiniensis modo regionis attingerentur quamvis inclutae termini, sed universus fere tam terrarum rerumque gestarum quam rei publicae litterarum orbis contemporaneus lepide sit usque tractatus.

Solus autem adhuc, qui tripertitos in *Lusus alteros Westmonasterienses* fusius inquisivisse videatur, exstitit ille Bradner, cum prioribus

¹⁶ Londinii 1730, 1734, 1740, 1750 (cf. etiam Bradner, p. 367, necnon pp. 217, 226, 266, 268, 281s., 285).

¹⁷ *Lusus alteri Westmonasterienses sive Prologi et Epilogi ad fabulas in St. Petri Collegio actas qui exstabant collecti et iusta quoad licuit annorum serie ordinati. Quibus accedit Declamationum quae vocantur et Epigrammatum delectus.* Curantibus Jacobo Mure, Henrico Bull, Carolo B. Scott, MDCCCCLXIII.

¹⁸ *Lusus alteri Westmonasterienses sive Prologi et Epilogi ad fabulas in St. Petri Collegio actas qui exstabant collecti et iusta quoad licuit annorum serie ordinati. Quibus accedit Epigrammatum delectus. Pars secunda (1820-1865), MDCCCCLXVII.*

¹⁹ Legentibus in memoriam redeat huius commentationis exordium.

concessit partibus vix duas paginas, sed novissimum volumen non nisi paucis dignatus est verbis.²⁰ Quapropter veritus, ne cuncti versus illi ioculares a permultis exarati deinceps auctoribus Anglicanis Latinae poeseos admodum gnaris obruerentur prorsus oblivione, conservandis eisdem conducere putavi praesertim hac opportunitate nunc oblata recentioribus exemplis demonstrare selectis, quanti gradus artis poeticae nobis esset aestimandus indigenarum etiam eorum, qui Victoriana semper aetate non minus quam Cantabrigienses Oxoniensesve viguere vates Latini, cum lusus Westmonasterienses saeculis undevicesimo exeunte vicesimoque ineunte contexere non destiterunt.

Westmonasteriense enim collegium illud a Sancto Petro sane denominatum, quod ceteris omnibus Britanniae scholis publicis excepta scilicet cum Vincestriae²¹ tum Etonensi²² tunc praestitit longe, summam adeptum esse gloriam fertur, quia fere quotannis in eiusdem aedibus augustis, cum natale Domini sollemniter celebrabatur, antiquae cum Plauti tum Terentii fabulae praeclaris moderantibus magistris agebantur singulae splendidissimo quoque sumptu. Atque actoribus insuper mos erat, ut fabulis veteribus illis praemitteretur is prologus, quo capitaneus quidam senariis versibus aliquot usus cum sodalibus scholae Westmonasteriensis communicaret novissimas quasque res, quas quidem scire nullius nisi sociorum ac fautorum eiusdem collegii interesse permagni videretur. Ita factum est, ut talibus prologis plerumque et obitus casusque commilitonum vita subito defunctorum lugubri cantu deplorarentur et superstites collegii illius sodales optime modo meriti laudibus ita poeticis efferrentur, ut nonnumquam tollerentur ad astra.

Verum prologis his non tantum multo longiores erant, sed eosdem etiam vi momentoque praecesserunt singulares ubique epilogi, qui grandes Plauti Terentii fabulas excipiebant singulas actas. Epilogis enimvero talibus genuinos lusus Westmonasterienses praeter alias repraesentari vel inde perspicitur, quod pariter ac Flaminii illius quidem lusus pastorales, sed Palatinorum dissimiles ex elegorum fere distichis constant, quorum dispositione hexameter pentameterque versus tralaticio more alternis inter se vicibus ita copulantur, ut verba collocandi singula

²⁰ *Musae Anglicanae*, pp. 330-332.

²¹ Duabus scholis et Etonensi et Westmonasteriensi solet eminens tertia Vincestria (*Winchester*) Latinae poetices fabrica congregari; cf. Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 332.

²² De ea carminum serie, quae vetus appellatur *Musae Etonenses*, cum *Lusibus alteris Westmonasteriensibus* comparanda quid sentiendum esse videatur, exeunte hac commutatione perpendam.

novae rationes interdum ineantur audacter. Quamquam, quid inter singulares hos lusus Westmonasterii conditos atque ceteros eiusdem generis omnes imprimis interesse videatur, in eo vel maxime cernitur, quod antiqui dramatis eadem personae, quae priscis amictibus antea vestitae suas susceperant singulae partes, hoc opere confecto velut iterum resuscitatae prodeunt rursus in scaenam, ut iocos variasque facetias adhibendo de praesentibus quibilibet totius terrarum gentium litterarumque orbis ingeniose disserant rebus²³, quascumque poetae Westmonasterienses (qui personas veteres illas easque tamquam reduces inducere Latine loquentes) recentissimo quoque temporis puncto tam ad delectandos quam docendos audientium animos plurimum valere et iucundas lecturis quoque hominibus posteris atque adeo summae fore duxerunt voluptati.²⁴

2.3. Exemplorum, quibus epilogi Westmonasterienses ad Terentii fabulas illustrentur ludibundi, delectus

Proinde primum arcessamus tale festivitatis specimen anno p. Chr. n. 1872° exeunte depromptum, qui textus Latinus sex paginas complet excusus prelo (*Lusus alteri Westmonasterienses*, vol. III, 38-43). Adelphorum igitur Terentii prologus ille quidem Westmonasteriensis triginta senarios continens funebris cuiusdam laudationis inchoandae causa graviter ab hoc incipit versu:

Seras aristas falce quae semper metit.

Epilogus autem in eandem fabulam lepidus, quo de lusu certiores fieri nostra nunc interest pluris, tres in partes est omnis ita divisus, ut Henricus Bull poeta Londiniensis trinas faciat contemporaneas Latine declamantes catervas trium deinceps et imperatorum superbe et virorum internationalium liberius et feminarum severissimis ingredientium vultibus.

²³ Conspectus harum omnium rerum singulis exhibentur indicibus, quos *prologorum et epilogorum elenchos* continent tripertiti *Lusus alteri Westmonasterienses* (vol. I, pp. XXI-XXV; II, pp. X-XII; III, pp. XI- XIII).

²⁴ Quindecim lustris post ultimos lusus Westmonasterienses typis consignatos aliis quidem, ut aequum erat, neque iis inferioribus initis rationibus antiquus ille poeta comicus uterque vivus est redditus. Pictographicis enim libellis, qui «Plautus in Comics» et «Terenz in Comics» inscripti saepius inde ab anno 1971° Artemidis editoria domu Turici Monacique sunt divulgati, non minorem auctor Theodiscus est assecutus successum quam Westmonasterienses illi poetae, quibus contigit, ut Plauti Terentiique fabularum personae nonnullae mutatis naviter formis nostri quoque aevi spectatorum moverent denuo risus.

Primi itaque praesentantur tres *induperatores*²⁵, dum *Bismarkus* quoque Germanorum citatur eminens princeps²⁶, deinde, postquam tyrannidis commendandae gratia democratico statu castigato²⁷ subigendisque vel Europae vel Asiae nationibus derisis²⁸ Britannorum etiam populus hisce distichis est illusus:

- ²⁵ AESCHINUS Induperatores en! tres convenimus; hospes
 Vos jubeo fratres fidus amansque meos.
 In numerum ascribi vestrum me gloriol! HEGIO Ecquis
 In terris pariter dignus honore siet?
- AESCHINUS Usurpans hujusque locum! Iam rite peracta
 Festa; at post ludum seria agenda manent.
 Amplectamur! Eo numquam violabile signo
 Nos decet ananimes foedus inire sacrum.
 Custodes pacis nam nos sumus Europaeae!
- HEGIO Custodes quis custodiet? MICIO Istud enim est!
 (Non minus singularis pentameter paulo post p. 246 reperitur: *Numquam: tute phylacteria solus habe.*)
- ²⁶ AESCHINUS Gallia, turbarum et belli taeterrima nutrix,
 Irrequieta foris, irrequieta domi,
 Victa luit poenas meritas, - solvitque tributum!
- MICIO Vah! bellum multis utile! HEGIO vox mihimet!
- MICIO Millia quot nummum sunt extorquenda? AESCHINUS Rogato
 Bismarkum! - Nostrum en! postulat Orbis opem.
- ²⁷ MICIO Scitis ut auguriis laevis ac mente maligna
 Infestum tollit Δῆμος ubique caput.
 Hunc oblectantem semper torveque minantem
 Conculcemus humi scilicet! MICIO Euge! HEGIO Bene.
 At quibus utamur rationibus? MICIO Una tyrannis
 Est ratio semper, gentibus una salus.
- ²⁸ AESCHINUS Armati freti legionibus, alma subactos
 Per populos, ut fas, et pia jura damus.
 Obsistit quisquam, stolidusque edicta moratur?
 Mortem obit. HEGIO Ah! monitus sic resipiscat? AES. Ita.
 Sunt queis diminui paulatim foedere pacto
 Armamenta placet. MICIO Cor trepidare facis!
 Augeri mallem potius! Chartam ecce! Refectans
 Europae atque Asiae! Hanc inspicitote, precor!
- HEGIO Ah! si hodie extaret tractanda Polonia nobis
 Altera! MICIO Quin versa hic nunc vice raptor erit!
 Rem tangis! Vocem demittat quisque! Susurri
 Tantum sint! Et tu sedulus obde fores!
 Servi ne lateant! MICIO Est altera! Bosphori ad oram
 Aegrotat quidam! AES. Sic. HEGIO Mea res agitur.
 (Recentius significatur proverbium, quo Turciae caput ad Bosporum scilicet situm cum corpore senis aegroti comparatur, qui, quamvis sanus videri velit, mortifero morbo iacet implicitus; cf. *Der neue Büchmann – Geflügelte Worte*, (1994), p. 478.

MICIO Cur renuamus opem? Majorum exempla secuti
Partiri regnum cur dubitemus adhuc?
HEGIO Res gravis est: animo et multum versemus oportet:
Anglia consilium hoc vix tolerabit atrox.
AESCHINUS Ah! Minime refert, quid sentiat Anglia! Totam
Mutandis sese mercibus illa dedit.
Pacis amans quovis pretio, Maris arbitra quondam
Nunc ipsa externo pendet ab arbitrio!
Missam illam facimus! Sed quid vult iste tumultus,
Prodimur! Insidiae! HEGIO Praesto abeamus! DEMA
[Ohe!

tres item ab eodem Demea viri internationales ornati introducuntur
imperatores illos regali munere functos fugaturi:

Isti sceptrigeri praedones terga dederunt!
Nos vacuas sellas sumimus! Omen adest!
Tempestive actum! nam nostrum est munus avitis
De soliis reges trudere legitimos!
5 Reges et leges nos pellimus, ab-que-rogamus;
Sunt pestes ambo. PARMENO Tertia Religio est.
Sartores tres en! convenimus! Internati-
onales, necnon Κοσμοπολιτ-άθροισμα!
Quantum inter nosmet nebulones distet et illos
Non multis opus est dicere. SYRUS Non opus est.

7-8 Ut igitur communistarum propugnatores semper *novis student rebus*, sic hoc quoque distichon complures novas exhibet species, quas a veterum poetarum more verba versusque formandi probato manifestum est abhorreere.

Quocirca ne id quidem est opus nos mirari, quod eo Demea procedit audaciae, ut coitionem talium hominum, qui tantopere novarum sint avidi rerum, augeretur etiam Ovidii quidem carminum similem posteritate ubique terrarum ad caelum perpetuo sublato iri:

Conventus noster toto hinc memorabilis orbe
Dicetur; nos et posterius honore colent.

Nec igitur mirum, si huiusce congressus internationalis medium obtinet locum insignis ipse Carolus ille Marx (1818-1884), qui, cum non plus quam quinquagesimum quintum ageret annum, totius tamen cardinem mundi totque civitatum status diutius saeculo radicitus iam tum erat eversurus; eiusdem enim illo tempore (a. 1872°) Londinii morantis figura fatalis depingitur tam urbane, ut famosi hominis imago quasi coram versetur ob oculos:

DEMEA Karl Mag. notus erat - Karl Marx, mihi crede, futurus
Notior in terris. PARMENO Imperitare cupit?

DEMEA Nostra πολιτείας nova fundamenta tenetis.

Quam quidem non vaticinationem, ut aiunt, ex eventu fuisse pronunti-
atam, sed vera vatem divinum Demeam praedixisse etiam ex annexa
descriptione eorum elucet, quae placita communistarum patris illius esse
vel maxime propria adhuc iudicare perseveramus:

- SYRUS De paucis dubito. DEMEA Clarius expediam.
Audi jam - Imprimis omnis tibi simplice et uno
Principio innixa est Res Socialis! PARMENO Ita est.
- DEMEA Si proprium quid habes, fur rite es habendus et exlex;
- 5 SYRUS Vix capio - tiro sum - mea non mea sunt?
- DEMEA Nil quicquam - Domina est Respublica. SYRUS. Quam pretio
[emi
Parva casa haud juris, quaeso, futura mei est?
- DEMEA Non, inquam - rerum nudus permittitur usus:
Possideas aliquid, fortiter id vetitum!
- 10 Est modus in censu: sunt fines denique: acervus
Crescit? at extemplo diminuendus erit.
Cur dives quisquam exsistat me paupere? juris
Hoc est communis; vox ea sacra valet.
- 15 Omnino ex oculis hominum, descripta 'meum' inter
'Atque tuum' quondam, linea disperiit.
Quippe agri, fundique, molae, fabricaeque, fodinae,
Consolidatum aes, et quidquid ubique lucri est,
Conflentur norma, quae vulgo dicitur Hotchpot;
Divisum id cives convenienter alet.

10 cf. rursus Hor., *sat.*, 1, 105-106 ('est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
/ quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum'), qui duo versus aptissime
quadamtenus commutati novis hic finibus inserviunt consequendis.

Unde efficitur tantum non necessario, ut Parmeno quemadmodum Ovi-
dianam Venerem a Caesare suo²⁹ sic Gracchum utrumque a Carolo Marx
superatum denique semet esse gestire coniectet:

PARMENO Audito hoc ingens Gracchi laetabitur Umbra,
Se vinci tandem fassa, dabitque manus.

²⁹ Ov., *met.*, 15, 850: '...natique videns bene facta videtur/ Esse suis maiora et vinci
gaudet ab illo'.

Eodem acumine aut talibus facetiis ne subsecuturi quidem carent versus, quibus Anglicana tamquam interposita mora³⁰ tres mulieres masculina specie nimirum indutae pro suffragii iure novisque aliis rebus fortissime pugnantes tam commode describuntur, ut in risum vix quisquam non possit effundi; est vero mihi persuasum facetias sequentibus distichis obvias iri prolixius arreptum, si veteres Aristophanis *Ecclesiazusae* praecipue prius essent relectae:

- SOSTRATA Anna soror,
Salveto! ANNA et tu! SANNIO et tu! SOSTRATA Placet
[aula haec; prorsus amicas
Nos hic conventus, colloquiumque juvant.
Libertate nova fruimur, coramque superbis
Asserere incipimus jus muliebri viris:
5 Nos acuit spreti (quam longum!) injuria sexus:
Injustae leges, et status inferior.
SANNIO Recte ais; anne viro natura femina peior?
Nos sumus, id certum est, mente animoque pares.
Scribendo, memini, recitandoque, ac numerando,
10 Vici olim fratres, parva puella meos!
Cur non, aetatis quum censae simus adulae,
Omnes curriculum nos ageremus idem?
ANNA Ambitiosa nimis, soror, es: contenta egomet sum
Curriculo, binis quale agitur equis.
15 SOSTRATA Tu majora petas! Nil vitae continet usus,
Femineo quod non congruat ingenio.
SANNIO Cur ego non medica illustris, Chirurgo fiam?
Quid prohibet fore vos lumina clara Fori?
SOSTRATA Mi magis at Musae arident — ante omnia Res Scho-
20 lastica; Concilio sum adnumeranda novo!
SANNIO Augusti pateat tum nobis Aula Senatus;
Haud fandi fuerit copia facta minor.
ANNA Legislatorum sic, interspersa decenter,
Feminea ornabit vestis utramque Domum.
25 Mi placet id. SOSTRATA Quin iam, vobis auctoribus, ipsa
Quae ratio, quae jus postulat, enumerem?
Aequas nos volumus leges, propriamque crumenam,
Dicendi et veniam, 'Sponsus erisne meus?'
Mutandique simul, mutata mente, mariti

³⁰ Vix enim Demea loqui pergere coeperat (*Immo...*), cum tres eum rursus custodes publici, quominus plura diceret, impediverunt: '...Extra licitam sic an potabitis horam? / Audaces moniti jam estis! abite cito! // Vos propria excipiat 'Cavum et Angulus', ut vocitatur, / Iam 'caupona'! move te ocius!...'

- 30 Ad libitum. ANNA Multis id placuisse ferunt.
 SOSTRATA Multa alia ad sexum spectantia! ANNA Cuncta negabunt
 Ista viri. SOSTRATA Quin res est agitanda palam:
 Conventum Urbano in Campo statuamus habendum
 (Aedilis noster nolit an ille velit!)
- 35 Immensum! SANNIO Es sapiens: hodie improbus omnia vincit
 Clamor! ANNA habes! SOSTRATA Sed iam praeterit
 [hora. Sat est-

29-30 callida conglutinatio mulierumque quarundam voluntatibus accommodanda commutatio cum formulae *mutatis mutandis* usitatissimae tum sententiae *omnia mutantur* ab Ovidio (*met.*, 15, 165) Pythagorae placitis attributae versusque hexametri *tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis*, quem nemo felicius propagavit quam Ioannes Audoenus (*epigr.*, 8, 58) alter ille Martialis Britanno-

35-36 efficax contaminatio mutatioque talium vocum, ex qualibus tritissimae consistunt iuncturae, quas quidem singulas offerunt celebres Vergilii praecipue sententiae velut *omnia vincit Amor* (*ecl.*, 10, 69) et *labor omnia vicit / improbus* (*georg.*, 1, 145-146).

Quantum autem ponderis impertiendum sit argumentis antea quidem inauditis (Aristophane videlicet eiusdemque sectatoribus exceptis), sed nostra aetate certe pro ratis dudum firmisque habendis, quae tunc emancipata (ut hodie licet praedicare) Sostrata cum Anna Sannioneque sororibus eodem ardentibus studio perhibetur promulgasse tam confidenter, hic non attinet disputare. Iam vero seria iocis gravitatemque sententiarum lepore miscuisse poetam Westmonasteriensem etiam ex fine lusus, qualem se praebet epilogus in *Adelphos* Terentii selectus, est proclive colligere. Ut enim primum novus novem Musarum chorus quidam sive grex trium et imperatorum et virorum internationalium et feminarum pro suis cuiusque rebus dimicantium trinitate custodum protectus convenit unum in locum tandem, totius epilogi rationem breviter Aeschini astringit his versibus:

- Conventus varios ausa est tentare jocosis,
 Vos veniam poscens, nostra Thalia modis.
 Ad nos conventus quoque pertinet! Ecquis Alumnus
 Sollennem haud vobis flagitet usque dari?
- 5 Non tamen huc rerum venistis amore novarum,
 Somnia non vosmet, phantasiaeque trahunt:
 Hic dociles animos et sanae laudis amorem
 Excultumque Bonis Artibus ingenium,
 In pueris quales fructus prior edidit usus,

- 10 Vestrum est iudiciis exstimulare probis.
 Quid deceat civem, pietas quae debita Regi,
 Optima praeceptis Mater Eliza monet.
 Discimus hic praestare fidem et parere libenter,
 Discimus officium reddere cuique suum.
- 15 Prisca tuemur adhuc; haec intra limina numquam
 Insulas subeat norma probata vices!

11-12 cf. Hor., epist., 1, 1, 11 ('quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum') ac 1, 2, 3-4 ('qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non, / planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit'); unde potest colligi, quatenus regina *Mater Eliza*, quae collegium illud Westmonasteriense traditur condidisse, tam Horatii quam Homeri vice tum perhibita sit illis plagis esse functa.

Abundant ergo teretes hi versus non secus atque cetera lusus universi disticha huc collata videlicet allusis similibus locis, qui quidem ex Latinis operibus optimi cuiusque auctoris antiqui recentiorisve sint hauriendi sedulo singuli.³¹ Plena porro sunt eadem disticha cavillationum, quae sollerter effingendis asperguntur heroibus. Scatent haec denique poemata cuncta cum tralaticii notionibus et recentissimis tum artificiose variatis commutatis detortis significationibus tam nominum quam verborum. Atque ea conclusio generalis tam late videtur patere, ut ad reliquos quoque textus valeat omnes, qui quidem e Londiniensibus illis poseos Latinae provenerint scriniis. Si igitur amplius hic spatii suppeditatum mihimet esset, haud invitum me fateor omnes epilogos, quales in tribus florilegiis Westmonasteriensibus toties sunt obvii lusus, deinceps nunc amplexurum fuisse.

Restant, si placet, adumbranda duo saltem satis idonea, quae huc afferantur, exempla. Tribus enim decenniis post Carolum Marx reliquosque delusos (a. 1902^o), simulac Phormio Terentianus est actus³², in universitatis cuiusdam conclave deducimur, ut praeparando parumper intersimus examini. Ita fit, ut Phaedia doctoralem expetens dignitatem una cum Davo poeta quodam officiali Getaque procuratore colloquii initium capiat versibus hisce comptis:

³¹ Est enim in promptu permultis aliis quoque fontibus Latinitatis totius ita poetam Londiniensem usum esse, ut apte variatos in suum ipsius usum converteret singulos; quos indagatos enumerare hic est mihi supersedendum.

³² Textus omnis litteris mandatus priore selecto duabus etiam est paginis longior (*Lusus alteri Westmonasteriensis*, vol. III, 243-250).

- PHAEDRIA Dormitum it proctor, lusum nos. DAVUS Ludere mures,
fele absente, solent. PHAEDRIA Esne paratus? habes.
- DAVUS Durum servis servitium. Pila celluloides
Ut volat! ut latitat! nos reperire - PHAEDRIA Cave!
- 5 GETA Reddere tempus adest chartas. PHAEDRIA Hic scribere
[omittat
Fac, sodes. GETA Non jam scribere plura licet.
- PHAEDRIA Ecce mea! GETA Hem, quid agis, tu charta inglorius alba?
PHAEDRIA Chartam tam bellam non maculare volo.
- GETA Tu cedo nunc. DAVUS Aliquid mihi temporis adde poetae.
- 10 GETA Cuius collegi et quod tibi nomen? DAVUS Abi:
Qui non noverit hunc, ignotum se arguit ipsum.
Cetera sed recitem. GETA Tune poeta? PHAEDRIA
[Minor –
Immo etiam minimus. DAVUS Mihi grata Britannia laurus
Has tribuit: dulce est pro patria - canere.
- 15 Pegasus o ubi mi est? Malo mea carmina equester
Edere. PHAEDRIA Non tamen est omnis equester eques.
- DAVUS O fortunatos nato me vate Britannos,
Queis sceptrum Oceanus, versificator ego!
- PHAEDRIA Parturiunt montes et nascitur - ignoramus.
- 20 DAVUS Dignum lauru hominem Musa perire vetat.
GETA Ohe, iam satis est. PHAEDRIA Facit ostentatio versum.
- DAVUS Pegase, an audisti quae mihi probra iacit?
GETA Exigua est doctrina tibi res plena pericli:
Aut nullam, aut altam, tu bibe Castaliam.
- 25 DAVUS Oh, rape me citius sublimes, Pegase, in auras!
Vah! suffocor in hoc aere pestifero.
- PHAEDRIA Siste: dolus venit in mentem bis vafrior illo:
In Belli Officium quin agitamus equum?
- GETA Quid narras? PHAEDRIA Asinis erit officialibus istis
- 30 Hic bellator equus: sic ego dives ero.
- GETA Scandala magna! PHAEDRIA Rubro lino est opus. Eia age!
[GETA Aratro
Digni ambo. O salve, femina quid tibi vis?

1 *proctor* scilicet a *procuratoris* nomine derivandus idem significat ac ‘dimidiatus’ vel minor procurator 14 cf. Hor., *carm.*, 3, 2, 13 (‘dulce et decorum est pro patria mori’); at contra Davus hic *poeta minimus* mavult *canere* quam *mori* 15-22 cf. nunc W. Ludwig, *Der Ritt des Dichters auf dem Pegasus und der Kuß der Muse – zwei neuzeitliche Mythologeme* (Gottingae, 1996) 17 Ciceronis igitur illud, quod de se praedicat *o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!* (Quint., *inst.*, 11, 1, 24 = Cic., *De suis temporibus* fr. 1 H.) quodque Quintilianus queritur malignos carpere non desiisse, id sibi Britannisque Davus vates Anglicanus haud insulse quidem, sed gloriosius quam decet vindicat, praesertim cum usurpet eos simul versus, quibus rusticam laudare vitam Vergilius ingressus est: ‘O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, / agricolas!’ (*georg.*, 2, 458-9) 19 Horatii

divinationem acerrimam ‘parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus’ (*ars*, 139) inepti vatis reprehensor cum titulo illius comoediae miscet, quam singulariter *Ignoramus* inscriptam Cantabrigiae publicavit Georgius Ruggle (1575-1622) quaeque cum inter annos 1615 et 1794 saepe tum nuperrime est in illo rursus ipso conventu Cantabrigiensi peracta; itaque in spondeum versu cadente non minorem Anglicus auctor efficit vim quam specimen illud Horatianum **21** cf. Iuv., 1, 79 (‘si natura negat, facit indignatio versum’); ad gloriosum illum quidem, sed infelicem Angliae poetam *ostentatio* nimirum melius quadrat quam *indignatio* **24** cf. Hor., *carm.*, 3, 4, 61-62 (‘qui rore puro Castaliae lavit / crinis solutos’)

Post Davum igitur vatem tam ridiculum intrans ista, quam Geta modo salutavit, Nausistrata ludibrio habetur alumni Bostoniani mater Americana dives illa quidem, sed nimis et adrogans et indocta, quae litterarum se tam rudem praebet, ut Shakespearii Britannorum praeclarissimi poetae ne nomen quidem umquam semet audivisse profiteatur:

NAUSISTRATA Ionathanum mihi propositum est committere natum
Huic Academiae. GETA Visne videre domus
Interiora? NAUSISTRATA Volo. Serpentes! ut domus
[omnis
Sordet! ubique ingens squalor, ubique situs:
Lectus non stratus! non possum huc mittere natum:
Talia non tolerat Bostoniana parens!
O mi - quisnam hic est? GETA Num te ignorare fateris
Vatem Shakesperium? NAUSISTRATA Quis fuit ille?
[GETA Rogas?
Ille quidem Avonae cycnus fuit. NAUSISTRATA An
[moriturus
Cantavit? GETA Forsan: nescio. NAUSISTRATA
[Non male sit
Si cantaturos quosdam mors occupet: unus
Fortasse ex illis iste poeta fuit.
GETA Gallupedante virum sonitu quatis improba magnum?
Stat saltem magni nominis umbra. NAUSISTR. Abiit
Et nomen. GETA Verbosa et grandis epistola certe
Venit ab America. At fabula scripta manet.
Macbeth, Tempestas, Venetus Mercator, Othello.
NAUSISTR. Illa Baconis erant: littera crypta manet.
GETA Famosa o mulier, nimium ne crede Baconi.
Tu nobis si fers talia, multa tibi
Sunt discenda. NAUSISTRATA Docebo equidem vos
[plurima: nonne
Omne quod astutum est venit ab America?

13 cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 596 ('quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum') **14** cf. Luc., 1, 135 ('...stat magni nominis umbra') necnon Quint., *inst.*,

12, 10, 15 ('...umbra magni nominis delitescunt') 19 cf. Verg., *ecl.*, 2, 17 ('o formose puer, nimium ne crede colori!')

Ergo tantum abest, ut modeste Nausistrata se gerat, ut Americam rebus omnibus censeat anteponendam. Sed reliqua huiusce lusus in aliud, quod promisi, differenda sunt tempus.

Claudat exemplorum nunc agmen epilogorum postremus is lusus, qui componendus eodem exortus est anno, quo Kristeller noster mortuus nuper³³ est genitus et centenaria nunc³⁴ mater Elizabethae praesentis Britannorum reginae sextum egit annum (a. 1905^o). Quo quidem in Adelpheos iterum epilogo, qualis lusus cycnei fungitur munere³⁵, invitari iuvat in tramites cuiusdam campi Westmonasteriensis, quippe quem goffae vel culfae diligentes occupatum tenuerint (iidemque nunc pilamalleatores nuncupandi³⁶). Vix igitur aptior persona fingi potest quam Geta *Caducifer* seu *Caddie*³⁷, qui comes tamquam alter Mercurius Micioni cum Demea certandi causa ludenti clavas comiter committere iubeatur:

- DEMEA Prospicite! MICIO Euge! bonum fecisti callidus ictum:
 Nam iacet in viridi, mortua paene, pila.
 DEMEA At vereor, frater, tua ne sit in aggere clausa.
 MICIO Quomodo nunc stamus? DEMEA Par, age, lude; mihi
 5 Impar iam lusum est. MICIO Situs est quam putidus ille!
 Heus, caducifer, huc ferrum, age, trade mihi.
 GETA Parce pilae, sodes; ne quid nimis. DEMEA Eia, age, tu nunc
 Lude impar. Saxosum id satis: an mihi das?
 MICIO Non ego. Vah! quotiens in tali fallimur ictu!

³³ Praestantis huius viri vitam (1905-1999) aequae atque illius IJsewijn narravit copiose W. Ludwig, 'Zum Gedenken an Paul Oskar Kristeller', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 2 (2000), 13-23.

³⁴ Est igitur eadem atavis Angliae magnatibus edita ante hos exactos centum annos (die 4^o m. Aug. a. 1900^o) nata.

³⁵ Textus hic spatiosus ambitum tractati prioris adaequat fere lusus (*Lusus alteri Westmonasteriensis*, vol. III, pp. 273-279.)

³⁶ Cf. Chr. Helfer, *Lexicon Auxiliare*, ed. tertia (Saraviponti, 1991), p. 246 (s.v. "Golf" et "Golfer"). Eandem vocem commendant et insigne *Lexicon recentis Latinitatis* (Libraria editoria Vaticana, 1992), I, 348, et eiusdem quamvis manca versio Germanica *Neues Latein Lexikon* (Bonnae, 1998), p. 161. Cf. etiam T. Mariucci, *Latinitatis nova et vetera*, 3 (in Civitate Vaticana, 1989), p. 288.

³⁷ Num Anglicae huius vocis origo reapse sit a *caducifero* deducenda (ut carminis auctor Britannicus videtur habere persuasum), disceptari non potest, antequam etymologiae, quibus indigemus, lexica consuluntur.

- 10 DEMA Non? mihi sit positor nunc meus: hoc equidem
 Luminibus possim clausis. O di! mare! caelum!
 O damnum magnum! discrucior! perii!
- MICIO O qualis te vox laborum claustra refugit?
 Pro pudor! DEMA An non sunt maxima damna mihi?
- 15 Vae mihi, quam prope erat! semper iam iamque videtur
 Incidere: in labro verme retenta manet.
 Horribiles virides! non tonsa est herba, nec ulli
 Talparum moles tollere cura datur.
- MICIO Vah! quandoque bonus dormitat Demea noster!
- 20 DEMA Quid narras? MICIO Ego? Nil – nil nisi ‘dormieras’.
 DEMA³⁸ Tune mihi irrides, duri puer oris et audax?
 Improbe, ne cere - iam comminuam tibi – brum
- MICIO Comminuisse pilam satis est. Iam dimidiavi.
 Quadrati omnino nunc sumus. At quid ais?
- 25 Nonne Caledonii vis spiritiuosa liquoris
 Pocula sorbillans ducere? DEMA Nunc loqueris.

13 Ecce Homeri celebris formula (e.g. *Il.*, 4, 350: ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων) in Latinum fere conversa sermonem 19 cf. Hor., *ars*, 359 (‘indignor, quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus’) 22 cf. illud vulgare *deficiente pecu- deficit omne -nia* (qui versus ipse quoque pentameter est).

Priusquam autem Demea Micioque renovant hocce certamen, Geta puer altero solo praesente caducifero de Demeae pilamalleatoris facultate fortunaque sic iudicat, ut inferior domino suo lusorumque etiam omnium deterrimus exstitisse videatur:

- GETA Quam stultus tuus est dominus! bene ludere posse
 Credit, cum nequeat ludere pro nucibus:
 Sed miscere herbas et non innoxia verba
 Raro hominem novi qui potuit melius.

Quid, quod deinceps eodem in lusu poetico nobis occurrunt omnes prope ceteri populares illiusmodi ludi, qui quidem inde ab Olympiae diebus festis usque ad saeculum nostrum exercendi rebus athleticis faveant; accedit, ut machinalium simul artium supellectiles, sine quarum opibus tritis hac aetate iucunde vitam omnino degere nequire nos opinamur, apposite facundique coloribus poeticis explicantur.

³⁸ Versus ad Getam, qui sibi temperare non potuerat, quin cachinnos tolleret vix supprimendos. (Dolendum est profecto fieri non potuisse, ut, quaecumque editores Anglico sermone Latinis textibus ipsis inseruissent aut eisdem continuo commentandi causa potius adicienda putaverant, hic cuncta repeterentur).

3. Peroratio

Quibus expositis textibus primum id non est alienum colligere tantarum rerum taliumque diversitatem, qualem varii tot Westmonasterienses arguunt lusus, uniformi Latinitatis nodo velut communi vinculo sic in unum corpus coactam patere, ut ipsis etiam istis carminibus eadem *rei publicae litterarum unitas et varietas*, cui rei patefaciendae proprie Cantabrigiensi fuit illi conventui studere propositum, effulgeant clarius luce.

Atqui ianuae grandi, per quam aditur Cantabrigiense collegium quoddam a Clarae nomine deducendum, Vergiliana³⁹ potissimum haec verba plane leguntur insculpta: SVI MEMORES ALIOS FECERE MERENDO. Itaque suppleta voce supplenda, qualis est *usque* (pro Vergilii scilicet iunctura *quique* substituta) eodemque hexametro lusus ad Westmonasterienses relato:

usque sui memores alios fecere merendo,

concludendum utique est illorum etiam lusuum auctores Latinos optime meritos, quoniam duobus fere saeculis singula sua carminum collectanea vivae poeseos Latinae testimonia deinceps amplissima posteris relinquere non destiterunt⁴⁰, eorundem memoriam perennem redditum iri speravisse, ne parum culta denique penitus oblitterarentur.

Etenim si, quicumque *Lusus alteros Westmonasterienses* tali carminum concinnitate tantisque versuum luminibus decorandos pepigerunt ore Romano, semper *Hoeufftiano certamini poetico* (quod a. 1845° instauratum comparabilibusque aliis augustius constat plus tredecim decennia duravisse) competitores semet applicavissent, suspicor futurum fuisse, ut aliquot etiam Britannici poetae palmam adepti sollemniter aureo singuli praemio ornarentur vel laude magna. Nec vero dubium est, quin ille quoque Huizinga, a quo sum exorsus, si forte sciscitatus esset Latinos etiam lusus Westmonasteriensis prosapiae⁴¹, rimatus haec carminum

³⁹ Aen. 6, 664: *quique sui memores alios fecere merendo*.

⁴⁰ Id igitur effecerunt, ut, cum *Musae Etonenses* iam a. 1869° desiissent florere (cf. L. Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, p. 372), etiam celebribus his diuturnitate saltem antecellere longe viderentur.

⁴¹ Neglegendae praeterea non sunt metricae quaestiones, quas quidem cum aliarum vocum tum ipsius verbi *Westmonasteriensis* evocet notio. Ineunte enim epilogo in Andriam Terentianam a. 1866 composito (*Lusus alteri Westmonasterienses*, vol. III, p. 5) quia Chremes ait: *...Nunc Westmonasteriensis / (Soli Lambethae num metra falsa placent?)*, apte commentator Anglicus animadvertit: "The true quantities being Westmōnastēriensis". Inde Theodoricus Sacré commonet esse factum, ut poetae Neolatini naviter interdum alia mallent vocabula, ut Ioannes Audoenus, *epigr.*, 2, 13, 2: 'Est West-

volumina magnopere gavisurus fuerit iisdem textibus suam ipsius felicem de ludo doctrinam ratus mirum quantum posse fulciri.⁴² Quam ob rem non latinistae tantum cuiusvis aliquantum referre videtur eosdem recentiores etiam perquirere lusum Latinos.

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ministeria maior in aede Deus'; at *epigr.*, 3, 201 titulus exhibet 'curam Westmonasteriensem' soluta scilicet oratione. Vix igitur quispiam est, cui non in mentem veniat Ovidii, quod binis in litteris ad Tuticanum translatis (*Pont.*, 4, 12 et 4, 14) asseruit se sibi persuasisse, si comperisset aliquando, utrum illius nominis syllabae breves essent an longae, plures eidem amico semet epistolas esse seu fuisse missurum.

⁴² Aliud ac mirum quam sublime ludendi genus illa pollicetur inscriptio, qua voluit auctor anonymus adornari florilegium quoddam Londinii a. 1634^o excusum; ut enim tribus saeculis post eiusdem et gentis et linguae quidam philologus solito famosior Lucani carmen epicum *editorum in usum edidisse* se gloriabatur, sic ignotus ille Britanniae vates collegis poeticam quandam dedicandam concinnavit manuuctionem, quam cum etiam Bradneri *Musae* neglexerint *Anglicanae*, tandem hoc loco digna est, quae provehatur in lucem: *Lusus poeticus poetis*.

Ari WESSELING

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO ERASMUS, *OPERA OMNIA* II, 8:
ADAGIORUM CHILIAS QUARTA (PARS ALTERA) NECNON
ADAGIORUM PARS ULTIMA (AMSTERDAM, 1997)

Adag. 3569 (“Cothonissare”), 884 **Plato** etc. For Plato’s idea that moderate drunkenness can be useful for educational ends see also Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 15, 2, 3-8; *Lingua*, ASD IV, 1A, p. 44, 592-596.

Adag. 3635 (“Coruus albus”), 345 **rario** Read “rarior”.

Adag. 3638 (“Milium terebrare”), 383-384 **Simile studium fuit illius qui grana milii e longinquo mittebat per foramen acus**. The reference is to an anecdote in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 2, 20, 3, on the subject of “vanum laborem”, “qualis illius fuit qui grana ciceris ex spatio distante missa in acum continuo et sine frustratione inserebat.” The phrase “per foramen acus” is reminiscent of *Vulg.*, *Matth.*, 19, 24 “Facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire.”

Adag. 3647 (“Execrationes serere”), 470-472 **Docet Plinius quaedam non feliciter seri nisi cum conuiciis, esse etiam genus quod terrae infoditur ac, pede compressa terra, additur execratio ‘Ne vnquam exeas!’** The source is *Naturalis historia*, 19, 120, rendered by a free paraphrase; Erasmus apparently quotes from memory. The passage in Pliny runs, “Nihil ocimo fecundius; cum maledictis ac probris serendum praecipunt, ut laetius proveniat; sato pavitur terra. Et cuminum qui serunt, precantur ne exeat.”

Adag. 3733 (“Vbi tu Caius, ibi ego Caia”), 431 **vt: ‘Hectoris Andromache’**. Erasmus has no doubt a specific source in mind, namely, Vergil, *Aeneis*, 3, 319.

Adag. 3797 (“Omnia praeclara dicis”), 78 **Plato aliis aliquot locis adagii titulo citat ‘Pulcre dicis’**. Erasmus has a passage from the dialogue *Euthydemus* (293 d) in mind, where Socrates replies, “As the saying goes, well said whatever you say” (τὸ γὰρ λεγόμενον, καλὰ δὴ πάντα λέγεις). Erasmus quotes it in *Adag.* 955 (entitled “Pulchre dixi. Belle narras”).

Adag. 3935 (Αἰζωνεύεσθαι). The first draft of this adage in Erasmus’ autograph MS (fol. 112 v) reads: “Quemadmodum multa prouerbia retulimus e gentium moribus desumpta, ita Αἰζωνεύεσθαι olim dicebantur calumniando [calumniandi *H I*] morbo obnoxii, quod is populus hoc nomine taxatus sit veterum comoediarum salibus, quemadmodum indicat Stephanus Aexoniam esse Magnesia ciuitatem. Est autem et Αἰζωνή vltima acuta, populus tribus Cercopidis [*sic et H* Cecropidis *I*], ab vtraque voce deducitur αἰζωνεύς. A posteriore tamen [*an tantum?*] arbitror desumptum adagium, quandoquidem fratrum Cercoporum [*sic*] petulantia locum fecit aliquot prouerbiis. Et satyri maledici de genere caprino sunt [quandoquidem... sunt *in margine; omiserunt H I*]. Citant testem Menandrum ἐν Κανηφόρῳ. Plato in dialogo de fortitudine: οὐδὲν ἔρῳ πρὸς ταῦτα γ’ ἔχων εἰπεῖν, μή με φῆς [*ex εἵπεις*] αἰζωνέα εἶναι id est Nihil ad ista respondeo, quum quod dicam habeam, ne me merito [merito *inter lineas*] dicas Aexonensem esse. Marsylius vertit maledicum et calumniatorem.”

Αἰζωνεύεσθαι, a rare expression discussed by the lexicographers Stephanus of Byzantium and Harpocration, means “to be slanderous and abusive”. Using Stephanus’ entry in the first place, Erasmus advances two alternative explanations of the expression: it derives either from the name of the inhabitants of Aexonia in Magnesia, or from that of the people of the deme Aexonè (in Attica), which was part of the phyle of Cecropis (Stephanus: Αἰζωνή δῆμος τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς). It is important to note that Erasmus altered (or misread) Κεκροπίδος to Κερκοπίδος (“Cercopidis”). He decides in favor of the second explanation, because the (false) name “Cercopis” reminds him of the Cercopes, known from ancient myths, whose effronteries and boisterous behavior were proverbial in antiquity (see *Adag.* 1635, 1637, and 1043). Finally, he proposes yet another etymology of the

expression (αἰζωνεύεσθαι, that is): the word αἶξ (goat) reminds him of satyrs — a class of goats, after all, and a “slandorous, abusive” lot (he may have thought of Horace, who calls satyrs “dicaces” and “protervi”; *Ars*, 225, 233). He concludes with a reference to Menander and a quotation from Plato’s *Laches*, both taken from Harpocration’s entry.

Afterwards, Erasmus must have changed his mind; he suppressed the Cercopes and the satyrs: neither explanation reached the stage of print. In the 1533 edition (*H*) he did maintain his reading “Cercopidis”, but he corrected it to “Cecropidis” in the 1536 edition (*I*).

For the sake of completeness I quote the opening sentence of Harpocration’s entry as printed in the editio princeps (published as an appendix to Ulpianus’ scholia on Demosthenes, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503): αἰζωνητις [*sic*], δῆμος φυλῆς τῆς κεκροπίδος. For Erasmus’ curiously vague reference to Harpocration (“Citant”) see *ASD* II, 1, p. 56, n.ll. 204-206.

Adag. 4019 (“Hoc age!”), 172 **Quum aliquem iubemus esse attentum, dicimus ‘Hic esto!’ aut ‘Hoc age!’** The source of “Hic esto!” is Augustine, *Soliloquia*, 2, 6, 9 (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 89), where Reason commands Augustine to heed the argument she is about to develop:

R. Hic esto, quantum potes, et vigilantissime attende.

A. Dic, quaeso, si quid tibi suggestum est, ne pereamus.

R. Hic esto.

A. Ecce habes me nihil aliud agentem.

Erasmus quotes the same phrase in *Adag.* 1684 (“Praesens abest”), *ASD* II, 4, p. 138, 179. He once uses it in a satirical context, namely in his colloquy *Conuiuium grammaticorum*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 586, 20: “Ergo hic estote omnes aures simul adhibentes et animos.” The source reference has to be supplied in the volumes concerned.

Adag. 4039 (“Qui prior laesit”). The subject of this adage is a line from the *Iliad* quoted by Cicero (*Ad Atticum*, 2, 9, 3). One may note,

however, that the title (“Qui prior laesit”) is taken from a line in Terence, Erasmus’ favorite poet, namely from the prologue to *Eunuchus*, 6 “quia laesit prior”. He discusses part of this prologue and the philological problems involved in a colloquy, entitled *Conuiuuium poeticum*, ASD I, 3, p. 347, 89-116.

Adag. 4116 (“Herciscere”), 227-229 **veluti si quis dicat inter Guilelmum Budaeum et Leonardum Portium de assis inuentione concertantes Ianum Lascarem datum herciscundae gloriae arbitrum**. The last words are reminiscent of Cicero, *Pro Caecina*, 7, 19 “arbitrum familiae herciscundae postulavit” and *De legibus*, 1, 20, 53 “Sed ego plane vellem me arbitrum inter Academiam et Zenonem datum.”

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iuvantibus J. De Landtsheer, J. Papy, T. Van Houdt, M. Verweij¹

Appellatio ad auctores

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Septembribus anni 2001.

SIGLA:

<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Roma)
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)
<i>ERSY</i>	<i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Madison, Wisconsin)
<i>GSLI</i>	<i>Giornale storico della letteratura italiana</i> (Torino)
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)
<i>IMU</i>	<i>Italia medioevale e umanistica</i> (Milano)
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch</i> (Hildesheim - Zürich - New York)
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
<i>RPL</i>	<i>Res Publica Litterarum</i> (Roma)
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (Missouri, Columbia)
<i>SUP</i>	<i>Studi Umanistici Piceni</i> (Sassoferrato)
<i>WBN</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>WRM</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i> (Wien)

¹ Gratias agimus A. Borowski, D. Canfora, J.-L. Charlet, G. Donati, A. Gorzkowski, E. Klecker, M. Miglio, E. Rodríguez Peregrina, U. Schlegelmilch, D. Wuttke ceterisque doctis mulieribus et viris qui nobis editiones, studia separataque miserunt vel de novis operibus divulgatis certiores nos fecerunt.

ABBREVIATIONES:

- Agnolo Poliziano* Vincenzo Fera - Mario Martelli (eds.), *Agnolo Poliziano: poeta, scrittore, filologo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Montepulciano, 3-6 novembre 1994* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1998).
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- vide infra: Germania (Kuhoff); 2.1 (Hofmann); et 4.2: Erasmus: studia (Wolff).

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AUSTRIA:

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- GERARDIMONTUM [GERAARDSBERGEN]: vide infra 4.2: Edingus (Van Bockstaele).
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BOHEMIA:

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CANADA

- vide supra: 1.2 (Warkentin - Podzuchny).

CROATIA:

- vide infra 2.1 (Glavičić).

EUROPA SEPTENTRIONALIS:

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INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

apparavit D. Sacré

NOVA LEXICA

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Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesauro Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano* (Forc.) reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellula (*) notavimus; cruce (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven (Hoven) offenduntur. Nomina locorum virorumve et mulierum atque ex eis derivata parcius afferuntur.

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*+Burgimagister, -tri: *burgomaster*: 432, 433

- *+Caelipeta, -ae: *seeking Heaven*: 62
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- *+Camera, -ae: *room (alius sensus exhibet ThLL)*: 432
- *+Cancellarius, -ii: *chancellor (sensus leviter diversos exhibet ThLL)*: 336, 340
- *+Cardinalis, -is: *cardinal (alius sensus exhibet ThLL)*: 100, 114, 303, 306
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- *Chronica, -ae: *chronicle*: 164
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- *+Collaudatorius, -a, -um: *praising*: 300
- Comessatorius, -a, -um: *related to banquets*: 229
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- +Commodaticius, -a, -um: *false (Commodaticii capilli: peruke)*: 434
- Communita, -ae: *communist*: 443-444
- *+Complosio, -onis: *snap (of the fingers) (alius sensum exhibet ThLL)*: 433
- +Cothonissare: *drink much*: 455
- Culfa, -ae: *game of golf*: 450

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- *Daemonomania, -ae: *being possessed by demons*: 420
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- *+Ducissa, -ae: *duchess*: 348

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- *+Elusorius, -a, -um: *deceptive*: 403
- *+Encyclopaedia, -ae: *encyclopaedia*: 435
- *+Excudere: *print*: 289, 337, 438, 453

- *Financiae, -arum: *finance*: 401
- *+Florilegium, -ii: *anthology*: 453
- *+Franciscanus, -i: *Franciscan*: 363

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**SOCIETAS INTERNATIONALIS STUDIIS NEOLATINIS
PROVEHENDIS
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
NEO-LATIN STUDIES**

Societatis Internationalis Studiis Neolatinis Provehendis Duodecimus Conventus anno 2003 diebus 3-9 mensis Augusti Bonnae apud Germanos celebrabitur. Acroasium summaria singula (verborum 150-200) aut per telecopiam aut per cursorem publicum ante diem 31 mensis Martii 2002 mittantur ad Prof. Dr. M. Laureys, cuius est haec inscriptio cursualis: Universität Bonn, Seminar für Lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Am Hof 1e, D-53113 Bonn.

Schedulae ad summaria conscribenda aptae e nostra retis universalis pagina (<http://fuzzy.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/ianls>) depromi vel etiam peti possunt a Societatis secretaria, cuius est haec inscriptio cursualis: Prof. Dr. Marianne Pade, Københavns Universitet, Institute for Greek and Latin, Njalsgade 80, DK-2300 Copenhagen, Denmark. Conventus titulus erit hic: "Sermo Latinus quomodo in scientiis artibusque inde a renascentibus litteris sit excultus".

Item accipiuntur oratiunculae ad alias partes Studiorum Neolatinorum spectantes.

The Twelfth International Congress of the *International Association for Neo-Latin Studies* will take place 3-9 August 2003 at the Universität Bonn, Germany. Abstracts (150-200 words) should be submitted to Prof. Dr. M. Laureys, Universität Bonn, Seminar für Lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Am Hof 1e, D-53113 Bonn, Germany, by mail or fax, postmarked no later than 31 March 2002. Forms for abstracts may be downloaded from the web site of IANLS (<http://fuzzy.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/ianls>) or obtained from the secretary of IANLS, Prof. Dr. Marianne Pade, Københavns Universitet, Institute for Greek and Latin, Njalsgade 80, DK-2300 Copenhagen, Denmark. The theme of the Congress will be "Latein als internationale Wissenschaftssprache seit Beginn der Renaissance" (Latin as the international language of scholarship from the Renaissance to the present). Papers on other aspects of Neo-Latin studies are also welcome.

Der 12. Internationale Kongress der Internationalen Neulateinischen Gesellschaft (International Association for Neo-Latin Studies/IANLS) wird vom 3. bis zum 9. August 2003 an der Universität Bonn (Deutschland) stattfinden.

Zusammenfassungen von Vorschlägen für Referate (150-200 Wörter) sollten bis zum 31. März 2002 per Post oder Fax geschickt werden an: Prof. Dr. Marc Laureys, Universität Bonn, Seminar für Lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Am Hof 1e, D-53113 Bonn, Deutschland (Vorschläge per e-mail können nicht akzeptiert werden). Das Formular für die Zusammenfassung kann von der Website der Gesellschaft (<http://fuzzy.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/ianls/>) heruntergeladen oder von der Sekretärin der Gesellschaft, Prof. Dr. Marianne Pade, University of Copenhagen, Institute for Greek and Latin, Njalsgade 80, DK-2300 Copenhagen, Denmark, erbeten werden. Das Thema des Kongresses lautet: "Latein als internationale Wissenschaftssprache seit Beginn der Renaissance". Vorträge über andere Aspekte der neulateinischen Studien sind ebenfalls willkommen.

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1. bibliographical references

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- comma
- title: title of the work (including the subtitle) as it appears on the title page, in italics.
 - * title and subtitle should always be separated by a colon. For books in English, capitalize the first word after the colon and of all principal words throughout the title. For titles in other languages, follow the capitalization rules for the language in question.
 - * titles of other works occurring within the title should be enclosed in single quotation marks.
- comma
- editor, translator etc.: the names of editors etc. should be treated in the same way as those of authors (as to forename, number); they should be preceded by the accepted abbreviations 'ed. by', 'trans. by', 'rev. by', ...
- comma
- series, edition, number of volumes:
 - * If a book is part of a numbered series, the series title and the number (in Arabic numerals) should be given. Series titles should not be italicized (see example 2).
 - * If the edition used is other than the first, this should be stated by '2nd edn', '3rd rev. edn' (see bibliographical reference above).
 - * If the work is in more than one volume, the number of volumes should be given in the form '2 vols', a comma separating title and number of volumes (see example 3).

- details of publication: place of publication, publisher's name and date of publication are enclosed in parentheses; a colon separates the place from the publisher's name; a comma separates the latter from the date.

* If place or date are not given but can be ascertained, they should be enclosed in brackets. If one of them remains uncertain, one should use '[s.l.]' (= no place), '[s.a.]' (= no date) or '[s.l.a.]' when both are lacking.

* In giving the place of publication, either the current form of place names in the language the article is written in, or its official form in its own country should be used.

* The name of the publisher should be given without secondary matter such as '& Co.', 'Ltd', 'S.A.', etc. Forenames or initials should be omitted. Where a publisher's name includes 'and' or '&', the conjunction should be given in the form which appears on the title page.

* A reference to a work in several volumes published over a period of years should state the number of volumes and give inclusive dates of publication, with the date of the volume specifically referred to in parentheses after the volume number, when it is not the first or last in the series. If a work in several volumes is still in the process of publication, the date of the first volume should be stated, followed by a dash; the date of the individual number being cited should be added in parentheses after the volume number (see example 4).

- If the reference is to a book as a whole, a point will conclude it. If further information about volume and/or pages is requested, a comma is added, followed by the number of the volume (in small capital roman numerals and where necessary the year of publication in parentheses), a new comma, concluded by the exact page or pages.

* When the volume number is given, 'p./pp.' should be omitted, unless the page number(s) is (are) also in roman numerals (see example 5).

If there is no volume number, the numerals are preceded by 'p./pp.', 'col./cols', 'fol./fols'.

* The first and the last number of the span should always be stated (instead of 'sqq.' or 'ff.')!

Examples:

(1) Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(2) G. Oestreich - N. Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

(3) Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983).

(4) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, ed. by G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-).

(5) Marie Delcourt - Jean Hoyoux, *Laevinus Torrentius: correspondance*, 3 vols (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1950-1954), III, 17-22.

1.1.2. references to articles in journals

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks; title and subtitle are separated by a colon.
 - * The title of works of literature occurring within the title of an article should be italicized or placed within quotation marks.
- comma
- title of journal, in italics.
 - * Only the main title should be given; an initial 'The' or 'A' and any subtitle should be omitted.
 - * In case of several references to the same journal, an abbreviated title should be indicated after the first full reference or in a preliminary list of abbreviations.
- comma
- volume number, always in arabic numerals
- year of publication, in parentheses
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, without 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference.

Examples:

- (1) Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit de la *Biblioteca de Cataluña* et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85.
- (2) Michel Oosterbosch - Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Unknown Autograph Letters by Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)', *Lias*, 23 (1996), 321-326 (pp. 325-326).
- (3) Perrine Hallyn-Galand, 'La "Praelectio in Suetonium" de Nicholas Bérauld (1515)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93 (p. 87).

1.1.3. references to articles in books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks (cf. supra, 1.1.2.)
- comma
- the word 'in' followed by title, editor's name, and publication details of the book 'as in 1.1.1.)
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, preceded by p./pp.

- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by p./pp. in case of a particular reference.

Example:

- Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller ...*, ed. H. A. Oberman - Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 193-305 (p. 260).

1.1.4. references to theses and dissertations

The titles of unpublished theses and dissertations should be in roman type within single quotation marks, capitalization following the conventions of the language in question. The degree level, university and date should be in parentheses.

Example:

- Robert Ingram, 'Historical Drama in Great Britain from 1935 to the Present' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17-23.

1.1.5. references to manuscripts

Names of repositories and collections should be given in full when first occurring; an abbreviated form should be used for subsequent references.

Examples:

(1) First reference: Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4.

(2) Later reference: Leiden, UL, ms. Lips. 4.

1.1.6. references to classical authors

In references to classical authors and their works the system of abbreviations adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae ... Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 2 edn, Leipzig: Teubner, 1990) should be followed.

1.2. later references

In all further references, the shortest, intelligible form should be used. This will normally be the author's name (without initials) followed by (the volume and) the page reference. When more than one work of the same author is referred to, the title should be repeated in a shortened form. Phrases as 'loc. cit.' and 'op. cit.' should not be used.

Examples:

- (1) IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism', p. 195.
- (2) Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II, 234-139.

2. lay-out

2.1. quotations

- *Short quotations* (not more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be enclosed in single quotation marks and run on with the main text. If, however, there are several such short quotations coming close together and being compared or otherwise set out as examples, it may be appropriate to treat them in the same way as longer quotations.

* If a short quotation is used within a sentence, the final full point should be outside the closing quotation mark; the initial capital may be altered to lower case.

* If two incomplete lines of verse are quoted, the line division should be marked with a spaced upright stroke |.

* A quotation within a quotation is enclosed within double quotation marks.

* When a short quotation is followed by a reference in parentheses, the final punctuation should follow the closing parenthesis.

* The final point should precede the closing quotation mark only when the quotation forms a complete sentence and is separated from the preceding passage by a punctuation mark.

Examples:

- Clusius was generous with his advice and with gifts of plants, including the still rare and valuable tulips, a 'thesaurum hortensem' ('garden treasure'), as Lipsius called one gift in 1585.

- According to Peter Smith 'the seven newly discovered poems by Catullus are absolutely fabulous'.

- Michel Oosterbosch and Gilbert Tournoy inform us 'that in the *index* to that same *Inventaire* (p. 526) the questionable initial was resolved into "Nicolaus"'.
- Soames added: 'Well, I hope you both enjoy yourselves.'

- *Long quotations* (more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be broken off by an increased space from the preceding and following lines of type script. No quotation marks are needed. The quotation should also be distinguished from the main text by using a smaller size and indenting.

* Omissions within prose quotations should be marked by [...] (an ellipsis); omitted lines of verse should be marked by an ellipsis at the end of the line before the omission. An ellipsis at the beginning or the end of a quotation is not necessary.

* A reference in parentheses after a long quotation should always be placed outside the closing full point and without a full point of its own.

Example:

- Harvey does, however, provide several references to the Court of Arches as the locale. For example, he writes:

If we were wearye with walking, and loth to go too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than ever was old Mother *Bomby*. As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest to see him stroke his beard thrice, and begin thus? [...] O, we should have the Proctors and Registers as busie with their Tablebooks as might bee, to gather phrases, and all the boyes in Towne would be his clients to follow him. (*Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*, ed. by Virginia F. Stern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 81)

2.2. footnotes

- Footnotes should be limited to what is strictly necessary, e. g. for documentation and for the citation of sources relevant to the text.
- The number of footnotes can also be kept down by incorporating simple references (such as line numbers or page references to a book already cited in full) in the text, for instance in parentheses after quotations. Adjacent references to several lines of the same text or to several pages of the same publication can be grouped together in the same footnote.
- Neither should footnotes repeat information already clear from the text: if for instance a bibliography is added to a book or an article, the length of the footnotes can be reduced.
- All footnotes should end with a full point, whether or not they form complete sentences.
- Wherever possible a footnote reference should be placed at the end of a sentence so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. In this case the footnote reference number follows the punctuation mark.

2.3. General style requirements

- the author's name should appear at the head of the article (first name in full, surname in small capitals), followed by the title in capitals. His or her affiliation should appear at the end of the body of the text.
- manuscripts should be double-spaced, except footnotes and long quotations. They should be sent one hard copy and one Macintosh compatible high-density 1.44mb diskette using MS Word preferably.
- titles for chapters or paragraphs in the text should be put in bold and should be numbered in Arabic.

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2. *Charisterium H. De Vocht 1878-1978*, ed. by J. IJsewijn & J. Roegiers, 1979. 10 €
3. *Judocus J. C. A. Crabeels. Odae Iscanae. Schuttersfeest te Overijse (1781)*, ed. by J. IJsewijn, G. Vande Putte & R. Denayer, 1981. 10 €
4. *Erasmiana Lovaniensia. Cataloog van de tentoonstelling, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leuven, november 1986, 1986.* 30 €
5. *Jozef IJsewijn, Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I: History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*, 1990. 40 €
6. *Petrus Bloccius, Praecepta formandis puerorum moribus perutilia. Inleiding, Tekst en Vertaling van A. M. Coebergh-Van den Braak*, 1991. 19 €
7. *Pegasus Devocatus. Studia in Honorem C. Arri Nuri sive Harry C. Schnur. Accessere selecta eiusdem opuscula inedita. Cura et opera Gilberti Tournoy et Theodorici Sacré*, 1992. 25 €
8. *Vives te Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek, 28 juni-20 augustus 1993.* Ed. by G. Tournoy, J. Roegiers, C. Coppens, 1993. 45 €
9. *Phineas Fletcher, Locustae vel Pietas Iesuitica.* Edited With Introduction, Translation and Commentary by Estelle Haan, 1996. 24 €
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13. *Lipsius en Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 september-17 oktober 1997.* Ed. by G. Tournoy, J. Papy, J. De Landtsheer, 1997. 45 €
14. *Jozef IJsewijn, with Dirk Sacré, Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part II: Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions*, 1998. 74 €
15. *Iustus Lipsius, Europae lumen et columen. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven 17-19 September 1997.* Ed. by G. Tournoy, J. De Landtsheer, J. Papy, 1999. 49 €
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